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“Our fathers worshipped in this mountain ; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.” \* \* \*

“The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. \* \* \* But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth : for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit : and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.” (John iv. 20, 21, 23, 24.)

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# THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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## I.—THE CREATION.

THE story of the Creation given in the first chapter of Genesis has been made the field of such battles as surely no other passage of the same number of lines has ever witnessed. It is a Representative story, as Emerson might say ; it is the foremost and best known of the many quasi-historical passages in the Old Testament. When the "credibility of the Hebrew Scriptures" is spoken of, this chapter is generally nearest to the mind of the speaker ; and when that credibility is assailed or defended, we have not to wait long before the controversy arrives at this chapter, and, having arrived at it, is in no hurry to advance further. When "Genesis"—its age, authorship or credibility—is specially named, we may be sure that the stories of the Creation, with perhaps those of the Deluge thrown in, are mainly, if not exclusively, meant. The great contest of "*Geology versus the Bible*," or, more mildly, "*Modern Science in its relation to the Bible*," would hardly exist if this one chapter were cancelled.

It is desirable to remember these facts for several reasons. Genesis is a book of fifty chapters ; and it is a little hard that the forty-nine should, through mere looseness of language in those who speak of the one only, be the victims of a scepticism not intended for them ; more especially as the first chapter (or, more strictly, from the beginning to ii. 3) stands alone as a complete and independent story, and is scarcely even referred to afterwards ; so that it might be struck off with absolute impunity to the rest of the book. Much, if not the larger part, of the history of the great Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, followed by that of

Joseph, occupying chapters xi. to l., has an undoubted historical basis, however elaborated by the influences of national affection, national prejudice, proneness to exaggeration and poetic fancy, into the variety and amplitude of the existing narrative. There is no community of subject between the story of the Creation and the Patriarchal history. The former has its account to settle solely with physical science, with the mathematical and geological knowledge of our age. The latter is brought face to face with history alone ; it is questioned whether it agrees with events of that age as known from other sources, and whether it offers a probable explanation of the distribution and mutual relations of races as we find them in later and well-known ages. The question is but little affected by that of common or separate authorship. The biographer of the Patriarchs may have faithfully recorded all accessible traditions—they again being faithful—of his heroes ; and yet may have speculated on the origin of all things in a way which the progress of science proves to be erroneous. The question, therefore, of the truth of the first chapter of Genesis draws with it that respecting the other chapters of that book only in the same sense in which it implicates all the rest of the Bible—in so far as it threatens to withdraw from the dogmatic erection of verbal infallibility one stone, which may bring the whole building down.

At the same time, the question, though affecting in the first instance one chapter only, is quite as momentous as it is generally considered. The second story of Creation, or at least of the creation and life of the first man and woman (ii. 4—iv. end), though an imaginative rather than a scientific narrative, also contains some stumbling-blocks for science ; and other stories are scattered through the Old Testament which offer like difficulties. The first chapter of Genesis is therefore a Representative chapter. If Science conquer that, she will encounter no opposition from the others. And, on the other hand, if the Biblical order of creation can carry the day, it will be only through the most uncompromising admission of irregularities called miracles in the physical history of the world, which will render impossible further opposition on other points, such as Joshua's stopping the sun and moon. And if any of the many compromises proposed on the question of the Creation by men



like Hugh Miller, who cannot but believe the scientific truth which they have gained with so much labour, yet from the influence of early education and social surroundings can scarcely bring themselves to break with the literal truth of Scripture, should prevail, that would supply a mode of interpretation which would be then applied to all other passages beset by similar difficulties.

It is a question which most of us have settled for ourselves. A great literature has been piled up on this one chapter, and nearly all has been said which the present state of knowledge renders possible. No one has read all the books, but most have read some, and the same arguments are so constantly repeated that any one interested in the subject must know them, whatever be the work he has consulted. Little more now remains but what Time will do. The discussion will flag for lack of new matter, but the one view will gradually and without any open defeat drop out of being, and the other without any visible victory be adopted as the only true; and our posterity will wonder how so much fighting could take place where the one side was so palpably right and the other so palpably wrong. The Church actually condemned Galileo, and the world had to acquiesce; but Time has proved stronger than the Church, and Galileo's truth lives absolutely unquestioned by wise or simple.

I do not therefore invite attention to a treatment of the scientific question. But there are many points of interest in that chapter, which are extremely important for the correct understanding of it, which are, to say the least, not generally known. It is very unfortunate that the scientific gentlemen who treat this subject, take the chapter as they find it in the English Bible. One would have expected better things from them; the high culture and the cautious habits of weighing evidence of one sort, ought surely to suggest to them that a translation is no evidence where the original is accessible. Other writers, chiefly among the clergy, are not insensible to the necessity of founding their arguments on the original Hebrew, but, through defective knowledge or peculiar crotchets, execute a work which is mainly waste of time, and, what is worse, calculated to mislead others. I regret very much that this observation is to some extent true of Mr. Quarry's recent work, excellent

as it is in spirit, and partially in argument and execution. I propose, therefore, to offer a short commentary on the first account of the Creation, the results of which may be given by anticipation in the following translation.

<sup>1</sup> *In the beginning of God's forming the heavens and the earth,*  
<sup>2</sup> *when the earth had been shapeless and waste, and darkness over the face of the Abyss, and while the breath of God was brooding over the face of the water,* <sup>3</sup> *God said : " Let LIGHT be ! " and Light was.* <sup>4</sup> *And God saw the light, that it was good ; and God made a division between the light and the darkness ;* <sup>5</sup> *and God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening, and there was morning : FIRST DAY.*

<sup>6</sup> *And God said : " Let there be a FIRMAMENT in the middle of the water, and let it be so as to divide between water and water."*  
<sup>7</sup> *And God made the Firmament ; and it divided between the water that was under the firmament and the water that was above the firmament : and so it was.* <sup>8</sup> *And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was evening, and there was morning : SECOND DAY.*

<sup>9</sup> *And God said : " Let the water under the heaven be gathered into one place, and let the DRY GROUND appear." And so it was.*  
<sup>10</sup> *And God called the dry ground Land, and the gathering of the water he called Seas : and he saw that it was good.* <sup>11</sup> *And God said : " Let the land put forth GRASS, HERBS yielding seed, FRUIT-TREES producing fruit which has its own seed within it, after their kind, upon the earth." And so it was.* <sup>12</sup> *And the land raised grass, herbs yielding seed after their kind, and trees producing fruit which has its own seed within it, after their kind : and God saw that it was good.* <sup>13</sup> *And there was evening, and there was morning : THIRD DAY.*

<sup>14</sup> *And God said : " Let there be LUMINARIES in the Firmament of heaven, so as to make a division between the day and the night ; that they may serve for signs, and for feasts, and for days and years,* <sup>15</sup> *and that they may serve as luminaries in the Firmament of heaven, to shine upon the earth." And so it was.* <sup>16</sup> *And God made the two great Luminaries—the greater luminary to rule the day, and the lesser luminary to rule the night,—and the stars ;* <sup>17</sup> *and God put them in the firmament of heaven, to shine upon the earth,* <sup>18</sup> *and to rule over the day and over the night, and to make a division between the light and the darkness. And God saw that it was good.* <sup>19</sup> *And there was evening, and there was morning : FOURTH DAY.*

<sup>20</sup> *And God said : " Let the water swarm with a SWARM OF ANIMAL LIFE ; and let BIRDS fly over the earth, over the face of the firmament of heaven."* <sup>21</sup> *And God formed the great sea-*

monsters, and all the creeping animal life with which the water swarmed, after their kinds, and all the winged birds after their kinds. And God saw that it was good. <sup>22</sup> And God blessed them, saying: "Be ye fruitful, and multiply, and fill the water in the seas; and the birds, let them multiply on the land." <sup>23</sup> And there was evening, and there was morning: FIFTH DAY.

<sup>24</sup> And God said: "Let the land put forth animal life after its kind: CATTLE, and REPTILES, and LAND-ANIMALS, after their kind." And so it was. <sup>25</sup> And God made the land-animals after their kind, and the cattle after their kind, and all the land-reptiles after their kind. And God saw that it was good.

<sup>26</sup> And God said: "We will make MEN, in our image, after our likeness, so that they may bear rule over the fishes of the sea, and over the birds of the sky, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over all the reptiles that creep upon the earth."

<sup>27</sup> And God formed men in his image [in the image of God he formed them]; male and female, he formed them. <sup>28</sup> And God blessed them, and God said to them: "Be fruitful, and be many, and fill the earth and subdue it, and bear rule over the fishes of the sea, and over the birds of the sky, and over all the beasts that creep upon the earth." <sup>29</sup> And God said: "Lo, I give to you all herbs yielding seed which are on the face of the whole earth, and all the trees on which is tree-fruit yielding seed, that they may be to you for food; <sup>30</sup> and to all the beasts of the earth, and to all the birds of the sky, and to all things that creep on the earth which have animal life, all green herbs for food." And so it was.

<sup>31</sup> And God saw all that he had made, and it looked very good. And there was evening, and there was morning: SIXTH DAY.

Ch. ii. <sup>1</sup> And the heavens and the earth and all their host were ended, <sup>2</sup> and on the seventh day God ended his work which he had done, and rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had done. <sup>3</sup> And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because on it he rested from all his work, which God by working created.

It is now necessary to justify this translation, which differs very considerably not only from the English Authorized Version, but from most of those *revised* or *new* translations which are mainly based on that Version, and only depart from it when the difference between it and the Hebrew is too great to be got over by a slight change of words. It is here of course necessary to speak of Hebrew grammar, and readers who have no knowledge of that language are therefore requested to pass to p. 9, and to omit the paragraph commencing on p. 14.

There are several different modes or degrees of under-



standing a language ; for my present purpose it suffices to consider two only : that which knows the words, and the fundamental principles of the syntactical connection of word with word ; and that which adds to this the apprehension of the logical connection of clause with clause, and the consequent power to follow a train of argument. Some languages never rise beyond the first stage ; their sentences are separate assertions, and the logical connection the simplest possible ; but (unless we misinterpret the phenomena, which is often possible) the mental stage of the nation will be found to correspond to the simple uninvolved style of their speech. Most languages, however, advance much higher than this, but by different ways ; some by an elaborate system of inflexions, making it possible to put a person or thing (noun) into any conceivable relation towards the deed to be done (the verb) ; some by the use of a great variety of particles (conjunctions or adverbs), expressing every phase of logical relation between clauses ; some relying on still more delicate and almost intangible devices, seconded by varieties in the tone of voice, and trusting largely to the quickness and intelligence of the hearer. Of these three, the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Semitic languages, may be taken as examples. Languages of the third kind are not necessarily less perfect, less capable of expressing deep and refined thoughts, or of continuing a train of thought, than those of the first or second ; but they obviously offer greater difficulties to the foreign student of them. The student may easily fancy he has gained a knowledge of them when he knows their words and the most palpable devices of their syntax. This is the sort of knowledge which from the days of the Greek translators of the Old Testament, foreigners have generally had of Hebrew ; and the same, though in a less degree, may be said of other and more recent Semitic dialects. Now if the following passage of Virgil (*Æn.* i. 46—49),

Ipsa, Jovis rapidum jaculata e nubibus ignem,  
Disjecitque rates, evertitque æquora ventis :  
Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas  
Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto,

be translated thus : “ She hurled Jove’s rapid fire out from the clouds, scattered the ships, and turned up the sea with winds ; she pierced his breast, and he breathed out flames ;

she caught him up in a hurricane, and dashed him on a sharp rock,"—it gives us a good instance of the imperfect mode of understanding and translating a language, and at the same time of the amount of syntactic insight which is thought sufficient for a translator of the Bible. Of course if the syntactic devices in Hebrew were always as plain and tangible as the cases and participles in the third line of the above Latin passage, ignored in the translation, they would not be overlooked. As it is, though somewhat recondite, they are no less real, and always reward a careful search. The ordinary translations, therefore, even where perfectly irreproachable in the rendering of the separate words, may be utterly unsatisfactory (in almost every verse) as to the syntactical combinations.

Verses 1—3 afford one of the most important instances in the whole Old Testament. The first difficulty that meets us in verse 1 is the expression בְּרֵאשִׁית, "in the beginning." רֵאשִׁית (derivative noun from ראש, *head*) denotes the *head-piece*, i.e. *front, beginning* of something; but always with reference to something else. In almost all the passages where the word occurs, therefore, it stands in the construct state, or has a pronominal suffix attached: as Gen. x. 10, וַתְּהִי רֵאשִׁית מַמְלַכְתּוֹ בָּבֶל, "and the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon," &c., and Job xlii. 12, וַיְהִי בְרֵךְ אֶת-אַחֲרִית, "and Jahveh [Jehovah] blessed the end of Job more than his beginning;" and in Is. xlvi. 10, "announcing from the beginning (מֵרֵאשִׁית) subsequent things," though no genitive follows, still the word is used with the same sort of reference to אַחֲרִית, and almost adverbially (*from before*). In short, it belongs to that large class of Hebrew words, nouns in origin and in syntactic usage, but practically playing the part of prepositions: פֶּתַח (place) *in place of, under*; לְפָנַי (face) *on the face of, before*; אַחֲרַי (back) *behind, after*; נֶגֶד (front), פֶּנֶן, לְנֶגֶד, *in presence of, before*. Hence בְּרֵאשִׁית, "at the beginning of," would seem to demand a following genitive as much as, for example, תַּחַת, *instead of*. Even the punctuation confesses this; for the absence of the article (בִּי, not בְּי) makes it the construct state. Now what if the word be really used here in accordance with what has been shewn to be its usage elsewhere, and it be status constructus? then the following words must be governed by בְּרֵאשִׁית as by a preposition, and the meaning must be: "At the

beginning of בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים God created," &c. But of course when a verb comes under the government of a preposition, the infinitive must be used (πρὸς [or ἐν ἀρχῇ] τοῦ κτίζειν); and we should therefore have to point the verb בָּרָא instead of בָּרָא. A comparison with Gen. v. 1 makes this almost certain. There we have again the beginning of a book, preceded by its title, זֶה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדֹת אָדָם, "This is the Book of the History of Man;" and it runs as follows: "On the day of God's creating Man, into the likeness of God he made him"—בְּיוֹם בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אָדָם, where the form of sentence is identical with that in i. 1, and the only verbal difference is that we have בְּיוֹם, "on the day of," in place of בְּרֵאשִׁית, "at the beginning of." As בְּיוֹם makes no sense except as a status constructus, so we might infer (apart from the reasons given above) that בְּרֵאשִׁית must be so also. I have said that the verb governed by a prepositional word is in the infinitive; and this is the only form that would be tolerated in Greek or Latin: ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ κτίζειν, *in initio creandi*. But in Hebrew the *indicative* is also possible (horrible as this must appear to classical scholars), the government being sufficiently indicated by the status constructus, which throws the *whole clause* following it into dependence upon itself; of which we have an example in 2 Sam. xxii. 1 (repeated in Ps. xviii. 1)—a passage strikingly similar to the present one in its syntactic form—"on the day of Jahveh-delivered-him," בְּיוֹם הַצִּיל יְהוָה אֹתוֹ. So in Gen. i. 1, the בָּרָא of the text may not even require any alteration of punctuation, but בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים may denote "At the beginning of God's creating." בָּרָא, generally rendered *to create*, is so far from necessarily denoting *to produce out of nothing*, that it rather indicates the reverse—to mould into shape, to form anew from existing materials (which indeed was to be expected from its primitive sense of *to cut, hew*). This is evident from the fact that it is used as perfectly synonymous with יָצַר, *to form, mould*, and with עָשָׂה, *to make* (properly *to work up, prepare*): as in Is. xlv. 18, "For thus saith Jahveh who *created* the heavens—himself that God who *formed* the earth and *made* it—himself *fixed* it—*created* it not for nothing—*formed* it for dwelling in: I am Jahveh," &c.; and as in the very chapter we are considering, verse 26 has, "And God said, We will *make* Men," and verse 27, "And God *created* men," of the self-same act: and heaven, earth and sea—



monsters are *created* (vv. 1 and 21), while the firmament, the luminaries and the land-animals are *made* (vv. 7, 16, 25), the act being obviously the same. Another example proving the close similarity, if not the identity of the three acts, *עשה, יצר, ברא*, is found in Is. xlii. 7, "all those called by my name, and whom I *created, formed* and *made* for my glory;" and it likewise illustrates the application of the verb especially loved by the later Isaiah, to the *forming* or *training* of Israel by Jahveh into a people specially his, according to Ex. vi. 7, xix. 5, 6: see (*ברא* and *עשה*) Is. xli. 20, xlv. 7, 12; and (*יצר* and *ברא*) Is. xlii. 1, xlv. 7. Verse 2 is still only a dependent clause, "When the earth had been shapeless and waste;" this is proved by the order of the words, the subject preceding the verb—one of the most important devices of Hebrew syntax, unknown to King James's translators, and only fully understood in the present century. The following clause, "and darkness," &c., is of the same nature, although its verb is not expressed. The next, "and while the breath of God was brooding over the face of the water," is of the same nature (a "proposition of state," or Zustandsatz, as Ewald terms it), and indeed is still more strongly shewn to be so from having its verb put in the participle. Thus it is not till verse 3 that we come to anything that is asserted on its own account; and we see that the first act of creation is the cry, "Let Light be!"

This new conception of verses 1—3, which is the result of the rigid application of the rules of grammar, seems to me to be of the highest importance, and to modify greatly our conception of the creation. In the first verse, according to the received version, we have an assertion that "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." This was the source of many difficulties—the heaven is created *afterwards*, in verses 6—8, under the name of the Firmament; and the earth is apparently regarded as created on the third day, in verses 9 and 10; in the second we learn that the earth, so created by the God all whose works give us the very idea of order (*κόσμος*) and law, was a mere shapeless void; and that there was besides a "deep" not mentioned as created in verse 1; and that not till then did the Spirit of God begin to act at all. Moreover, whereas all the subsequent acts of creation are attributed to the spoken Word of God ("And God *said*"), which

in the New Testament is acknowledged in the Logos of the Proem of the Fourth Gospel, this first and most momentous act seems to be performed without any words at all. The shifts to which interpreters are reduced sufficiently confess all these difficulties. The heaven and the earth of verse 1, we are told, are different from those in verses 6—8, 9, 10; the vague term Chaos is invented to describe the shapeless, unordered mass, and the double term “heaven and earth” is said to be employed in default of a single word for the chaos. Or, again, it is said that verse 1 announces, as a heading to the chapter, the various acts which are afterwards told fully in regular order; though the expression, “In the beginning,” if we adopt the received translation, clearly separates this time from the following days, and precludes us from identifying this first with the subsequent acts. Again, if this creation of the heaven and the earth in the beginning is to be distinct from the later acts, we are told that it must be the creation out of nothing of Matter, which is afterwards moulded into the various forms of earth, heaven and water—thus doing violence not only to what I have shewn to be the necessary and constant signification of the verb *ברא*, but to the usage of it in the later verses of this very history; for if in verse 1 to *create* the heaven and the earth be to bring into existence the matter from which they are to be moulded, then verse 12 must be assumed to assert that God called into existence the matter out of which the great sea-monsters would be formed; and so of Man in verse 27.

All these absurdities and contradictions vanish at once from the text as I understand it. “At the beginning of God’s creating the heaven and the earth . . . God said: ‘Let Light be:’” no other heaven and earth are spoken of, no earlier act of creation is asserted than those of verses 6—10; no different sort of *creation* assumed than that of the sea-monsters, of man, and of all his work (i. 21, 27, ii. 3). Further, God is not credited with the absurdity of bringing into being a Chaos; his earliest function is now to *create* in the true Hebrew sense—to form, to mould, to organize; and his first act is to introduce the great organizer and life-giver—Light; which even the Proem of the Fourth Gospel acknowledges as equivalent to Life. And the process of creation on the first day now resembles that on the

others—"God *said*: Let Light be!"—no act is now performed but by his spoken Word. Neither is any preliminary creation of Matter asserted: the first verse, "At the beginning of God's creating the heaven and the earth," only refers to the description of that act in verses 6—10. Verse 2, "when the earth had been shapeless and waste, and darkness over the face of the Abyss," assumes a new and obviously correcter sense. The earth and water, it is now seen, are supposed to have existed before the creation (or moulding into shape) of the earth, and there is no absurdity in the mention here of an element (the water) not spoken of in verse 1. So far from God creating the earth chaotic, verse 2 describes the chaotic state prior to what the writer in verse 1 terms its creation ("when the earth *had until then been* shapeless and waste"). And as we have here a chaotic uncreated earth, so in the same ante-creational period we find a chaotic uncreated water—the Abyss, over which Darkness had been till then. And both earth and water are conceived as having only a sort of negative existence—indicated in the case of the earth by the "shapeless and waste," and in that of the water by the "darkness." But upon this state, which "had been," another supervened, when "the breath of God *was brooding* over the face of the water," previously dark,—the breath that uttered the first creative words, "Let Light be!" The two periods are accurately distinguished in the Hebrew by the different tenses (הָיְתָה perfect, *had been*, and מְרַחֶפֶת participle, *was brooding*). The first act of creation, and the sole act of the first day, was therefore that of Light, as Milton seems to understand correctly, not only in his

"Hail, holy Light, offspring of Heaven first-born,  
Or of the Eternal co-eternal beam,  
May I express thee unblamed?"

but also in

"O first-created beam, and thou great Word,  
'Let there be Light!' and light was over all!"

And the same is rendered almost certain also by a comparison with the act of the fourth day—the creation of the Luminaries; since (as will be more fully shewn) there is a certain correspondence between the acts of the first three and the last three days. And as the fourth day witnesses the



creation of the luminous bodies only, the first may be presumed to have seen only that of the light itself: the addition of the creation of the heaven and the earth would entirely spoil this manifestly intentional correspondence. It is perhaps hardly needful to expatiate on the enhanced beauty with which the history of creation seems to me to be invested by this new conception of the first day's work. Milton has discovered it, even through the blind of the received versions, and shewn it in his most thrilling language to the world; and so it comes before us as no new idea, that Light was the "offspring of Heaven first-born." *Life* is the chief, if not the only created thing, in the eyes of a primitive unphilosophical age; that which is dead, immovable or unchangeable, would be regarded as performing no function, doing nothing for any one, and therefore as not the work of a Creator, whose works were created for a purpose. To create, therefore, was to the people of that age to infuse life. But life itself is too impalpable and mysterious an idea to be conceived strictly and properly. Light is its *sine qua non*. Life is action; and action can take place only in the light: "the night cometh when no man can work." Light, therefore, is assumed as the sensible equivalent of the insensible Life. How then should creation commence with anything else but Light? It is that alone which renders any further creation possible.

Without venturing far on a field where I cannot tread with confidence, I may be allowed to notice the striking correspondence between Gen. i. 1—3, as interpreted by me, and the Proem of the Fourth Gospel.

"At the beginning . . . God said, 'Let Light be!'"

"In the beginning was the Word."

Can it be doubted that this Word is that very command, "Let Light be!" which *was* at the beginning of all things? or that the writer had this account of creation in his mind? And he continues, after saying that this Word was God's, or even *was God*, "Everything was made through it, and not a single thing was made apart from it;" inasmuch as (in my translation) every act of creation was effected by actual spoken words of God. And then, "In it was Life, and life was the Light of men"—again a reference to the "Let Light be!" meaning that the light, conceived in its relation

to the living being man, is Life: what light is to the universe, that life is to man: life therefore is (mathematically speaking) a function of light. Then, "The light shines in the darkness," for darkness still continued to exist after the creation of light, but "God made a division between the light and the darkness." This division protects the newly-created light from invasion by the darkness; which may be alluded to in the next words of the Gospel, if their proper meaning be, "and the darkness did not suppress (i. e. was not permitted, was not able to suppress) the light."

This reference to the creation as described in Genesis, however, does not exclude the Alexandrine inspiration from which the Proem is usually explained. On the contrary, it traces the Logos doctrine to its very origin, and finds for it a foundation and justification in the very oldest and most sacred Hebrew Scriptures, without which it is difficult to conceive that it could have been accepted and adopted by a Jew like Philo from heathen philosophers only. Why indeed is that very word *Logos* used, for what is elsewhere (Prov. viii. 1, 22—31; Wis. vi.—xi.; Eccclus. i., xxiv. *et passim*; Matt. xi. 19) called Wisdom? Is it not because the acts of Divine Wisdom are always represented as performed by Speech? Not only here in the organization of a world is this the case, but also in the organization of a nation; and the fundamental constitution of that nation is embodied in ten Divine utterances, which we loosely call the Ten Commandments, but which are properly the Ten Words (דְּבָרִים); now λόγος is the exact translation of דְּבָר. Any history of the Logos idea, therefore, which takes no account of the first chapter of Genesis as sanctioning, if not suggesting, it to its Hebrew adherents, must be imperfect. The philosophers who wished to find it there, found it without difficulty in the Divine words, and especially the first and greatest of these, "Let Light be!" Such a philosophical conception may indeed have been very far from the mind of the ancient writer. Yet a tendency towards separating the action from the essence of God, and treating the former as a distinct person, is observed very early indeed; especially in the angels (or *men*, as they are often called), who in Genesis appear mysteriously, and as mysteriously turn out in the end to be God himself: so the angel that appeared to Hagar, xvi. esp. v. 13; the three who come to Abraham, xviii.

esp. v. 13 ; the angel at the sacrifice of Isaac, xxii. esp. vv. 11, 12, 15, 16 ; the angel who wrestles with Jacob, xxxii. 24—30. If this tendency was natural to the Hebrews, and exhibited in their earliest books, the development of the later conception of the Divine Wisdom, and the still later adoption of the New Platonic ideas, require no further explanation : otherwise it would be quite unintelligible.

It is not necessary to go to such length in justifying my translation of the rest of the chapter. Though abounding in peculiar words and expressions, which we may have to consider in another connection, there is not room for much difference of opinion as to either the meaning of words or the logical relation of the clauses. In v. 5, the words *evening* and *morning* are without the article and therefore indefinite ; and the meaning can only be, "And there was evening and there was morning" (like, "And there was a man of Benjamin," 1 Sam. ix. 1) : to which, without grammatical connection, "First Day, Second Day," &c., is added as the concluding title of the preceding verses.—V. 6. Let it be observed once for all, that the Hebrew מַיִם, *water*, is a noun that has no singular ; it is therefore better rendered *water* than *waters*, just as *tenebræ* is *shade* rather than *shades*. V. 7. The subject of the verb *divided* is the last-mentioned noun, *Firmament* ; this is grammatically the best, and is made certain by the analogy of the preceding verse. V. 11. *Grass, herbs, fruit-trees*, and most words denoting vegetable or animal species, including those used in later verses for *beasts, birds, reptiles, men, &c.*, are generally used in the singular with a clear plural or collective meaning, and in many cases have no plural in use ; it is therefore better to translate them by the English plural ; except of course in cases like *grass, sheep, cattle, &c.*, where the English practice happens to coincide with the Hebrew. The fruit-trees produce "fruit which has its own seed within it"—the seed of the apple being held *within the fruit*, whereas the herbs yield seed only—seed unprotected by a covering of fruit. Three gradations of plants are recognized : the grass, which seems to spread of itself, without obvious seed ; larger plants, which have conspicuous flowers and seeds ; and fruit-trees, the highest form of vegetable life, which have not naked seeds, but fruit containing seeds within it. V. 14. *Luminaries* (מְאֹרֹת), not the same

word as Light (אֹר) in v. 3, but a derivative, which from its form must denote a *place* or *thing of light*: any objections, therefore, which have been raised against the double creation of light (vv. 3 and 14), fall to the ground. Whether light as a principle can be conceived to have existed before the luminaries which now shed it on our earth, is another question, which we do not presume to decide here.

*For feasts*: מוֹעֵד denotes literally an *appointment*, a place or time *appointed* to a certain purpose; and thence very frequently of the great religious *feasts* so appointed, as the Passover, regulated by the moon; which is the most likely meaning here, since that use of the sun and moon could hardly be omitted by the Hebrew writer, and is not indicated by any other word: the *signs* are probably portents, such as eclipses generally were in the ancient world.

*For days and years*: i. e. to mark the passage of time generally (not *for days, and for years*). V. 16. *The two great luminaries*: with the definite article. *And the stars*: object of the verb *made* at the beginning of the verse; the Authorized Version spoils the syntax by supplying *he made* and *also*.

V. 20. *Let the water swarm with a swarm*: for the verb שָׂרַץ (properly *to creep*) has its own derivative שָׂרָץ as its object—"to swarm a swarm."

*Animal life* (נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה): חַיָּה denotes not *life* (which is חַיִּים), but *animal* (as in vv. 24, 25), and here depends on נֶפֶשׁ, and has the sense of the adjective *animal*.

*And let Birds fly*: the birds were certainly not produced out of the water, as the Authorized Version gratuitously makes them to be; the two following verses make this clear.

V. 24. *Animal life, cattle, reptiles, land-animals*: all indefinite here, but definite in the next verse.

V. 26. *Men* (אָדָם): indefinite, like the animals in vv. 20, 24, and in the singular with plural sense (as was noted on v. 11), which appears incontrovertibly from the plural verb immediately following, "so that *they* may bear rule." This will be seen to have important consequences.

V. 27. The words, "in the image of God he formed them," form no true parallelism to those preceding them, but are simply identical with them—the words *image, God, formed*, being all repeated from the previous clause: hence they must almost certainly be cancelled as an interpolation.

Vv. 29, 30. The verb *I give* governs both these verses, and ought not to be repeated in v. 30, as it is in the Authorized



Version : *I give—first to you all herbs, &c., and secondly, to all the beasts of the earth, &c., all green herbs.*

It is evident that we have here quite as much a poetical conception as a philosophical theory of creation. If the order in which the origin of the various elements is disposed savours somewhat of philosophical speculation, reminding us especially of the early Greek physical speculations, the language, with its recurring refrains, "and so it was," "and God saw that it was good," "and there was evening and there was morning," is poetical. Both poetry and philosophy, however, hold in common the principle of order and arrangement. To neither is a Chaos possible. Both must insensibly modify, rearrange, or conjecturally restore whatever in their subject-matter appears isolated, confused, or disarranged. Hence we are entitled to suppose that the acts of creation are here disposed in a certain symmetry, the outlines of which at least may not be hard to discover.

The division of the creation into seven days gives us the first and most palpable indication of such an intentional symmetry. *Seven* is not only a *round number* to the Hebrews, but preeminently a *sacred number*, constantly recurring in legends, rites and ideas connected with religion. The seventh day, the seventh year, and the forty-ninth ( $7 \times 7$ ) year, were holy : Solomon was seven years in building his temple ; the golden candlestick had seven branches ; at the siege of Jericho there were seven priests and seven trumpets ; Balak built for Balaam seven altars, and furnished seven oxen and seven rams ; and so on ; for the greatest number of instances collected together, see the Revelation. The seven days of creation, therefore, cannot be accidental. They evidently stand in the closest connection with the Sabbath. Man works for six days and rests on the seventh : God is conceived as doing the same. Man was created in the likeness of God, and can know nothing of God except through this likeness—God is the macrocosm to his microcosm. Man's seventh-day rest was a religious act ; and a corresponding act might therefore be with propriety and without derogation ascribed to God. To make the analogy perfect, the number of working days must be the same to God as to man—viz. six. The Biblical writer of Gen. ii. 3 and Ex. xx. 8—11, indeed, inverts the order, and treats the human Sabbath as a direct imitation of the divine. This

was to be expected : the Sabbath was a religious institution, and must therefore have a divine sanction ; what more natural than to ascribe it to direct imitation of the action of God himself ? Man knew he must not work on the Sabbath, on pain of forfeiting his holiness ; yet he was enjoined to be holy because God was holy ; and how then could he attribute an act to God which would be unholiness in himself ? Supposing the Sabbath to have existed prior to this account of creation, which, if we consider the post-Mosaic composition of the Pentateuch to be proved, we infallibly must, we are driven to regard the adoption of the six days' work and seventh day's rest in the creation as an argument from the known to the unknown—from the human to the Divine Sabbath. That this is no new and unsanctioned idea is evident from two facts, which I cannot argue out at full length, but will briefly note. First, the Ten Commandments as given in Exodus xx. give the second table (Commandments 6—10, vv. 13—17) without comment, in the brief legal form which could be inscribed on the stone ; but append to the five commandments of the first table commentaries which (from the analogy of the second table, as well as on other grounds) are manifestly distinct from the commandments themselves, and certainly could not be inscribed on the stone. The Commandments themselves are simply these : 1. I am Jahveh thy God. 2. Thou shalt have no other God before me. 3. Thou shalt not take my name in vain. 4. Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. 5. Honour thy father and thy mother. The commentary on the fourth commandment (vv. 9, 10), therefore, is distinct from and of necessity later than the commandment itself, and contains only what in one writer's judgment is the most convincing argument for its observance. And, secondly, we see from the version of the same commandment in Deuteronomy, vv. 12—14, that others inculcated the observation of the Sabbath by very different arguments : for the Deuteronomist in his comment treats it as in memory, not of the Creation, but of the Exodus. The observance itself, therefore, is the only fixed point : those who tried to account for and justify it shew by their discrepancy that its real origin was buried in obscurity. We are therefore entitled by positive historical testimony to treat the seven days of creation as an arrangement natural to the

Hebrew writer, but not necessary even to his own original conception of the Divine procedure. Whatever the number of Divine acts which he had to assume in the creation of this work, he had to force them into the six working-days of a week ; but there is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the same conception of the creative acts existed before or apart from that of the six days. Hence, instead of regarding the "Divine Week" as the cardinal point of this story, I am disposed to see in it one of its latest features. If this reasoning be sound, the ideas entertained by harmonizing geologists that the Divine Day may represent an indefinite geological period, are simply wasted ingenuity.

The next point which strikes us, in attempting to penetrate the arrangement of the Divine work, is a certain correspondence between the first three and the last three days. This is first and most conspicuously obvious in the work of the first and the fourth days. On the first Light is created : on the fourth the light bodies, the Luminaries. But, again, on the second the Water has its proper place assigned to it : on the fifth the water animals are created. And on the third the Earth appears : on the sixth the terrestrial animals are created. This may be presented in a tabular form thus :

Day 1.	Light.	Day 4.	Luminaries.
Day 2.	Water.	Day 5.	Water animals.
Day 3.	Earth.	Day 6.	Terrestrial Animals.

If we attempt to generalize in order to recover the latent idea of the writer, we might say that the first period witnesses the creation of immovable, inanimate nature, the second that of moving, animated beings, each series taking the three domains of the universe in the same order—heaven, water, and earth. This arrangement has been observed long ago, and its main idea, the bisection of the creation and a certain correspondence between the acts of each section, cannot be accidental ; but we shall have largely to modify it, since it can be maintained in its integrity only by ignoring or explaining away many items as essential as those which it seizes upon. For instance, the fifth day witnesses the creation, not only of water animals, but of birds, which might be assigned either to earth or air, but certainly not to water.

To attain to any clearer conception of the original idea and subsequent arrangement of this story, we must examine its language more minutely. In Hebrew writers of a poetical turn, the key is often afforded by the observance of recurring phrases, which mark the beginning or end of a section. A well-known instance of this is found in the splendid passage of Isaiah, ix. 8—x. 4, where the refrain, "For all this his anger has not turned, and his hand is still stretched out," marks the end of four stanzas, and even enables us to connect chap. v. 25 with it as a fragment of the same poem. Another instance is afforded by Psalms xlii. and xliii., which are proved by their common refrain, "Why art thou cast down, my soul?" &c., to form one psalm. In the story of creation we have the recurring phrase, "and so it was," marking the completion of each act. On the first day the expression, "and Light was," is its equivalent. The refrain is found to occur on each of the six days, marking the obedience of nature to the Divine word given immediately before, except on the fifth, where it seems to have accidentally fallen out at the end of verse 20. But on the third day we find it twice in v. 9, after the separation of earth and water, and again in v. 11, after the command that the earth should put forth vegetation. Again, on the sixth day we find it twice—in v. 24, after the creation of the terrestrial animals, and in v. 30, after the creation of men. Now this is very curious. On the first day Light is created; on the second, the Firmament:—one act on each. On the third the Earth is relieved from water; and the plants are created:—two distinct acts. On the fourth day the Luminaries are set in the Firmament:—one act. On the fifth the animals of water and air are formed: which, as the creation of the Firmament on the corresponding second day virtually established both water and sky, may be treated as one act. On the sixth, the terrestrial animals are created; and then, carefully separated therefrom by the writer, men are formed:—two distinct acts. Thus, on the only days when two acts are performed, the refrain, "and so it was," witnesses to the fact. Does not this shew that to be a fact, which I have argued *might* be so, that the division into days is a later idea imported into a story which might originally have been different? The acts are now found to be acknowledged by the writer himself to be



not six, but eight. And this discovery powerfully strengthens the evidence for the division of the creation into two equal portions. For not only have the acts of the first and second days a certain analogy with those of the fourth and fifth, but the two acts of the third, now separated from each other, correspond respectively with the two of the sixth: the establishment of Earth free from water with the creation of the land animals, and the creation of vegetables with that of man, for whose use (v. 29) they were produced. And the division into six days also acknowledges this correspondence, in combining together the two last acts of each series, thus :

One day (1st)	Act 1 corresponding to	Act 5	One day (4th)
One day (2nd)	Act 2	6	One day (5th)
One day (3rd)	{ Act 3	7	One day (6th)
	{ Act 4	8	

The next point which cannot fail to strike the attentive reader is the tautology observable in connection with this "and so it was." In verse 9 we have, "And God said, 'Let the water under the heaven be gathered into one place, and let the dry ground appear.' *And so it was.*" The words of command are given, and are affirmed in that short phrase to have been obeyed: all further account of the performance of that act is shut out by the simple statement that "so it was." So in verses 3 and 7. But after v. 11, "And God said, 'Let the land put forth grass' . . . And so it was," we have in verse 12 the further account, "And the land raised grass," &c.; so that the act is affirmed twice. The same is observable after vv. 15 and 24; and would be so also after v. 20, if the conjecture was right, that the words "and so it was" have been dropped out there. This phenomenon suggests the idea that the double description of the creative act may not be original. In every case it is first described as performed by God's spoken word: "And God said, Let ——" and then announced again by the writer speaking in his own person, and using nearly the same words: "And God made ——" This second announcement adds absolutely nothing, and can scarcely be imagined to have been appended in all its fulness to the first by the same writer, even where the words "and so it was" do not precede; where they do, it is absurd. Were

there two accounts, the one putting the creative acts into the mouth of God, and the other describing them in narrative? One phenomenon strikes us at once as encouraging this idea. Just as the refrain "and so it was" was found to follow the verses of the Divine commands, so do we find the phrase, "and God saw that it was good," following the verses of narrative. They occur in this way in verses 12, 18, 21, 25 and 31, after five out of the eight acts; and also in verses 4 and 10, under rather different circumstances, yet probably by the same writer, since in both cases the other writer's description has been already finished off by, "and Light was" (v. 3), "and so it was" (v. 9). On examining the Hebrew text more minutely to see whether it aids or contradicts this theory, we discover several points that aid it most strikingly, and can hardly be otherwise accounted for. The Divine Commands have the created things always without article (vv. 3, 6, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26); the Narrative makes them definite (vv. 7, 16, 21, 25 and 37; v. 12 exceptionally leaves them indefinite). Now, although in the present context the definite article may in verses 7 and 16 be accounted for because *the* firmament and *the* luminaries denote those announced in the preceding verses, yet in the other instances, where the second account often uses different words from the first, the phenomenon cannot be so explained. Again, the form לְמִינֵהֶם, לְמִינֵהוּ, *after his kind, after their kind*, is very peculiar, having a pronominal suffix which is scarcely found elsewhere in the whole Bible (the regular form being לְמִינוֹ, לְמִינָם); it occurs in the Narrative, in verses 12 (twice), 21 (twice), and 25, to the exclusion of the regular form; and the latter alone is found in the Commands in verse 11; verse 24 furnishes no instance, since the feminine suffix, which exhibits no variety, is used both times there, as also in the first two instances in v. 25.—A characteristic feature of the Commands is the use of a verb and object from the same root, as, "Let the water swarm a swarm of animal life:" so v. 11, תִּרְשָׁא רֶשֶׁא, מִזְרִיעַ זָרַע (see also v. 29), v. 20, וַיִּשְׂרְצוּ שָׂרָץ, עוֹף יְעוֹפֹף; the Narrative avoids all these except the second, which is by far the least peculiar of them.—To the account of the creation of the Luminaries as the Commands in vv. 14, 15 give it, and the Narrative in vv. 16—18 repeat it, the latter adds that they are "to make a division between the light and the darkness;" but this could not possibly be written by

the writer of the words in verse 4, "and God made a division between the light and the darkness;" since that had been already long effected:—here is discrepancy as to *fact*.

If there are two writers, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing the author of the Commands to be the earlier; for (1) we shewed how deep-rooted was the idea of the Divine acts, and preeminently the first acts of creation, being effected through Words; (2) the Words form a connected story, which the Narrative does not; (3) the Commands exhibit a racier and more original style, especially in the "swarming a swarm," &c.; but also in the use of other peculiar words, *תָּהוּ וְבוּהוּ*, *תְּהוֹם*, *מְרַחֶפֶת*, *קִקִּיץ*; the other writer, though in *לְמִינְהוּ* he uses an unusual form, in general makes an easy paraphrase of the peculiar phrases of his predecessor. The verses in which God gives names to created things, and those in which he blesses them, naturally belong to the writer who attributes speech to him, the writer of the Commands. We shall now have no difficulty in dividing the chapter between its two writers. One or two irregularities must be assumed. The Narrative has lost its commencement, and begins (as we have it) with the creation of the Firmament in v. 7; before that we have only the fragment in v. 4, "and God saw the light that it was good." The words "and so it was" at the end of v. 7 should obviously, from the analogy of all the other passages, conclude v. 6; and we may conjecture that the words "and God saw that it was good" have dropped out from v. 7. At the end of v. 20 the words "and so it was" have dropped out, as already noticed. The result of this inquiry appears below, where the two writers are exhibited side by side. The sentences are abridged in order not to occupy too much space.

#### COMMANDS.

##### First Act.

<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of God's forming the heavens and the earth . . . <sup>2 3</sup> God said: "*Let LIGHT be!*" and Light was.

<sup>4b</sup> And God made a division between the light and the darkness; <sup>5</sup> and God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night.

#### NARRATIVE.

##### First Act.

<sup>4a</sup> And God saw the Light, that it was good.

Second Act.

<sup>6</sup> And God said : “ *Let there be a FIRMAMENT in the middle of the water, and let it be so as to divide between water and water.*”

<sup>7b</sup> And so it was. <sup>8</sup> And God called the firmament Heaven.

Third Act.

<sup>9</sup> And God said : “ *Let the water under the heaven be gathered into one place, and let the DRY GROUND appear.*” And

so it was. <sup>10a</sup> And God called the dry ground Land, and the gathering of the water he called Seas.

Fourth Act.

<sup>11</sup> And God said : “ *Let the land put forth GRASS . . . upon the earth.*” And so it was.

Fifth Act.

<sup>14</sup> And God said : “ *Let there be LUMINARIES in the firmament of heaven . . . <sup>15</sup> to shine upon the earth.*” And so it was.

Sixth Act.

<sup>20</sup> And God said : “ *Let the water swarm with a SWARM OF ANIMAL LIFE : and let BIRDS fly over the earth,*” &c. [And so it was.] <sup>22</sup> And God blessed them, saying, “ *Be ye fruitful, and multiply,*” &c.

Seventh Act.

<sup>24</sup> And God said : “ *Let the land put forth animal life after its kind : CATTLE . . .*” And so it was.

Second Act.

<sup>7a</sup> And God made the Firmament, and it divided between the water that was under the firmament and the water that was above the firmament.

Third Act.

<sup>10b</sup> And he saw that it was good.

Fourth Act.

<sup>12</sup> And the land raised Grass, Herbs . . . after their kind : and God saw that it was good.

Fifth Act.

<sup>16</sup> And God made the two great Luminaries . . . and the stars ; . . . <sup>17 18</sup> to rule over the day and over the night, and to make a division between the light and the darkness. And God saw that it was good.

Sixth Act.

<sup>21</sup> And God formed the great Sea-monsters, and all the creeping animal life with which the water swarmed, . . . and all the winged Birds . . . And God saw that it was good.

Seventh Act.

<sup>25</sup> And God made the Land-animals after their kind, and the Cattle . . . And God saw that it was good.



## Eighth Act.

<sup>26</sup> And God said : “ *We will make MEN, in our image, after our likeness, so that they may bear rule,*” &c. <sup>28</sup> And God blessed them, and God said to them : “ *Be fruitful, and be many, and fill the earth and subdue it,*” &c. <sup>29</sup> And God said : “ *Lo, I give to you all herbs . . . and all the trees . . . that they may be to you for food ;*” <sup>30</sup> *and to all the beasts . . . all green herbs for food.*” And so it was.

## Eighth Act.

<sup>27</sup> And God formed Men in his image ; male and female he formed them.

<sup>31</sup> And God saw all that he had made, and it looked very good.

We are now able, in conclusion, to reconsider the analogy between the two equal sections of the Creation. As given above, it broke down at several places. If the three days of each section represent respectively heaven (air), water and earth, then how comes it that the firmament, which is declared to be the heaven, belongs to the second day ? and that the birds are produced in connection with the fishes and the water, not with the sky, their natural element ? A hint of the correct arrangement may be found in verse 26, where all the animals, having been then created, are enumerated in the order natural to the writer, which he would doubtless observe elsewhere also : “ the fishes of the sea, the birds of the sky, the cattle, &c. upon the earth ;” and let it be noticed that each domain of the world has a class of animals assigned to it. Here the order is : water, sky, earth ; exactly as in verses 20 and 24. The living and moving population of the heaven or air is therefore not to be found in the Luminaries of the fourth day, but in the birds of the fifth. This relieves us at once from the embarrassing necessity under which the former system laboured, of saying that the Luminaries, from their motion, were treated as the quasi-animate population of the heaven. But more and better remains to be shewn. In the first section it was clearly wrong to say that heaven, water and earth were created or arranged on the first three days respectively. The Light of the first day can be treated as equivalent to heaven only by a straining of the sense at least as great as

that required to make animated beings out of the luminaries of the corresponding fourth day; and the heaven is distinctly affirmed to be created with the settling of the waters on the second. The second day must be said to witness the ordering of *both* water and heaven; which agrees exactly with the fact observed of the fifth, that on it the animal tenants of both those regions were created. The following is therefore the corrected system:

ACT 1. LIGHT.	ACT 5. LUMINARIES.
{ ACT 2. Water.	ACT 6. Fishes.
Heaven.	Birds.
{ ACT 3. Earth.	ACT 7. Land-animals.
ACT 4. Plants.	ACT 8. Men.

Light, in truth, belongs to no one section of the universe, but pervades them all; it is the soul of the universe, the source of life to all, as we saw before; and it therefore stands rightly at the head of the series, not as one element equal with those that follow, but as supreme above them, virtually containing them all in itself. We are again brought by a different route to the same grand idea which we reached before, that the great creative word, which comprises all others, is, "Let Light be!"—Water, heaven and earth, then follow in natural order. The creation of the two former is in the Hebrew account so blended into one—the creation of a firmament being in itself that which put the waters in the places and functions they were to maintain—that we cannot separate them to make the two creative acts which we should desire; but it is interesting to see how exactly the acts of the second section observe the same anomaly. To the creation of earth is appended, as a distinct act, that of plants; to which in the second section that of men corresponds; for somewhat as water, heaven and earth were made for fishes, birds and beasts respectively, so plants were made specially for man (v. 29), who is conceived as strictly vegetarian in this age; the lower animals being in v. 30 admitted to a share in one part only of the vegetable kingdom.\*

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

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\* I need not seriously regret this abrupt conclusion, which leaves a few points still unnoticed, because it is my intention in a future article to continue the subject and consider the other account of the Creation (Gen. ii.).

## II.—THE NEW CREED AND THE OLD, IN THEIR SECULAR RESULTS.—III.

MANY ages ago, a company of mariners sailed over an unexplored ocean. Their pilot's compass—a peculiarly fine one, and well-nigh unique at that time—guided their course in safety. But the pilot died ; and the frightened mariners, ignorant of the true use of the compass, bethought themselves how they could safely pursue the course he was steering, and nailed down the magnet at the precise point it held at his death. Of course the needle moved no more, and soon the men began to congratulate themselves on the possession of so fixed and infallible a guide. True, they steered by degrees far out of their course, but the ocean was wide, and for a long time no shores appeared to warn them of mistake. At this period, some of the younger sailors began to suggest doubts whether the compass ought to be nailed down ; “ It was evidently made,” they said, “ to swing freely. In the days of the old pilot it was free.” “ What audacity !” exclaimed the older mariners. “ We have been providentially enabled to fasten it just where the great pilot left it. He who tampers with it will cause the wreck of the ship.” Nevertheless, one after another, sometimes timidly and reverently, sometimes roughly and rudely, the sailors touched the compass, till at last the nail was drawn out and the needle set free. At that instant the ship was borne among rocks and breakers ; nobody knew whereabouts they were ; and when they tried to consult the compass, the needle, suddenly released, was found swinging east and west, many degrees on either side the pole, so that one said it pointed in one direction, and another in another, and meanwhile the ship was in the utmost peril. “ We told you how it would be if you meddled with the compass,” cried the old mariners in despair. “ Here we are among the rocks, and with nothing to guide us.” But after a little time the magnetic needle ceased to swing backwards and forwards, and its oscillations became so small that it was easy to note which point was the true pole. Then it became evident that, owing to the fixed compass, they had long been sailing far out of their course, and had got among the dangerous reefs. So as quickly as might be, after this was ascertained,

the sailors put the helm right, and worked their way as best they could through the rocks and to the happy end of their voyage, in the harbour of the Fortunate Isles.

The parable is not, we think, inappropriate to the moment. That mysterious magnet of human conscience has long been nailed down to the point where it stood in the days of the great pilots of Christendom, and the moment of release, and the swingings to and fro, and the perils of rocks and whirlpools, cannot be far away. Nevertheless, our confidence is unshaken that the released needle will in the end be the truest guide, and that by its aid we shall ride through the breakers at last, though not perchance without grazing many a reef. In America, at the present moment, it would seem, for example, that the conscience of whole communities can oscillate as widely apart in one of the most essential matters of morals as the celibacy of the Shakers and the pantogamy of the Bible Christians of Oneida Creek. But as time goes on we look to such aberrations growing smaller and smaller, till the universal conscience of mankind shall point steadily to the simple union of one man and one woman. The interval between the release of the general moral sense from that authority which has been supposed to decide all such questions, and the approximative unanimity of the enfranchised consciences of men, must needs be an interval of great confusion and difficulty, and it is of this transition period we purpose to speak in the first part of the present paper. Our subject will embrace both the abstract conception of Sin itself and the opinions held concerning the sinfulness of certain classes of action; the results which have flowed from the teaching of the Old Creed in these respects and those to be anticipated from that of the New.

What is Sin, theologically considered? Is it "High Treason against the Majesty of Heaven," or is it but "the stumble of the child in learning to walk"? Were the old divines right in exhausting the resources of language and borrowing figures from the infinite to express the devilish offence of Sin, the eternal perdition it involved? Or are modern social philosophers right in speaking of all Sin as the result of "weakness," "ignorance," "folly,"—the naughtiness of a froward infant deserving always of pity, rarely of blame? It is quite clear that whichever of these views be



adopted, the consequences, as regards our morality, must be very important.

To seek for strong words to express the abomination of Sin is a vain attempt, seeing that moral evil, being necessarily the greatest kind of evil, can have no just illustration in any other and lesser kind. Even eternal physical torture, which the deeply wrought consciences of men of old threw out as a sort of material symbol of it, were it real, would to divinely-illuminated eyes seem to have no relation to the moral woe of Sin. It is the Sin which must constitute the Hell, not the Hell which can represent Sin. Christ nailed on Calvary for ever would be the type of eternal torture, but at the same time the very anti-type of Sin. The moral altitude of a man is determined by his sense of the sinfulness of Sin. We cannot doubt that the greatest saints have been those who have experienced it most vividly, and have attained to a constant keenness of the moral sense which ordinary men know only in rare moments of high spiritual activity. Those seemingly limitless depths, deep below deep, of selfishness, vanity, double-mindedness, of which we have sometimes gained one awful glimpse, peering down into the dark places of our souls (a glimpse which left us awed, bewildered and well-nigh hopeless while its clear memory remained),—those depths a true Saint must look into and daily expose to the light of God till depth after depth becomes purified. *He* is not the man who can think least of Sin, nor is any other man's opinion about it to be taken in comparison of his. The soul approaches the holiness of God through the sense of Sin, and he who has little sense that Sin is horrible can have little sense that Holiness is adorable.

These things being so, not accidentally or as a result of traditional Christian teaching, but as necessarily arising out of the moral nature of man, it follows that to expect any essential change in the general doctrine of Sin is to expect human nature to apostatize. Were it to come to pass that, after attaining the high degree of insight reached through the Christian centuries, mankind at large should cease to hold that Sin is a greater evil than any other, and adopt the doctrine that it is on a par with, or lesser than, physical suffering, such a revolution of thought would indicate a retrogression and declension of a kind of which history

affords no parallel. We must, then, assume it as a matter approaching to certainty that the belief in what Calvinists call the "exceeding sinfulness of sin" will grow with the spiritual growth and strengthen with the moral strength of humanity, just as it similarly grows and strengthens in the individual.

On the other hand, since we are no less forced to believe that the old scheme of theology will in time be exploded, it is clear that the intellectual conception of the relation of human sin to God will need essential modification.

The doctrines of the primæval state of Innocence, of the Fall, the Atonement, Salvation by Faith, and the Eternity of Future Punishment,—and, above all, the doctrine of a Personal Devil, combine to give to Sin the aspect of *Treason*. It is a participation in the rebellion of the Chief who "led the embattled seraphim to war" against the King Celestial. As Adam's sin is singularly represented not to have been an act *malum in se*, but only *malum prohibitum*, so all sin, according to this system, is primarily Disobedience. Not wholly illogically, therefore, the divines who have held it, have argued that the smallest sin deserves infinite punishment, because, equally with the largest, it is Treason against the King of kings—a capital crime, deserving the death of the soul.

But, sweeping away all these cobwebs of the brain, what must remain for future generations to think of the guilt of Sin as against God? Much—very much—of the religion of the future must depend on the answer to this question.

Half the erroneous theology in the world seems due to the arbitrary conception of "Omnipotence" as an attribute of God. Were Divines to content themselves with following out the very strong indications which He has given us of His moral attributes, and when they come to speak of His Power be satisfied to say that human imagination fails to conceive its extent, they would avoid shutting up themselves and their disciples in many an *impasse* of their own making. He to whom we attribute the ordering of the thousands of clusters of starry systems, the Architect of the Universe, possesses indeed such Power that it seems superfluous to hesitate at any phrase which may convey to our poor human souls even a shadow of its immensity. But having (not unnaturally) applied to it the term for ab-

solute illimitation, men have long reversed the process of reasoning, and having induced, as they think, from creation that God is Omnipotent, they deduce back again from that metaphysical term many conclusions for which creation itself lends no warrant. So firm are they often in holding by this wholly arbitrary term, that it continually happens, when the mysteries of evil have to be explained, that God's moral attributes, of which we really know somewhat and whereon alone rest our reverence and love, are thrust into narrowest compass and woefully abridged, to make broad the road for this "Omnipotence" of which we confessedly know next to nothing.

"Of this," says Aristotle, "even God is deprived—to make the past never to have been." He cannot alter the relation of numbers, or make circles and triangles to have the same properties. These are limitations of Omnipotence which all of us admit. Are there no more? Voltaire says somewhere in his light way, "It does not follow because a builder can make a tower of stone a hundred feet high, that he can make one of barley-sugar as high as Mont Blanc." Whether Matter have in itself, as the old Gnostics thought, inherent qualities adverse to the full exercise of Divine Will—whether its laws be anything or nothing more than God's sustained action—whether one point being established in His wisdom (say the position of a Sun in a cluster), other points (say the position of its Planets) remain undetermined thereby—these, and a thousand similar questions, can be answered by no man. Of the whole *modus operandi* of the Divine Power we are in utter darkness. Yet, while admitting that there are things He cannot do, unable to draw any line between these things and many supposed exercises of creative power, and entirely ignorant how He does even the smallest thing, we continually talk and argue as if every difficulty presented to us must be solved by some speculation on His *moral* purpose, and never by the admission of the probability that even His stupendous might could deal no more beneficently than He has actually done, and that the alternative would have involved greater evils than the existing order of things.

Among those points which we must surely hereafter come to recognize as inevitable, is the one great one, in which perhaps all others are involved—the moral imperfection of

all finite free agents. It cannot be too often repeated, seeing how constantly it is ignored, that, unless God had made us without moral natures at all, without knowledge of right and wrong, or power to choose between them,—in a word, unless He had left us mere brutes in human bodies, there was no other thing we could be save imperfect moral creatures. The dreams of impeccable angels, of sinless spirits of the blessed, for ever dazzle and deceive us. There can be no such things, and if there could, this world would present an utterly insoluble problem. ONE infinite and therefore perfect Moral Being alone is possible. All below Him, not being infinite, must have more or less of weakness and ignorance, and therefore of imperfection. Only the degree of the finite moral being's imperfection is (so far as we can see) arbitrary. For this planet's moral inhabitants God has chosen to create a race, doubtless not nearly the highest, and probably not the lowest, in the ranks of free intelligences. But it must needs be that all the other myriads of races which people the stars are of the same order with ourselves—all finite, and therefore all morally imperfect.

Accepting human imperfection, then, as we believe men must soon accept it, not as the result of a Fall, nor as curable by any alchemy of sacred blood, but as a necessity determined by the fact that we are finite moral beings—the consequence will follow, that the design of God in creating us will assume quite a new significance. That design will clearly appear to be our gradual elevation through higher and higher moral grades, wherein the original imperfections of our nature will become evanescent, and degrees of virtue be attained which, viewed from our present state, would doubtlessly appear transcendently pure, but which, when attained, will disclose above and behind them the summits of yet loftier ranges of holiness. It is almost needless to add, that the belief in such a design of the Creator includes the universality of the "great Salvation." That every created soul will attain at last the virtue for which it was made, is a proposition so shut up in the prior one that "God made it for that purpose," that in no science save theology would it need to be stated at all.

The different bearing of such a doctrine of the end of Creation as this, and of the old doctrine with its myths of a Fall, an Atonement, and an Eternal Hell, is obviously

very great, albeit it is not easy to define at first sight where the change will chiefly press. In truth, it is at all points, in an argument like those of the present essays, a hard matter to describe what has really been the bearing of the Old Creed upon human actions, seeing that it has varied so widely from almost unmixed good, to well-nigh unmixed evil. We would fain endeavour ever to speak of that great old faith with tenderness, nor take (as its opponents have too often done) its darkest features as its truest characteristics. But not more impossible would it have been for Phidias to render the likeness of Proteus in marble, than for the modern controversialist to mould such an image of the creed of Christendom as that its resemblance shall be allowed on all hands as true enough for the purposes of argument. Even dogmas enshrined in symbol and ritual for a thousand years, the moment they are seized on as examples of unworthy representations of God, are continually abjured by one or other section of the churches, "*We have never held that doctrine ;*" "*We explain it so and so ;*" yet if the inquirer pass on to discuss another dogma, the same cry is raised, while the first springs up to life again so soon as the pressure of argument is removed. In truth, if Christianity have done much to remould the modern world, each century and country, each sect and each individual, has also moulded Christianity for itself. With the holy, Christianity has been holy, and with the froward it has learned frowardness. In times of peace it has been a religion of peace, and in the age of the Crusades Christianity was clothed in steel. Mainly, the tendency, from Christ's time downward to the Reformation, and even long past it, was to harden and darken whatever in his teaching had been left open to hard or dark interpretation. As the once fluid thoughts of Apostles and Fathers crystallized into the dogmatic theology of mediæval Europe, there came forth a system in which, whatever else might be seen, assuredly the soul of Christ was never mirrored.

Thus to affirm that the Old Creed taught such and such things, is at most to say that the majority of Christians, the greater churches, generally embraced the doctrine. And in this sense we affirm that the view of the end of Creation taught by the Old Creed was one essentially dark and terrible, and that Michael Angelo's "*Last Judgment*" was the



fit altar-piece of its temple. True that the Creed spoke also of God desiring not the death of a sinner; sending His Son as a propitiatory sacrifice to enable Himself to pardon sin; and holding out a promise of celestial joy to the saved. In Calvinist times it was even made an article of belief that man was created for God's glory, and that he might "enjoy Him for ever." But Catholic and Calvinist nullified these brighter doctrines almost ere they preached them, by asserting that, although God desired not the death of a sinner, yet the mass of sinners would eternally die; and though Christ had suffered for all, yet only a few would benefit by his sacrifice; and though man was made for God's glory, that "glory" might be manifested in the destruction of half the human race, which instead of "enjoying Him for ever," was doomed to curse Him, with the devil and his fiends, through all eternity.

To whomsoever this awful "Old Creed" has been a real belief and not a form of empty words (as, thank God! it has been to thousands of its nominal disciples), it is quite clear that the idea of Sin must be very different to what it is to one who believes the happy doctrine of universal love and universal salvation of which we have spoken as the creed of the future. The point of the difference lies here. To the adherent of the Old Creed, Sin is Treason; to a disciple of the New, it is Failure. The first looks to God for punishment, the second for help. *Rebelling* against Jehovah, *Grieving* the Holy Spirit of God, are the words which express the two phases of sentiment most simply.

Now, as to the Results of the two, it is plain enough that for a pious and generous nature the doctrine of the New Creed concerning Sin will possess a force greater than that of the Old, by the whole difference between fearless Love, and (at the best) loving Fear; between the alacrity wherewith the heart is drawn "by the cords of a man," and the lagging step of one driven by the whip of terror.

But all men are not pious or generous, and for those who are base, or carried away by evil passions, it is by no means equally evident that the doctrine that Sin must finally be conquered, is as safe as the doctrine that Sin, if persisted in, will conquer them, and drag them to eternal perdition. There is no doubt that here, as elsewhere, the nobler faith, with its appeals to higher sentiments, is, at least appa-

rently, a less safe one than the lower for the multitude. Even putting aside the dogma of eternal torture, the hold of which on human minds of any class is probably now very small, and merely contrasting the creed which does *not* promise final restoration, with the one which teaches almost as its first lesson that "somehow good shall be the final goal of ill," there seems danger of great misuse of the latter. St. Augustine's boyish prayer, "Make me holy, *but not yet*," is the inarticulate desire of thousands of us always. None but the utterly hardened seriously intend to continue for ever in evil courses. None but the definitely virtuous feel the strong hunger and thirst after *present* righteousness. The three most marked conditions of the soul might not improperly be described from this very point of view. There is the soul which longs for immediate holiness and union with God. There is the soul which wishes to be holy hereafter, when all known temptations to unholiness shall be at an end. And there is the soul which anticipates without pain that it will never become holy at all. The first is the condition of the Saint, the second of the ordinary Sinner, the third of the Reprobate, in so far as man ever is reprobate. To hold out to those who are in the second condition, who languidly hope to be holy hereafter, the assurance that they will certainly be so, whatever they do at present—is not this a dangerous lesson?

It is answered, that in human affairs, at all events, we proceed on a different estimate of the motives of action. The universal argument against facilitating divorce is, that *if* there be probability of final severance, disagreements are endless, and temptations to unfaithfulness all-powerful. But if a man and woman know that the marriage vow is irrevocable, their quarrels are transitory and their wanderings of passion end in reconciliation. In other words, the sense that they belong irreversibly to one another, draws them together after every divergence. Nay, in other human matters, whatever is felt to be inevitable, soon begins, after the first wayward movements of opposition, to exercise on the mind a steady attraction like that of gravitation. Death itself, when the last gleam of hope of recovery has faded, almost always becomes an object of calm and not unhopeful expectation. It is needless to point out how this law of our natures must act when the certainty to which we

are to be reconciled is not the mortal pang, but the highest desire of the true Self within us. The worst of men has within him something which chooses the Right, the Holy and the True, and only foregoes them when it succumbs to "fleshly lusts which war against the soul." That inner self, that "I myself" of Paul, which fain would obey the law of God ;—when it receives the promise of final victory and satisfaction, must it not gain double strength? Were it a curse instead of a benediction, the certainty of it would bend our minds into a certain harmony with it. The idea that we are predestined to eternal virtue, and that neither height nor depth nor death nor life can separate us from the love of God, this belief cannot be the peril of the soul, but its anchorage and salvation.

And yet, again, it must be remembered that the New Creed, in denying the *eternity* of Future Retribution, insists (as the Old Creed entirely failed to do) on the *certainty* of a finite punishment of Sin in this world or the next. The tremendous threat of the Old Creed constantly overshot the mark, for few sinners could even fancy themselves deserving of everlasting ages of torture, and therefore (among Protestants) leaped to the opposite conclusion, and imagined they should escape all punishment. The various schemes of the atonement, of priestly absolution, or evangelical death-bed conversion, effectually aided the natural instinct of hope of escape from so disproportionate a penalty for the sins of this short existence ; and the result has ever been, that Hell, instead of forming, as has been said, a great engine of police, has in reality been no more than the hobgoblin of the nursery, a terror to the weak, but powerless over the strong evil-doer. Nay, we might rather say, it has tended to *prevent* men from fearing the just and proportionate retribution of their offences. The gambler has dreamed that he could play with his debts, a "double or quits," of which the chances of "quits" were so much in his favour as to leave him no alarm. Remorseful Aurengzebe, dying in agonies of terror at the thought of Divine retribution on his cruelties, had he been a Christian, would have been baptized, like Constantine, or consoled, like a thousand other tyrants, by priests and chaplains assuring him that his "belief in the atonement of Christ," or his final confession to the Church, had secured his full absolution, and that

he was free to ascend from his blood-stained throne to paradise.

No influence of Fear, we believe, is of any great moral avail, but in as far as it may be an influence of social order, we are persuaded that the creed which teaches that every sin will *certainly* be punished, is one more powerful for good than the creed which teaches that some sins will be punished eternally, and others not punished at all. The common experience of all legislation proves that the certainty even of a very small penalty, is far more effective for the repression of crime, than the threat of capital punishment from which escape may be hoped.

But it is not only with reference to a future life that the common view of Sin will probably be changed. Even more importantly the New Creed modifies the attitude of the sinner towards God in this life, or, as we may say, restores it to that filial one which Christ had pictured in his grandest parables, but which all the subsequent teaching of the churches had tended to distort. Sin, to the disciple of the New Creed, is the Prodigal's offence, the Lost Sheep's ignorance and folly, not the outlaw's despairing temerity or the rebel's treason. It is no longer the transgression of the arbitrary decree of a despot, but an outrage against the law both of our human nature and of the Divine nature.

Thus for every reason we look without apprehension to the coming change in the opinion of mankind respecting Sin. We believe that, for the good and generous-minded, the New Creed will have warmer influence than the Old, and that even for the base and bad it will lose nothing of repressive power, and gain in whatsoever leaven or fragment of better feelings may remain in their natures.

It remains to us to speak of the difference which we anticipate between the New Creed and the Old concerning the sinfulness or innocence of specific actions.

The great change, amounting to revolution, in the practical ethics of the future, will be undoubtedly that to which we have already adverted, the Recognition of the Sanctity of Natural Laws.

The history of morality as regards these laws is singular to consider. All the early prophets and lawgivers of the world instituted rules regarding marriage, food and ablutions, which are transparently the expression of their own



conception of the natural laws of health. Ascetic rules, having quite an opposite object, namely, the accomplishing of spiritual purposes at the cost of the body, are, however, in every religion (save the Parsee) found side by side with the laws for the benefit of the flesh. Fasting, for example, was an ordinance received from India to ancient Mexico, and seems to have been even assumed as a natural religious process by the great anti-ascetic Prophet of Nazareth. Mutilations more or less cruel have been universal among Jews and Moslems and the priests of Baal and Cybele, and in nearly every land a devotee, were he Yogi, Nazarite, Dervish, Stylites, has been a man to whom some kind of bodily privation or suffering gave evidence of dedication to God. A "Saint" and a "Self-torturer" have been convertible terms. The outward and visible sign of devotion to the beneficent Creator of this beautiful world, has been held to be, *not* a countenance beaming with inward content, an eye ever ready to meet openly and lovingly the looks of God's children, not the *mens sana in corpore sano*, testifying to care and reverence for the minds and bodies the Maker has given to us, but quite the opposite of all these—a pale, emaciated form, and anxious gaze cast down in absorption or raised to heaven in tearful appeal. Very curious is this double current through history, of respect for Nature and contumelious defiance of her plainest ordinances. Most of all strange has it been in the Protestant Churches. A great step was gained at the Reformation towards the recognition of the sanctity of nature. The abolition of clerical celibacy and of Virgin-worship did much to rehabilitate marriage; and even the practice of fasting, though theoretically sanctioned and ordained by the Reformed Churches, proved too uncongenial with their general spirit to be long maintained, and so fell into almost universal disuse before the recent revival of mediævalism in the Anglican communion. Yet, far as it went, the Reformation left us but half way towards the true standpoint of morals as regards physical laws. The old idea of the impurity of the body, of the unholiness, or we might rather say, devilishness of natural passions, peeps out continually amid pages devoted to the expounding of more rational doctrines. A few years ago it was a common thing to hear English preachers expending their strength in im-



becile efforts to produce scriptural sanction for the performance of acts plainly required by the physical nature of man; and where such scriptural assent was not plainly given, the example of some Biblical saint, or some casual phrase of prophet or apostle, was tortured to afford a permission for what should have wanted no permission in the eyes of any one who believed God to be the Maker of man's body as well as the Father of his soul. To choose the meats and drinks suitable to us, to marry, to love our nearest connections, to rest after labour,—all these things are to be found *justified* by the Bible, according to one school of moralists, *authorized* by the Church, according to another, as if they wanted any justification or authorization; nay, as if fasting, celibacy, coldness of heart, and overtaxing of the powers entrusted to us, were not things much more requiring justification and authorization.

The time has come for a change in all this. The Broad Church of Maurice and Kingsley has done its greatest work in holding up natural laws as Divine laws, and probably at this time the clergy, both of the Established and Dissenting Churches, are much oftener busied in exhorting their flocks to sanitary duties, than wasting breath in proving it scriptural to eat, drink, sleep and marry. The tide has turned altogether for them and for the laity. We may accept it as inevitable that the Old Creed's doctrines regarding the body are on the eve of being exploded, and that quite new opinions will shortly take their place. Consequently many actions will have new places assigned them in moral classification. Things hitherto deemed blameworthy may be recognized as innocent, or *vice versa*. Where is it likely such changes will chiefly be made, and what will be the results?

There can be little doubt that it will be in the direction of the laws regulating the relations of the sexes that the greatest changes will at all events be proposed, and the greatest dangers most justly apprehended. The subject is a very difficult one in every sense, and can be treated very slightly here.

It has been asserted, we believe with truth, that to Jewish ethics are due those stringent laws of chastity which are comparatively little insisted on by Greek or Roman, Persian or Hindoo. Adultery, as a *social* offence, has ever

been rigorously denounced, and often legally punished with death. Chastity, however, as a *personal* virtue, is almost peculiar to the morals of Judaism and Christianity. When the inquiry is pursued, *Why* should Chastity be allotted so high a place among the virtues?—the answer is less obvious than might have been anticipated.\* Such being the case, the fall of the authoritative system of morality must inevitably prove the signal for various speculations on the whole subject of Marriage, and perhaps for some lamentable irregularities of practice. As we started by observing, the released magnet of conscience may oscillate through all the points between celibacy and pantogamy. That it will settle at last with wholly new power and steadiness at the true point of the union pointed out by nature between one man and one woman, we have little doubt.

An essential difference, we apprehend, between the ethics of the future and of the past in this respect will be this: Preachers will not be content to go on insisting on the obligation that Marriage should hallow Love; they will begin by preaching the yet more imperative obligation, that Love should hallow Marriage. A religious ceremony used to sanction marriages such as a vast number of those annually celebrated—marriages of interest, of ambition, of convenience, of mere brute passion—marriages unsanctified by mutual esteem, unbeautified by affection and trust: such religious ceremonies will be held to be in themselves abominable as a witches' Sabbath. So far from shedding holiness on what is essentially unholy, they but add to it a blasphemous invocation to God to witness the offence.

Venal unions—whether the man or woman sell themselves for a day or for life, whether they be bargained for secretly in some wretched haunt of vice, or solemnized by a prelate in St. George's Church—will be equally condemned by the common conscience of mankind. Nay, of the two, the acted lie of an unloving connection which is meant to last a lifetime, and which shelters its disgrace under the name of the holy union of marriage, will be deemed the more disgraceful.

Again, there will be a complete renunciation of the old error (still sanctioned by the ritual of the English Church),

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\* A writer in the new volume of "The Church and the World" confesses himself unable to discover it, unless the Incarnation can be made to explain the matter!

that the primary end of marriage is not the *married state itself*, with all its immense moral and social results, but that which is only the completion of the relation, namely, *the offspring of marriage*. Probably this idea is consciously accepted by few in our day. Assuredly no bride or bridegroom would feel otherwise than insulted by the avowal that the ambition of the other was, *not* to be husband or wife, but father or mother. But so long as such doctrines are retained in sacred services, they also retain a certain influence on the under-current of men's thoughts, and, in the present instance, obviously help to determine legislation on the subject. The English marriage ritual is itself enough to prolong false and degrading ethics for years after they would naturally have been superseded by nobler ideas. It teaches that the *first* purpose of marriage is the continuance of the race; the *second*, the avoidance of sin; and only thirdly and lastly, mutual comfort and aid. We have not space to analyze the curious confusion of thought betrayed in the second apology for marriage. With similar logic we might speak of the temperate use of food, wine and sleep, as practices mercifully ordained to enable weak members of Christ's body to avoid the offences of gluttony, drunkenness and indolence. But the point of importance is the radical error we have signalized, which makes Marriage not an end but a means, and places its secondary object first, and the first second.\*

Not till this error be entirely extirpated can the true sanctity of the relation be recognized. And to the growth of a general sense of this sanctity, we must look as the sole

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\* In an interesting article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for October, 1867, on the Morals of Plutarch, it is remarked that the marriage formulas of both Greeks and Romans expressly stated the object of the husband to be, "to have legitimate children," almost in the words of the English ritual. The subject cannot be pursued here; but the reader will remember how the idea was worked out both in the Mosaic and Greek laws under conditions horribly degrading to the wife or widow of the childless man. The Eastern notion that a woman is the *property* first of her father and then of her husband, has even left its traces also in the English Liturgy. The officiating clergyman is made to ask, "Who giveth this woman to this man?" The ludicrous result need not be described when brides of mature years look about puzzled to find among their male relations one who may decently act the part of the "giver" for the occasion. These are among the curious relics embedded like flint weapons in the ground we tread on, and speaking of far-off eras of semi-civilization. But to pick them out and preserve them only as curiosities would be nothing short of sacrilege in the eyes of some of our contemporaries.

hope of future morals. Here has been the starting-point of mischief, and here must be the starting-point of any possible reformation. At the very root of the teaching of the Old Creed lay the notion (often denied in words, but always practically acted on) that celibacy is the higher state, that marriage is an indulgence to human infirmity, and that, in short, "they who marry do well, but they who refrain from marriage do better." At the foundation of the teaching of the New Creed must lie the opposite doctrine, that the law of Love is the most beautiful and sacred of all the laws God has given to nature, and that it is its very purity and sanctity, and the holiness of its mysteries, which make the desecration of it by transitory or venal unions so great a sin and so grievous a degradation.

What may be the Secular Results of such a change?

It is quite clear that the teaching of the Old Creed as regards Chastity has been very little efficacious. The state of Christian Europe to-day offers a poor result of eighteen centuries of preachment and broadcast threats of eternal fire. Surely the experiment has been tried long enough, and the method of Romish priest and Protestant divine may be held to have failed. They have taught that Love was an unholy thing; and the wail of ten thousand women bought and sold in England alone has answered "Amen." The hope of the future lies in the lessons of the New Creed, and in the possibility that mankind may be awakened to a wholly new perception of the holiness of natural love, and so find a higher consciousness of purity, a nobler strength to resist temptation, than the Old Creed could ever supply.

There are of course many other points of morals beside this great one, wherein changes may be anticipated when the claims of Authority to decide them are set aside, and the common intuitions of mankind set free. We cannot here pursue the subject, which would embrace the whole circle of ethics.

The last change in the common creed to whose results we shall refer, is that on the Doctrine of Prayer.

Prayer for Divine aid in the conflicts of the soul, prayer that we may be "strengthened with might by God's Spirit in the inner man" (a phrase Kant himself might have composed), prayer for Light, for Pardon, for Peace,—these forms

of spiritual Prayer we believe to be everlasting as the natural relations of God and the soul of His creatures. The answers to such prayers are not miraculous, any more than it is miraculous that when we approach the fire we are warmed, when we go into sunshine we are enlightened. Men who use such Prayer do not ask God to alter His laws, but to fulfil them; they do not require Him to change His will, but to accomplish that which they are assured it is for ever—"even our sanctification." Neither piety nor philosophy disavow such supplication. Therefore we believe that while the Religious Sentiment remains a part of human nature, so long will Man use such Prayer, and God be a God who heareth it.

But for Prayer for Physical Good the reverse holds true. Philosophy tells us that to expect the ardent desire of a human soul expressed to God, to determine, in a contrary sense to their previous destination, the winds and clouds, the gases which bring disease or health, is a conception of the order of nature for which science affords no warrant, and against which reason protests. Piety tells us further, that to ask God to act in accordance with our mole-eyed sagacity instead of His Divine Wisdom, or our selfish or national longings instead of His world-wide Beneficence, is an act of presumption, an evidence of mistrust; and that true "Devotion" must consist, not in coaxing Deity to accept our will, but in laying our will prostrate at the feet of God. These things being so, we anticipate that Prayer for physical good will shortly be rejected by the philosophic, and, ere long, discarded by the pious, universally.

The change is already half accomplished. "The prayer of Faith shall raise the sick." It arrests pestilence. It gives victory in battle. It causes rain in the midst of drought, and puts an end to "an immoderate plague of rain and waters." Such is the Old Creed of Christendom, proclaimed from the date of the Epistle of St. James to the last Prayer issued by Archbishop Longley to stop the rinderpest.

*Per contra.* The New Creed seems to be—Prayer has not the slightest effect in therapeutics, except so far as it may calm the mind of the patient. Judiciously administered drugs, well-cleaned sewers, good water and fresh air, are the only "means of grace" appointed by the Creator in case of epidemics. Atmospheric changes are determined by modi-



fifications of caloric and electricity, having nothing in common with the use of a certain part of the liturgy in certain parishes. Good generalship, the needle-gun and Chassepot rifle will henceforth settle the chances of war, irrespective of the intercession of the clergy with the Lord of Hosts; and instead of praying for "peace in our time, because there is none other that fighteth for us" but the Almighty, the English statesman of 1868 will go to war whenever policy may require it, relying on the alliance of France, Austria or Prussia.

There is no need to discuss again for the hundredth time whether this change in opinion be the legitimate result of sounder philosophy and more advanced science. Deep and ingenious theories have been again and again brought forward, reconciling more or less successfully the old idea of the power of prayer with the new idea of the permanence of law and continuity of force. In particular, the debatable land of events in which human courage or wisdom have obvious influence, and in which, therefore, cheerfulness and calmness must largely prevail, may perhaps be thought to have been conquered back by the believers in the efficacy of prayer. But, on the whole, it seems to be as we have said. Prayer for physical good is rejected entirely by the more advanced sections of all churches, and somewhat timidly retained even by the orthodox. At least with the latter, it may be noted that the point whereat the efficacy of Prayer is alleged to begin, is always that at which Science for the moment has stopped. No man now prays, like Joshua, for the sun to stand still, nor for the very smallest astronomical phenomena, because the laws of *astronomy* belong to the clear domain of science. Many pray, however, for meteorological phenomena, because the laws of *meteorology* are not yet all ascertained by science. Similarly, if a man desire to preserve his child from small-pox, he does not pray for its escape; he calls in a doctor to vaccinate it, for Science has shewn how immunity from that disease may be secured. But if his neighbour's cow have the murrain, or the cholera ravage his street, he goes to church and prays God to spare his herd and his household, for Science has not yet grappled with those epidemics. Briefly, there can be little doubt that a few years hence no more prayers against calamity will be "published by authority" in England, or if pub-

lished, they will be looked on as we regard the *triduos* and *novenas* held throughout Italy to avert the wrath of Heaven on the publication of Renan's *Vie de Jésus*. What will be the result of the change?

It is hardly possibly to measure at first sight how vast an influence on the religion of the future may here have its rise. Let us note carefully what are the limits of the alteration we anticipate.

1st. Prayer for physical good falling into disuse, it is to be anticipated that those who have no earnest desires, except for such benefits, will cease to pray altogether.

2nd. Many more will fail (and have already failed) to distinguish the different character of prayer for spiritual and for temporal things; and seeing the latter to be unreasonable, abandon also the former.

3rd. The conception of God as immediately directing human affairs will probably suffer some obscurity from the cessation of the practice of asking Him to interfere in them.

On the other hand,

4th. The prayers of the more religious will considerably alter their form, and the time hitherto devoted to asking for physical benefits will be employed in thanking God for those already received.

5th. Disappointment in prayer—that uttermost despair when the soul has gone up in entreaty for the life of a beloved one, and the prayer is refused—will be known no more. Such prayers as the suffering heart may have found strength to offer will have been for patience and trust, and these prayers are never rejected.

On the whole, it may be anticipated that Prayer will practically be modified thus: its use will more distinctly be confined for a time to persons possessed of clear faith and strong spiritual desires. With such persons it will be a practice unmingled with any lower aspirations and wholly of an elevating tendency. For a time there will be less prayer, and also less reaction from unsuccessful prayer, than there has been in the world. Afterwards there will be more prayer, and more answer to the only true prayer—"Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven."

Such are the principal differences between the New Creed

and the Old, and their probable Secular Results, to which we have desired to call attention, namely, the change in opinion regarding—1, the relation of this life to the life to come ; 2, the duty of a thankful and joyous spirit ; 3, the idea of a Perfect Life ; 4, the transition from a creed resting on Authority to one resting on Consciousness ; 5, the change in the idea of Sin in the abstract, and in the belief in the sinfulness or innocence of certain actions ; 6, the change in the doctrine of Prayer.

But the subject of the change from the Old Creed to the New, may to many a thoughtful reader suggest a question even deeper than those we have attempted to answer—one on which the writer would fain speak a few words, feeble though they must be, in conclusion. That question is the awful one, Will this New Creed of the future exist at all in the shape we have supposed, or may we not now watch day by day blows struck at its very root, which if not soon arrested must soon lay it prostrate and dispel all our hopes that the nations may shelter under its branches? *Will men continue to believe in a good and righteous God?* That is the one problem of the future on which all the rest depend, and no intelligent man can watch the progress of thought, or mark the astounding passages which are beginning to obtain frequent publication in periodical literature, without foreseeing that ere long the very first article of any possible creed to be called Religious, will have to be dragged from the temple into the market-places, and made a subject of open and, alas! perhaps very irreverent discussion. “Is there a God? If there be, is He good?” The words are sounding muffled in a thousand hearts to-day. To-morrow they will be uttered by a thousand tongues.

That the answer to the first question will be a great re-affirmation of faith in some vast Unity, some principle of design and intelligent order of development in the universe, is what the prophets of science themselves are apparently willing to concede. Although Comtism be already a power in England, and ere long may be greater than half the sects, yet, unless human nature undergoes mutilation, and one of its largest, noblest limbs, even the uplifted arm of Prayer, be miraculously lopped off, it is impossible that our race can finally adopt the Positive Creed. The very effort of its founder and his followers to call it a “Religion,” to pervert

the meaning of the word which has been so dear to mankind, from signifying duty to an invisible Being to duty to an abstraction,—that very effort betrays the inherent hopelessness of the system. Even Comte knew that the religious element in man is no more likely to die out than the social or the æsthetic. Human beings are no more likely to be born on earth without the religious sentiment than without conjugal or parental affections. He has thought to give that great sentiment the change, by calling it “Religion,” to honour the abstract idea of Humanity, instead of the concrete idea of a Living God. The doll may serve his turn for a while, but men cannot long endure it. They will ask for something real to worship or cease to worship altogether, and of *that* we have no fears.

The real fear, in our opinion, lies in another direction. The centre of the battle-field will be, not the existence of a God, but His Moral Nature. “Has the Supreme Orderer of the world any moral attributes at all? Is He benevolent?” Those who find no satisfactory answers to these latter questions may not become nominal Atheists, but they will necessarily fall into a state which, as far as love, hope and reverence are concerned, is absolute Atheism.

We conceive that the case has been nowhere better stated on the adverse side to that which we would maintain, than in an able and very remarkable article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Nov. 13, 1867. After dismissing the Atheistic result, not so much as erroneous as unsatisfactory to whomsoever is more than a “looker-on” upon life, the writer adds :

“Those who form their idea of the Divine Attributes from facts can say at once, The facts which I see lead me to the belief that the Author of this system is very far indeed from being universally and unconditionally benevolent. The system which He has created is a system, and not a chaos. It contains in all directions proof of its unity, and of a kind and degree of skill and power on the part of its Author which simply baffle human thought and language ; but it contains many contrivances for inflicting pain, and, although it opens a prospect of great happiness to some men, and affords a considerable chance of happiness to nearly all men, it does so only upon stringent conditions. It is a world in which goodness is, on the whole, an immense advantage, and wickedness, on the whole, very much the reverse.

Its laws are undoubtedly favourable to virtue, and lead to the punishment of vice ; but though virtue and vice operate on the happiness of men, they do not constitute it. A very large portion of human happiness is dependent upon what as a name for our ignorance we call chance, but still there is, on the whole, a great deal more happiness than misery in life, as appears from the value which people set upon it, and especially from the unspeakably touching resignation, fortitude and cheerfulness with which the most cruel sufferings are continually borne. If you wish to form a rational theory of the moral attributes of God, all you can say is that He is a Being who caused the state of things thus described."

Here is precisely logical *Deism*, using that word in distinction to Theism, and, as Parker defined it, "starting from the sensational philosophy, and deriving its idea of God solely by induction from the phenomena of material nature or of human history, leaving out of sight the intuition of human nature, and so getting its idea of God solely from observation and not at all from consciousness, and thus representing God as finite and imperfect."\* Viewing the world as a system of purely material phenomena, it is true that the evidence is against its Creator being "purely and unconditionally benevolent"—if we mean by benevolence simply the desire to promote the happiness, (*bienêtre eudaimonia*) of His creatures. But viewing the world, on the other hand, first from the moral standpoint, a very different conclusion is attained. He who made *us* to feel the sanctity of Justice, shall He be unjust? He who made us to feel love and kindness, shall He be other than a God of Love? Nay, more: He who made us to hate, to loathe, to *despise* even absolute Power if wielded with cruelty and malignity, shall there be aught in His government of the world which in the remotest degree can bear those characters He has compelled us to condemn? The idea is absurd; and no apparent contradictions in the outward world, no apparent proof that God is unjust and cruel, can do more than meet our moral faith breast to breast. It is at the very strongest statement of the case nothing more than an equal contradiction. The internal world shews it to be absurd to suppose God is cruel. The external world *might* shew it to be absurd to suppose Him other-

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\* Theism, Atheism, &c. p. 104.



wise, were every arrangement in it visibly intended to be productive of suffering. But on which of these two orders of evidence ought we rightly to place the greatest reliance? Which ought we primarily to consult, and afterwards, as best we may, reconcile the other with it? Assuredly it is the internal evidence which possesses the first claim, even historically.

Those who seek the evidences for the Divine Character primarily in the visible creation, approach the subject from the wrong end, and the difficulties which Nature presents come to them with false emphasis. Were their method in accordance with the actual genesis of human religion, had it been at first really derived from observations and speculations on the order of the external world rather than inward instinct, it would be, not the earliest and strongest of human feelings which have left their traces in the literature, the edifices and the institutions of all nations, but rather the last word of speculative philosophy, the hypothesis suggested to an Aristotle, a Pliny, a Descartes or a Newton, to account for the cosmos which his researches had brought to light. On such an "hypothesis of a God," originated by the scientific intellect in search of a last generalization of causation, some feelings of awe, and then perhaps of gratitude and reverence, by degrees might cluster (albeit how the moral sentiments would deal with such a new idea, it is not easy to see). The sense of *allegiance* towards Him, which we hold to be the very heart of religion, could hardly arise under any circumstances. But in any case there would be complete reversal of that process to which history hitherto bears unbroken witness, namely, that men *feel* first and *think* later about religion. The "hypothesis of a God" is erected by the intellect out of the ruins of the earliest temple of pure instinctive feeling. No nation has ever yet waited for its philosophers to ordain its priests.

Thus, if we could admit the utmost position of the sceptic (which we presume few would be found to maintain), that the conclusion forced on us by the study of the external world is, that its Creator is malevolent, we should still maintain that we had a prior reason, a more authoritative argument, for believing He cannot be so in spite of all phenomena. But, in truth, this is obviously conceding far too much. The world is full of suffering, yet the conclusion

that the Creator is not benevolent cannot be drawn from those sufferings, till two important questions be first decided. 1st. Is the avoidance of suffering, the production of happiness, the only or the highest possible proof of the benevolence of a God towards His moral creatures? 2nd. Is the suffering of the world so predominant over the good to be found therein, as to warrant the induction that its Author is *wholly* bad; and if it be not so, is there any middle term for His character rationally acceptable? Can He be a *little* cruel, but, on the whole, rather good than bad, or *vice versa*?

Now, for the first question, it seems to us that the continual assumption of such writers as the one whose arguments we are discussing, that Happiness is "our end and aim," is exceedingly gross. That the Infinitely Holy Father of Spirits has nothing better to do for His children than to make them perfectly comfortable in this world, and (we presume) still more comfortable by and by, is what we can by no means believe. We are even persuaded to the contrary, that God did not build these world-mansions and people them with rational beings for any such purpose, but for one far more worthy of Him, and, if we may say it, even of us. We believe God has made our world and us, that we may attain to the highest end, not of hogs, but of men, or archangels, namely, *Virtue*, the finite moral nature at its climax of excellence, the eternal union of the obedient creature with the Holy Creator. Such Virtue, we can understand vaguely, must in the nature of things be worked out through trial, and in some region of space, some condition of existence, wherein sin and suffering are possible. We cannot, indeed, apply this vast generalization to the details of human life, or see how this sin or that suffering can anywise aid the end of mortal trial. There are dark shadows here which try the faith of the strongest of us. Still less can we guess why the harmless brutes should endure their wrongs and agonies. But we hold to our position, that Happiness cannot be the only or even chief test of Divine benevolence, and that to adduce evidence of much suffering is not to conclude the argument, but only to open up one of its sides.'

Again, for the second question, which must be decided before the argument can be held complete: Is the suffering

of the world so great, that its Author can be predicated to be *wholly* bad? or, if not so, may we logically predicate of Him a mixed character, half good, half bad? We presume no one has ever looked on the world even with the most tear-worn eyes, and believed its Great Maker altogether evil. Good and beauty, the pleasures of the senses and the affections, predominate in too enormous proportion for such conclusion. What then? May we fall back on the idea that God may be like man, a Being "darkly wise and rudely great," loving a little and hating a little, having favourite men and animals, and disfavoured creatures also; sometimes full of tenderness, and, anon, ferocious and malign? The idea is surely too absurd to be entertained for a moment, since the word "God" has come to mean, not a Jupiter or Seeva, but the Infinite Spirit of this boundless universe. Nor can the doubter say, "Perchance God has no moral character at all. We know Him as the Mind who has designed the world, and know not if He either sees or heeds moral distinctions as we feel them. The 'Limits of Religious Thought' forbid us to decide either way." But in truth evil is quite as much a flaw in the intellectual as in the moral system. Put away the idea that we have any more interest in believing God to be beneficent, than Newton had in believing gravity to be the true law of nature. Let it be an interest purely scientific we take in the question. Still we are no less at fault. How is it that God,—Nature,—the Plastic Power, whatever we call Him or It,—has made ninety-nine things for the enjoyment of man and beast, and the hundredth thing for misery? Why is the general scheme of one sort, the exceptions pointing another way, and yet fitting so thoroughly into the text that nobody can deem them interpolations, or, as Plutarch described them, as "erasures in the well-written manuscript"? Why are ten thousand birds and beasts beautiful, and half-a-dozen grotesque and hideous?

There is no advantage in shifting the ground, then, from the moral to the intellectual aspect of evil. A God who acts ninety-nine times to produce pleasure and beauty, and once to produce pain and ugliness, is not at all easier to understand as an Intelligent than as a Moral Being. How human morality should exist at all, were the Creator of man immoral or indifferent, is another problem on which we

need not enter now. *He who made the conscience, shall He not know right and wrong, or, knowing them, shall He not heed them!*—is a question just as hard to answer as that of Job—“He who made the eye, shall He not see? He who formed the ear, shall He not hear?”

Take it as we may, the theory that God is infinitely good, is, on the mere grounds of logic alone, less open to objections than either of the alternatives, that there is no God at all, or an Evil God, or a God with no moral nature. The intellect of man, when it admits this, must needs leave it to his conscience and his heart to tell him that that most probable intellectual theory has for support the whole force of his inner nature, and of that deep sacred experience which builds up year by year in the faithful soul its firm pyramid of trust, and shall convert at last, for all of us, the prayer, “Lord, I believe, help Thou mine unbelief,” into the calm reliance of the old Chaldean saint, “*I know that my Redeemer liveth.*”

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

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### III.—THE DOCTRINE OF AN ETERNAL SON IN ORGANIC COMMUNION WITH THE HUMAN SOUL : DOES IT TEND TO EXALT OR DEGRADE THE TYPE OF RELIGIOUS LIFE?

*Theological Essays.* By Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A. 1853.

*The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence.* By Richard H. Hutton, M.A. 1862.

*The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* By Henry Parry Liddon, M.A. 1867.

It was St. Paul's account of his own conversion that “God had revealed His Son in him.” God gave him, by means of those approaches to His truth which must for ever remain inscrutable or undefinable by us, a distinct vision of the Son of Man, to whom he had just been witnessing the appeal of a living faith from the lips and on the raptured face of the martyred Stephen. He saw all at once, in a moment of

insight, the universal significance of Christ,—and the perfection of filial life, in the unity of God's family, took permanent possession of his soul in that full flow of abiding light. The pure pursuance of religious error into its direst logical consequences, of conduct or of thought, may be the right way to bring an unadulterated soul that is seeking after Him first into awful collision, and then into everlasting contact and conscious harmony, with the living God. Up to the hour of his conversion, St. Paul had been a genuine religious man,—with a true soul, but with a wrong idea: his whole nature had been an unreserved though a misdirected offering; if carried aside by a false zeal, it was not because of any sinful or selfish impulse in himself; God and His service alone were at his heart, and when the truth of God was revealed to him as by instantaneous light it found nothing in him of a wilful nature to repel its ingress or disturb its action; Saul the Jewish zealot, as soon as his eyes were opened, passed at once into Paul the Christian man. He was, as our older divines called him, a *fusile* Apostle, not laboriously carved or chiselled from without after an ideal or foreign pattern, but receiving the divine image in a living mould. He simply needed to see what the Son of Man really was in the apprehension and intention of God; nothing had to be changed in him but his misconception of the Divine purposes in human nature; nothing to be added to him but a knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ as the type of spiritual Man.

And into the soul of every one of us God, by the action of His fatherly Spirit, seeks to introduce the image of a Son, directly or indirectly: directly, so far as it is ours to be like to God; indirectly, so far as it is ours only rightly to respond to Him. Every child of His, in whom the spiritual nature, not overwhelmed by abhorrent forms of life, moves at all, has some rudimental impress of inherent relations to a Heavenly Father. This is the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Over the conscience of every one in whom the sense of God is once quickened there hovers, more or less distinctly, more or less yielding the feeling that we have found our rest, the end and the harmony of our being, an overshadowing consciousness that a man's proper life is in a filial dependence, fellowship, obedience, subordination and peace. This



takes place independently of external Revelation: long before a religious child understands Christ, it has some experience of the mystery of the conscience, of God the Holy Spirit in the conscience. God creates us His children, and as such speaks to us Himself. His spirit traces on the spiritual apprehension of us all the outlines of a Son: we are feeling after Him if haply we might find Him. Revelation does not make us spiritual beings: it interprets for us our spiritual experiences; shews to us the full spiritual body to which the foreshadowing outlines in our conscience tend, the living glory which the infinite Father is seeking to elicit in every soul of man.

But with the spirit of God acting upon the spirit of a finite creature, even when we are feeling Him most powerfully, if altogether left to our own interpretation, there must ever be some uncertainty as to what the perfect response should be; and if it is not a simple response, but one made up of many elements, that befits us,—a response not of homogeneous feeling towards a Being imparting Himself to us, but of action, of co-operation, of submissive and harmonious dissimilarities between us and Him, of vehement upward strivings mingling with and tempered by faith, patience, forbearance, long suffering, quietude, contentment with our necessary ignorances, —even if each separate element was present in us, we might not see in what living unity they result, the blended expression of them all, that full life of the soul in God which would be the express form of the Father's action in us. For it must be remembered that the forms of spiritual character which are the proper human counterparts to God's action in us are not always of the nature of imprints or reproductions of Himself. We should not be, even if we were perfect as men, miniatures of the Eternal. We are essentially unlike to God, as well as essentially like to Him. Though we are His children inasmuch as He makes us partakers in the holy love that is the essence of Himself, yet in our dependent life, in our insufficiency to ourselves, in all that is proper to the highest characteristic graces and attitudes of religious beings, to our lowliness and our rest upon Another, it is clear that we are not such as God is, even when we are most as God would have us to be. It is not an exact pattern of Himself, upon whatever scale, that the Self-existent by the fellowship of

His Spirit breathes into man. If that was possible, the type of our being would be so determinate that no man *could* obscure, distort or pervert it. In the essentials of Sonship, in the spirit of Love and of Righteousness of one quality in Him and in us, He has made us really partakers of His own nature ; but in the whole *character* which is the living Answer to the Father's call, the filial configuration of our personal relations with Him, in our frames of soul when we are receiving most from Him, we are not so much like Him as consciously and submissively contrasted with Him. And this being so, seeing that we have not merely passively to receive God, but rightly to respond to God in forms of spiritual life which are proper to us but cannot be His, it must needs be that doubts should rest upon the unassisted souls of men as to whether in the modes of their spiritual life they were really understanding, and adequately meeting, the eternal and absolute God who is working in them.

It is at this point that Christ comes to our aid. Man and God are distinct in the types of perfectness that are proper to each. In Christ we see the lines of character which are the glories of a derived being, and the springs of ever-fresh glory, which yet can have no place in One who has none above Himself. Man is a religious being, which God cannot be, being Himself the Fountain-life of all. In this is all the difference. It is the perfection of a religious man to be consciously dependent, to be receptive, to be ever taking in draughts of fresh life from the Source of life ; but dependence, waiting upon Another, receptiveness, are not for God—they are relations that He cannot hold. It is the perfection of a religious man to be trustful, living by that in which we believe yet have not seen, living in and for that which we know by conviction but not yet by attainment, laying our hand in the hand of the Invisible to lead us where He will—but trust is not for God, His life is not fed upon hope, He does not walk by faith. It is the perfection of a religious man to be not self-directed but self-surrendering, to be filial and obedient, to acknowledge a Will higher than his own, to have his highest individuality in permitting the grace of God to make of him that peculiar being which the grace of God would have him to be, to find in God's service his perfect freedom, in doing with his

might as he is divinely prompted, in going with his will where he is divinely led—but the yielding of self to One who is wiser and better than self is not for God, to draw guidance and fulness of being from the life of Another are not possible attitudes of His glory: the relations which to us are the summits of Goodness and of Blessedness God does not hold. And so to be responsive to God, ever to make the right returns to His spirit, is the glory of our place: whilst to be what God is, to be gods to ourselves, to aim to act independently of God, to have a life without God, or out of God, is the sin by which man and angels fall. When we are required, then, to do the Will of God, to be perfect as our Father is perfect, it relieves the sense of impossible demand to know that the perfection of a man is not to be as God is, but to be responsive to His every word in us: we see our calling not in the glory of the self-subsistent Father but in the meek face of the Son, who had no glory in or of himself, and yet had all glory because willing to receive whatever the Father was able to impart, and in those respects in which we cannot be as God is, but only in accordant relations with Him, answering aright to every touch of his Father's spirit.

To be in the spirit of the Father and to do His will is thus not so much something that we have to make for ourselves, as something that we have to recognize and accept,—a blessedness that we willingly embrace and conform to, rather than a greatness that we achieve. The gate indeed is strait and the way is narrow, for we must not stray into self-will; yet religious life does not consist in any relation we have to fashion for ourselves, but in knowing and honouring the relation in which the Father places us. The summons, "Work out your own salvation," could bring only an obstinate despair, if it did not open to us God's part in the great co-operation. "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." Why with fear and trembling? Because the work is against nature, or preternaturally arduous? For exactly the opposite reason: because we are without excuse if we strive against the Holy Spirit in ourselves—"for God Himself is working in us what we are to will, and what we are to do." The human side of our calling if contemplated apart from the divine side of it, what man has to do if contemplated apart from what God is and does

and offers, can work only hardness and presumption or absolute despair. It is a totally different thing to be asked to do God's will through our own strength and ideality, and to be asked to yield ourselves strenuously and persistently to One who of His own accord works in us that which is good, to accept what He is willing to give us, to believe what He will inwardly shew us, to do what He will prompt us, to go where He will lead us, to walk in the paths that He makes for our feet, to lay hold on the good works that He brings under our hands, and by no voluntary act or purpose to weaken or destroy the response to His Spirit that He desires to awaken in our souls. Under this view of our calling our way will not be less towards the unattainable heights, nor our cross less absolute, but the feeling that we have a calling, and that God is the Caller, will give us a strength not our own, and deliver us from ourselves: we will take the hand of God without fear and without pride: our confidence and peace will have no roots of self-righteousness, nor waver with our constitutional moods of self-reliance, but will follow the measures of our filial humility and trust. A lofty Ideal of our own creating, of our own imagining, which we are to work up to from our own level, by our own strength, is not a religious conception. If the hand of God was not held out to us, we never could raise ourselves: we should then stand on the unchanging level of the rest of His creatures, who remain the same from age to age. The spirit of Christianity is the spirit of a child who inherits from the Father: it is not the spirit of an adventurer who has to make for himself a station to which he was not born.

Accordingly, there is at least one respect in which our filial relation to God involves not merely the right attitudes of a derived towards an underived being, but sameness of spiritual essence, participation of nature. "Now abideth faith, hope, charity—these three, but the greatest of these is charity:" the greatest, for alone of the three it is found in God. Though God neither hopes, nor lives on trust, He loves: and He communicates to the souls of His children the same Love that is in Himself. This is the one respect in which, to use a theological phrase, we are of the *same substance* with the Father, in which He has put His own being into us, shared with us His own feelings. And so long as this

divine Love is in a man's soul, so long as he is conscious that it is the truest and deepest thing that is in him, he knows that his bond with God remains unbroken. He may make innumerable mistakes; he may be vanquished by infirmities; he may suffer clouds of passion to veil the face of heaven; but so long as at his inmost heart He loves what God loves, and desires what God desires, he knows that he has not lost the spring of life, or parted with the clue of reconciliation; he can still approach God in the spirit of a Son, and aspire to a service that is perfect freedom: "Sacrifice and offering Thou wouldest not: I come to do Thy will, O God." All deep moralists have seen that there must be an explanation in ourselves of why we are bound to obey the will of God. The explanation is, that we are His children, partakers of His spiritual being. Nothing could make it right for us to obey the will of One to whom we had not the witness of our own nature that his will was holy, to whom our service was reluctant burnt-offering and sacrifice, without reverential love. But beginning with a fellowship of Love, we are legitimately asked for boundless measures of Trust and Hope. If we love what God loves, confidence becomes absolute; for how can He fail to prosper our desires if they are His also? It is Love that feeds Faith and Hope: it is the purity of that one part of our being in which we are like to God that sustains us in all those other relations of dependence, confidingness, anticipation, self-surrender, assured peace looking to Another, in which we are not like to God, but in filial contrasts with Him.

And it is manifest that the character of Christ is framed not on the type of perfectness that is proper to God, but on the type of perfectness that is proper to man. The glory of Christ is universally conceived as the glory of a Son, as the perfection of the dependent attitudes of spiritual fellowship, of a life drawn from the Life of Another. "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but One; that is God." There are two results of great moment: first, that the type of perfectness which belongs to Christ, not that which belongs to God, is our Law of life; and secondly, that it is the office of Christ as the high-priest of our nature, conducting and uniting it to God, to place us in his own relations to the heavenly Father, that we are Christians only



in as far as we are directly moved and acted upon by the Holy Spirit, in the same sense that Christ was. All Christianity is contained in this: "Be ye children of your Father who is in heaven." If we are to be filial as Christ was filial we must respond to God's spirit in the same way that Christ responded to it, and with the same answering graces. Christ indeed is our pattern of filial life, but we conform to his life, we know it at all, only when we drink at the same fountain of inspiration and God moulds us as He moulded him. Great as is the service which Christ renders to the soul, it would be the subversion of that service to make him a substitute for God. It would not be filial life at all to take the stamp or contagion of Christ's goodness as like from like, as sons from a perfect Son, unless the filial graces were directly quickened in us by the kindling touch of the infinite Original, the infinite Object, of all forms of goodness. The relations we hold to the Son are fundamentally different, different in kind, from the relations we hold to the Father, though without the Son in whom the Father was well pleased we never should have known the full glory of a child of God. The One is the Inspirer, the Breather of the divine word in and to the soul: the other is its incarnation, its human impersonation. As our insight into his life deepens, we more and more understand the *Character* that is the rightful issue of the action of the Father's spirit in every child of man. We are interpreted to ourselves, and God who is working in us is interpreted to us, when we discern him towards whom as the end and consummation of our being God is attracting us. "No man can come unto me, except the Father who hath sent me draw him:" it is still God who draws, when Christ enables us to see the divine beauty of that towards which we are drawn. The light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the person of the perfect Son illuminates the original ideal that sometimes seems hovering over, sometimes implanted in, our own rudimental spiritual apprehensions: the faint tracery in our souls takes clear form and body in the living Christ: we behold to what it points, in what it unites, and all the lines of God in us are drawn towards him as manifestly our diviner self. God reveals His Son in us. We see that we are complete in him. It is Christ's highest function that he enables us to impersonate the inward appeal of the

Father to each of us. He who alone understood and fully responded to that appeal unveils the filial image in human nature, the real being implanted in us, the life hidden in God which the Father is ever seeking to bring to the light of perfect knowledge and communion. There is an original word of the Spirit spoken to every soul of man, and the incarnate Word shews us to what end God speaks it. God's fatherly perfections act within us: Christ supplies the filial perfections which are the answers that God looks for. It is not merely, as is alleged for a controversial purpose, that Christ shews us what a Son of God should be, leaving us to work up to it by our own effort: he shews us the Son whom we know, as soon as we behold him, the Father has for ever been seeking, and is now seeking, to plant, cherish, and develop within our own being. He is the illuminated manifestation of the invisible or uninterpreted writing of God in our own spirits. The revelation, when it is really made, is made to *us*, made to our souls, not made to Christ and by him *told* to us, but caught from God immediately, though without the interpreting Son we could not have read as absolutely as now we do the mind of the Spirit. With no better interpretation than our own of the intended issues towards which He is ever inviting and drawing us, we should still be dealing with the unsolved question as to what was the perfect response of a derived soul to the infinite Spirit in whom we live and move and have our being; we should still be labouring under the theological difficulty which oppressed the ancient world as to the possibility of uniting in one spirit all the manifestations of supernatural character, all the attributes and directions of power this universe exhibits,—a difficulty which is the explanation of polytheism, and which still appears without complete solution in Christian Trinitarianism, in the postulated unity of three persons who have distinctive attributes, distinctive relations to one another and to man.

There is, then, this essential difference between our relations to Christ and our relations to God which, though obvious, it may be well, for the sake of the large consequences involved, again distinctly to re-state. Christ is the perfection of *our* type of being; whilst God as Source of all is a Being the type of whose nature belongs to Himself alone. Christ is related to God as we are related to God, receiving from Him, nourished by Him, reflecting the glory

of His love and of His righteousness,—yet in humility and hope, in faith and patience, in all the attributes and attitudes of receptive vitality, answering to Him not exactly as face answers to face, but with relative graces. We suppose this to be the Apostle's meaning in the precise statement that “we are complete in Christ”—that Christ is the completion of our being, that all which belongs to our manner of spiritual life is consummate in him, complete in the presence of each of its several elements, complete in their perfect fusion. We could not use such language towards God. We could not say of Him, that He is the completion of our being, for He is infinitely more. The completion of any being's nature is made up of all the qualities, in full enumeration and in harmonious co-operative union, which that nature contains. To us that completion is Christ. With the fullest reverence, feeling that we have but the germ of which he is the ripe development, we can say of him what without measureless irreverence we could not say of God: and the reason is, that Christ is a being of our own type, and that God is not. The appeal of the Son to us to become perfect as our Father is perfect, cannot mean that we are to attain to identity of being, or even to identity of directly reflected perfections, but that every perfection in God, however peculiar to Him, should work a correspondent grace in us, whilst in His communicable properties of love and of holiness we should image Him in our measure as like to like. The Scriptures speak of Christ being formed within us: never of having God formed within us. “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father:” this is the utmost that under our human conditions the derived nature can manifest, the utmost of the divine Word and Will that can be here incarnated. And hence St. Paul, remembering that the first Man fell because, forgetting obedience and dependence, he would be *as* God, and writing after he had just come under the shadow of Nero's throne, where before his eyes mortals ranked with gods, and place conferred divinity, said of Christ, the second Adam, the spiritual Man, that he who alone had truly taken the delineation of God thought not of the usurpation of being as God, but made himself of no reputation, knowing that his glory was the glory of a Servant, and that in patience and obedience was his filial exaltation.

Yet, out of the distinction we have stated, that Christ is

the completion of our type of spiritual being, and that the Father is not so, but inherently contrasted, has arisen a Doctrine or Theory which is now assuming a large importance in what we may call the spiritualized Orthodoxy of the Church of England, which would find for itself not an external, or merely historical authority, but a spiritual ground,—a Doctrine which has powerful attractions for some of the most fervent minds in all our Churches, for such minds especially as hunger and thirst for complete spiritual sympathy, for a Divine Being to worship who yet is in all respects constituted like themselves, or in their own type. One of the most constantly occurring expressions of this class of Theologians is, that Human Nature is constituted in Christ. It will be well for us to understand that expression, for it is perfectly true, though not in their sense, and it properly belongs to another Theology than the one that happens to have minted it. They say that God, the Father, is a Being in His nature so distinct from man that we cannot receive from Him directly, since they do not inhere in Him, those spiritual frames of character, the trust, the humility, the self-sacrifice, which are the most difficult to attain, and also the proper perfections of a derived and dependent spirit. Holiness and Love, they say, God may breathe into us immediately from Himself, for these are of the very essence of His own Perfection,—but lowliness, thankfulness, patience, endurance, submission, hope against hope, cannot flow directly into us from the infinite fulness of like qualities in the Father, for they do not appertain to Him, and in Him they would be imperfections. Is then, they ask, our personal communion with God, our participation in, and reception from Him, of what belongs to His own character, to be confined to the breathings in us of Love and Holiness,—and with these must our pure, homogeneous fellowship with a Divine Inspirer, as of like with like, come to an end? Is there, it is asked, no Divine Person, in internal communication with our souls, who out of their original, inherent fulness in Himself, breathes directly into us obedience, meekness, faith, forbearance, even as the Spirit of the Father communicates His own qualities of righteousness and mercy? In a word, is there no divine and eternal Person, of the same type of being with ourselves, who has access to us as immediately as the Father has access, who

is in organic communion with us as God is, and who from their inexhaustible and necessary supply in Himself sustains and inspires the filial perfections which make the divine glory of our type of life? In all that is characteristic of human perfection, as distinguished from absolute perfection, is there no Divine Being in personal communion with us who can feed our graces from their original archetypes in Himself? If not, then they say that we can have no entire religious fellowship with any Divine Being,—that the spiritual ground for complete sympathy is wanting if we are isolated with a Self-existent Being, the type of whose nature is different from our own,—if there is no spiritual Life in inward communion with us which in its constitution is so like our own that at all points it can impart itself to us. It will be obvious to what this leads. The supply for this alleged spiritual want, without which it is said the full power of divine fellowship cannot exist, is found in an eternal Being the type of whose glory is different from the type of the Self-existent, in a Being whose perfection is the perfection of a Son, who has inherent in Him, not developed, as with us, but by the eternal constitution of his nature, the absolute divineness of filial Life. This is what is meant by these Theologians when they say that Human Nature is constituted in Christ: they mean that the type of his perfection is the same as ours, that the filial glory appropriate to us is complete in him, that out of him nowhere can we perfectly see the divine constitution of our nature, and that by reason of his eternal Being, having spiritual organic approach to us as the Father has, he can overlay along all its lines our filial form of Life, and nourish and inject beauty into it directly out of his own fulness. An eternal Father, they say, can make us humble, not by the parallels, but only by the contrasts, of His own goodness and greatness: an eternal Son can breathe humility into us out of His own lowliness: God can only excite it, the Son can impart it; and that thus we are in more close spiritual relations with a divine Inspirer, than would be possible if we conceived of God only on the type of the Self-existent, in whose unity there could be no variety, no relations of Persons.

We waive for the present all difficulties, physical, metaphysical or scriptural, that attach to this Doctrine of an



Eternal Person in organic communion with us, who being perfect after our own type of being can directly communicate His divine graces in the very form we need them, and sustain in us the fashion of His own glory. We waive the objection that it is only an hypothesis to supply a spiritual nourishment requiring from us less of transforming and assimilating powers, than it is alleged would be necessary if we drew our life directly from the Father. We meet the theory by the simple answer that it destroys the natural relations of the soul to God,—that it makes inspiration not responsive but imitative and mechanical,—that from the ground of spiritual consciousness it is a purely arbitrary assumption incapable of proof, inasmuch as it is impossible to have any direct feeling that a movement of humility in us is an automatic injection from the Son's humility, and not rather the natural awe of a soul quickened to an immediate sense of the Father's holy love,—a deposit from a divine pattern unconsciously superinduced or interfused, and not rather an affection, an emotion, springing into life from the felt presence of God Himself,—that it makes Christ uninteresting to us, Son of Man or Son of God, inasmuch as it assigns to him a Will inherently and necessarily perfect,—that it makes the Father remote from us, inasmuch as He does not Himself call into life our most characteristic graces,—that it supplies no want of the existence of which religious men, with the rarest exceptions, profess to derive any knowledge from their own souls,—and that if it could be shewn that this interfused and interposed suggestion from a Son, supposed to be in organic communion with us, was really the only way by which we come to know the Self-existent as our Father and how we ought to worship Him, we should feel, not that we were spiritually richer, but that we were spiritually poorer than we had believed,—that the help it provided, supposing the help to be needed, would not exalt but degrade us on the scale of being. It implies the possession of higher life, that the heavenly Father by the action of His own Life within us should call forth, through our knowledge of Himself, the lowly and the confiding graces that fitly respond to His infinite perfection, than that a Being divinely perfect after our own type of filial life should, unconsciously to us, be inserted in, or superimposed upon, our spiritual nature to fill in, as by tracings

from a copy, the outlines from himself. If this were so, instead of becoming evermore truer sons through our knowledge of the Father, we should come to know the Father because we first had ripened into sons; the filial type of goodness, instead of being developed in us by the Father, would feel and demand Him only as a result of its own maturity. It is purer spiritual life that the Father's glory should move us to adoring lowliness, the Father's awful tenderness to self-sacrificing trust, the Father's loving and righteous authority to free obedience, than that, unequal in the first place to any immediate or original feeling of Him, not capable of directly knowing or responding, we should receive these spiritual touches only through the organic interfusions of One like ourselves, to whose nature they eternally and inherently belong. We can accept no hypothesis that would place us at any moment of time, at any period of our spiritual development, in less direct relations with the Father than we feel ourselves to be. It would remove us from Him by barriers of nature if it was true that He could not, of Himself, develop in us the dependent glory of a son, the blessed joy and humility of a child, and that we must draw our true life from a subordinate Eternal Being, God *of* God, God derived from God, who by organic communion can introduce these graces into us as by the flow of injected blood from a brother's veins. This is not to deny that a Son of God in human nature interprets the Father to us, and enables us perfectly to discern the fitting attitudes and responses of our filial life: it is only to deny that the Father cannot primarily quicken filial dispositions, and also to deny that any being but the Father is, or without degradation of our spiritual rank could be, in organic communion with our souls. The demand for religious sympathy, for personal fellowship with an Eternal Being, is strained beyond what is real, beyond what consists with our natural Sonship, when it is maintained that for complete spiritual communion that Eternal Being must be of our own type in order that the perfections which belong to our order of life may pass into us from one in whom they constitutionally inhere. What is this but to say that we cannot in the first place be fed of God, that the bread of life must first be assimilated by another, and have passed through a transformation, before our organs can take it in? Religious life is life in and

towards the Self-existent, and, though the perfect discernment of Him by another may quicken and develop our discernment, we have not really entered into religious relations at all unless we directly respond ourselves to the immediate contact of the Father. Surely the utmost wants of sympathy are provided for when we have the fellowship of the Father's spirit, and the knowledge of a Son in our own nature who perfectly represents the workings of God's spirit in our form of life.

It is true that though God can sympathize with us, we cannot perfectly sympathize with Him ; but to us it seems that we could not sympathize at all with an Eternal Son whose perfections, of the filial order, were as inherent in his being as are the perfections of the Self-existent ; and such a Being, if it is allowable to affirm anything from the testimony of one's own spiritual consciousness, would seem far more removed from the understanding or the sympathy of the human spirit than the Self-existent Himself. For though it is true that we cannot sympathize with God in all the essence of His being, He through love and omniscience can sympathize with us in all the wants of ours, and reveal it to us that He knows, pities, and supplies our needs, "as none beneath Him can." How could an Eternal Son whose filial perfections are not, as ours, given in germ and developed by discipline and degrees as we are able to bear it, but essentially inherent in his nature and constitutionally perfect, know our weakness, doubt and difficulty, as does the faithful Creator who is ever living in the spirit He has made ? Rather could we look for tenderness, for understanding of, and sympathy with, our infirmity to the self-existent Father than to such a constitutionally perfect Son. It is because he was not by inherent necessity, by the absolute constitution of his will, a perfect Son, but achieved filial perfection through the fellowship of our temptations as well as of our sufferings, temptations of *the will* as well as of the flesh, that Christ is capable of being our Brother and our Saviour. Have we not the momentary agony of a tempted *will*, taking as instant refuge with God, in this most perfect passage of his life : "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say ? Father, save me from this hour. But for this cause came I to this hour. Father, glorify Thine own name." And what more do we need than the knowledge of the Brother who

helps us to understand the fulness of God's sympathy with us? For, is it true that God does not sympathize with our self-sacrifice? Nay, is it true that He is not capable of self-sacrifice Himself? Does he not continually suffer, tolerate, endure much that must be abhorrent to His holy and His tender Being, that His children may attain to spiritual good by the only way that is spiritually possible? Because He will not modify the life of free spirits, will not force a mere constitutional rightness upon us, does He not endure contradiction, and permit much to exist before Him that is hateful in His eyes, that He may have sons? There is no religious conscience that has not been deeply moved by the long suffering of God. And *we* are summoned to struggles and sufferings for the sake of a holy Love which is the same in God and in us: if it were otherwise, the sustaining springs of sacrifice would fail in us. How, then, did the Son of Man reach to his insight and fulness of Love? Was it because he had before lived where it was absolute, or because it was a part of his constitutional perfection that he could not alienate? Or, was it not through faith, through prayer, through earnest seeking of His Father's face that he might give supremacy to that which he felt was highest in him, his Love whenever it was tempted taking refuge for its renewal within the eternal Love of God?

We know that those who speak of an Eternal Son, who do not look upon him as a created being, though they acknowledge him to be a subordinate and derived being, are not logically open to the question, "Why, if it is possible for a filial being, a being with a dependent type of nature, to be inherently perfect, were not all God's children so constitutionally formed?" We have no wish to raise speculative or metaphysical difficulties: we desire far more so to understand their views as to be able to do justice to them, that if they contain any element of neglected truth it may not escape us,—for though we think that they greatly and even spiritually err in interposing between the human and the Self-existent Spirit an intermediate necessary type, they have done so in the interests, as they believe, of that religious sympathy, the power of which, and the grounds of which in God and in Christ, we all too much ignore. But it is quite a common thing in the history of the Church to introduce a new religious theory, or a new cult, a new hypo-

thesis, as an antagonist to some observed spiritual deficiency in the prevailing forms of character. The existing deficiency may no doubt be violently combated by the new theory; and yet the theory may itself be a distortion of spiritual facts from which if truly interpreted pure life would copiously flow. The common doctrine of the Atonement is framed to meet certain supposed wants of human nature. The answer is, that human nature, when rightly interpreted in its relations to God, has no such wants. The doctrine of an Eternal Son, as in another Church the doctrine of the Divine Mother, is framed to meet certain supposed necessities of spiritual man, cravings for sympathy that ought to be satisfied. The answer is, that there are no such necessities, that the cravings are not spiritual, and that so to represent our needs is not to draw us nigh to, but to remove us from, the Father of our souls. And therefore, without offering any other answer, it will be sufficient to correct on the highest authority that view of the religious necessities of man, that conception of our spiritual wants, out of which the theory has grown.

All Christians are agreed that the Son of God as manifested upon earth was really a Man. Now if this theory of an Eternal Son in organic communion with the soul is the universal way to human perfection, then the Son of Man must have drawn his filial life from communion with the Eternal Son, and consciously have had the ground of his being in that Divine Person whose type of perfection he revealed. If this theory corresponds to a divine fact, it would be the very fact which Christ came to manifest, which to him would have been personally known, and to which all his language must have been accommodated. And yet almost all his language is utterly irreconcilable with it. Never does he speak of having the ground of his being in an Eternal Son, as on this hypothesis he must have done,—as on the Trinitarian hypothesis he must have done,—for the two theories, though not the same, are fully met by the same answer. On either hypothesis it would be the Eternal Son, not the Eternal Father, that he came to witness to. But what says he of himself? “I and the Father are one. The Son knoweth the Father; and whatsoever he seeth the Father do, that doeth the Son likewise. The words that I speak are not mine, but the Father’s who sent me. The



Father who dwelleth in me, He doeth the works. I am not alone, for the Father is with me. If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also: and henceforth ye know Him and have seen Him." These passages are conclusive, unless it is maintained that the Eternal Son was all through speaking of Himself through the lips of Christ, and that in Jesus of Nazareth there was nothing human except the bodily constitution. And if this is so, then this theory of Christ affords no revelation of how the Eternal Son may be in organic communion with *our* human soul; whilst it represents us as incapable of receiving our characteristic life from the Father. This is no question of mere controversial Theology. It is a question of religious life, whether *we* can have the spiritual ground of our being primarily in God, even as Christ had? However finely he may have been organized to receive the Father's spirit, whatever aids were given him from above, the only question is, Were they more than human nature could receive, and are they now, that we have the life and the way, in exhaustless measures open to *our* prayer?

But we may abstain from an examination of these views on grounds of scriptural evidence, because their ablest exponents admit that if they have no independent foundation in the spiritual consciousness, if they make no *a-priori* appearance there, the doubts which historical criticism has attached to the letter of the Gospels, and especially to the Fourth Gospel, render it impossible to establish them by verbal declarations. What, then, are the *a-priori* reasons for the Doctrine of an Eternal Son, and therefore for the acceptance of such hints of it as are supposed to appear in Scripture, and for the sake of which we are to suppress all metaphysical difficulties?

1. It is said that the Eternal Sonship of Christ is necessary to give us confidence in the essential character of God; that otherwise we might know Him in relation, but not as He is in Himself; we might experience His love towards *us*, but could not know that He was eternally communicative, that love and "sociality" were inseparable from His being. It is said that "the conviction of God as a single personality renders it impossible to identify any of the social attributes with His real *essence*—renders it impossible not to regard power as the true root of all other divine life. If we are

to believe that *the Father* was from all time, we must believe that He was *as a Father*—that is, that love was actual in Him as well as potential, that the communication of life and thought and fulness of joy was of the inmost nature of God, and never began to be if God never began to be.”\* It is said of Unitarians, “that the conception of a single eternal Will as originating, and infinitely antecedent to, all acts of love or spiritual communion with any other, affects vitally the temper of their faith. The throne of heaven is to them a lonely one. The solitude of the eternities weighs upon their imaginations. *Social* are necessarily postponed to *individual* attributes; for they date from a later origin—from creation, while power and thought are eternal. Necessarily, therefore, God, though spoken of and worshipped as a Father to us, is conceived *primarily* as imagining and creating; secondarily only, as loving and inspiring. But any Being whose thoughts and resolves are conceived as in any sense deeper and more personal than His affections, is necessarily regarded as rather benignant and compassionate, than as affording the type of that deepest kind of love which is co-ordinate with life;—in short, as a beneficence whose love springs out of power and reason, than as One whose power and reason are grounded in love. I am sure that this notion of God as the Absolute Cause does tincture deeply even the highest form of Unitarian faith, and I cannot see how it could be otherwise. If our prayers are addressed to One whose eternity we habitually image as unshared, we necessarily for the time merge the Father in the Omniscient and Omnipotent genius of the universe.”†

All that can be gained from the above assumptions is, that if there was a time when God was the only conscious Being in existence He was yet not single, but always “social” through the plurality of His own personality. But we hold it to be impossible, consistently with our thought of a God who *now* communicates Himself to other beings, to carry the mind to the conception of a period *before* He had commenced so to communicate Himself. Whatever reasons, so to speak, induced God to manifest Himself to children of His spirit, must *always* have existed. Whether

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\* The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence, p. 20.

† Ibid. pp. 21, 22.

His personality is single, two-fold or three-fold, if the *creation* of beings to know Him was ever an issue out of His perfection, it must *always* have been so. What do we gain, morally or metaphysically, by conceiving of Him as "the eternal *originating* love"\* within His own personality, if we must conceive of Him as having *always* had created children of His spirit if He has them *now*? We do not understand Eternity, but metaphysically it is analogically more credible, and morally it is immeasurably more acceptable, to conceive God as *always* revealing Himself in acts of creative love, than to conceive Him as exercising love and sociality only *within* His own being. How does it help us, spiritually or metaphysically, that *before* creation we can conceive the two Persons living in the enjoyment of their own society, that is, living in their own enjoyment—the Eternal Father communicating Himself to the Eternal Son, and the Eternal Son communicating Himself to *no one*? If this is possible, then it is possible that there is in God *no essential spring* of creative fatherly Love, and where is our gain? The author of "The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence" represents the Divine Reason and Power as grounded in Love. Does he mean that Love is *before* Reason? And if not, why does he charge the Unitarian with making Reason *before* Love? Perfect Reason and perfect Love in God cannot be conceived as separable, as coming before or after one another: they are co-existent in the Divine Essence.

2. It is said that faith in the Eternal Father, even if it could be adequately realized, would not fully answer the conscious wants of our hearts without the faith of an Eternal Son—because we cannot conceive the Father as sharing in that dependent attitude of spirit which is our principal spiritual want, and we stand in need of some infinite Divine fellowship in our *receptive* life.† This is to say that the Father cannot possibly have a filial response from free spirits, for that *we* become Sons of God not directly through our Father, but through an Eternal Son imparting himself to us, and that the *Eternal Son* is so by the absolute constitution of his being. In the Incarnation the Father is represented as having *taken away from* the Son everything super-

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\* The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence, p. 22.

† Ibid. p. 30.

human except this absolute law of his Will, the filial goodness that was "original" in him. With logical consistency it is affirmed, that the essential difference between the life of Jesus of Nazareth and of any human being is that his Will was "*intrinsically better*," and that his life revealed not the way of the Father with each of us, but itself "as the very *source* of the Divine light which was to stream into us."\* Believing ourselves to be from and of the Father heirs of God, and *joint heirs* with Christ, we re-state here this disinheriting postulate which we have already examined, because it is argued with remarkable force and subtlety, though we venture to think with defective spiritual insight, that it affords the only reasonable explanation of the Gospel characteristics of the Humility of Christ. The argument, in substance, is, that wherever we find humility among men it is accompanied by self-accusations and self-distrust—but that in Christ's humility there is a complete absence of self-reproach, of conscious unworthiness, along with the fullest presence of conscious dependence, of filial obedience—and that the words, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," which on the theory of the Eternal Son are "the most touching and satisfying words that have ever been uttered by human lips, are those which no mere man could ever have uttered without jarring every chord in the human conscience."†

In this we see only the deepest root of our natural infidelity—the unbelief that we *are* children of God by the inspiration of our Father, or that, if we are, the inspiration of the Father could possibly quicken and develop filial relations in a human spirit. This is to make the knowledge of our Sonship to depend upon two uncertainties: first, the admitted uncertainty that attaches to the words of the Gospels and to our interpretation of them,—secondly, the uncertainty that we have from within ourselves, independently of all such words, the intimations of an Eternal Son. But why is it impossible for God to enable a man to live according to the highest law of his nature? Are we made for Unrighteousness? Or are we made for Righteousness? And if we are made for Righteousness, why is it impossible for

\* The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence, p. 35.

† Ibid. p. 39.

God to fulfil, even in one case, that for which we are made? "In the image of God made He man." Does He not call Himself our Father? Is that a metaphor, and not a spiritual truth? Admitting all the deflecting powers, must the life of man be necessarily *unnatural* and never natural, always against the law and never according to the law of his spirit, however God may endow, guard, solicit, prompt, and inwardly work within the free will? God can make a flower, or a bird, keep perfectly the law of its nature. Can He not, even in a single case, enable His own conscious child to do so? Christ says, "*With God all things are possible.*" The theory of the Eternal Son says, With God the Father it is not possible for a man to live in Him, without ceasing to be a man. Its preachers say that the Eternal Son can make this possible to us men, even to the fullness of his own filial perfectness, but that God the Father cannot. "What the Incarnate Word was in him, *that* it would have the power to make us, if we would but yield ourselves up absolutely to its guidance."\* Was what is thus admitted to be possible to us men with Christ, impossible to the man Christ Jesus with God, the Father? Have we known no one the passion of whose will was to live in the Will of the Father, so as to render credible to us the existence of an entirely filial will? We admit that in Christ there was no avowal of sin, of wilful transgression. We do not admit that there was in him no acknowledgment of imperfectness, no expression of self-distrust. On the contrary, it was his humility, his self-distrust, his ever-present sense of dependence leaning itself on the Father, that saved him from sin. What was his "trouble of spirit," his agony of prayer, but a recognition of the possibility of failure? It is true that Christ was "wholly untouched by humiliation," but it is not true that he never trembled at the fear of incurring humiliation, or that he was untouched by the self-distrust which, by his resort to God, saved him from humiliation. Conscious sin is not the source of humility, but of remorse and shame. The source of humility is the sense of the Infinite Holiness and Goodness. Humility is not the fruit of Sin, but the guard against it. And if the humility, the filial dependence, of Christ preserved him

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\* Incarnation and Principles of Evidence, p. 35.



from transgression, was it a sin against humility that he should know this as the universal way of divine life, and speak accordingly? Must humility be unconscious of itself? Is self-ignorance a part of its essence? Is the highest grace of the spirit compatible only with self-deception, and incompatible with self-knowledge? Must lowliness be ignorant of itself, on the penalty of passing into its own opposite? The fact is, that we start at Christ's full knowledge of his own filial dependence only because we know that we could not so speak, and we take the sample of humanity from ourselves. We postulate the impossibility of the Father having a human child living in His holy will. This is the assumption. Could the man Christ Jesus not know his own humility, without losing his humility? To us the fact that he did know it, without losing it, is the genuine mark of perfectness. The simple fact that he could say, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest," without shocking us, is the fullest proof of our faith that through his filial dependence he had himself entered into rest by the universal way, and knew the whole secret of peace with God. We, with the sinfulness of our humanity still cleaving to us in the consciousness of sin, naturally enough think that a man must know himself to be a sinner in order to be humble. Christ would put it thus: a man must be full of filial humility in order that he may not sin. Surely, if we still take offence at God for His yoke or for His refusals for burdens or for disappointments, it is only because we separate ourselves from the life of the Son of Man, who knew them all, and found no offence in them. Might not a Son of God have taken offence at the Father for treatment so little to be expected,—a lowly and suffering place, personal humiliations and contempt, wounded hopes, fruitless labours, agonies of lonely apprehension, the desertion of followers, public rejection and mock homage, jeers, insults, and a death of shame? If he took none, who can be justified in taking any? We do not mean that in his life were all circumstantial experiences in which each may find his own, but that his life was the perfect way of life, that he knew every class of spiritual difficulty, every kind of natural cloud floating between God and man—by meeting and dissolving which he earned a Deliverer's right to say to all Humanity, in the name of a representative

Child of the Heavenly Father—"Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, and ye shall find rest unto your souls—for my yoke is easy and my burden is light."

J. H. T.

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#### IV.—THE LAMBETH ENCYCLICAL.

IN times of disturbance and excitement, when old institutions are placed upon their trial, and even the most ancient traditions are subjected to a close scrutiny and a rigorous criticism, incidents but little noteworthy in themselves may acquire significance as indicating the directions taken by the several currents of thought, or as marking the stages reached in a long and bewildering journey. The council of Bishops gathered in what they were pleased to term a Pan-Anglican Synod has at least this importance. If nothing more can be said for it, we may yet make use of it for the purpose of "taking stock," and measuring the progress made by the principles which it upholds and the forms of thought which it denounces in the Encyclical Letter put forth, we are told, with the unanimous agreement of all the Prelates assembled.

At first sight this Encyclical looks like a weak parody of some passages in the Apostolic Epistles; and in its phraseology it is nothing more. Hence it comes out more respectably in its Greek dress, for in this form the eye catches at a glance the words and sentences of a language which once had a clear and very solemn meaning. Living eighteen centuries after the writers whose words they think fit to string together, the Bishops are content to repeat expressions ludicrously inconsistent with the present aspect of the whole physical world. The inductive method of philosophy has now for centuries displayed the operation of forces which have been at work for myriads of ages; the history of man exhibits a growth which points to a sequel indefinitely prolonged, while every science brings out more and more the orderly and continuous sequence of all things. Political economists tell us that we are only at the beginning of a

long career which may end in a new brotherhood of nations. Among the votaries of physical science there is a general impression that we are on the eve of discoveries which may reveal wonders not yet dreamed of. Yet the Bishops of the English Church, and of Churches professing to be in communion with it, can calmly and "unanimously" repeat the warning of St. Paul, that the time is short, that the Lord is at hand, and that on this account it is our duty, as Christians, to fast and to watch. Such, it seems, is the advice of Dr. Thirlwall, who told us some three or four years ago that to us it mattered nothing whether the Israelites left Egypt with six hundred thousand men or with sixty thousand, or whether they ever sojourned in Egypt at all, whether the miracles recorded in the history of the Exodus did or did not take place, and whether a Divine sanction was or was not claimed for iniquitous or immoral commands. With the reasons by which he justifies the use of expressions which certainly have not now the meaning which St. Paul intended them to convey, we are not concerned. It is possible that some of the Bishops assembled at Lambeth may have thought it their duty to acquiesce in the employment of phrases which have been repeated to satiety in every age of Christian history, or may have striven to convince themselves that the words still retain a living force, because for each individual man the present condition of things may at any moment come to an end. But such evasions are not worthy of Dr. Thirlwall. He knows well that St. Paul was not speaking at all of the deaths of individual men, and that nothing less than the complete and instantaneous arrest of all human affairs by the destruction of the whole world in which men dwell was by him expected, with an absolute certitude of conviction, within a period, at the utmost, of ten or twenty years. He knows that in this sense the words can no longer be used with any truth; and he knows also that a thousand years hence, after some other Isaac Newton has revealed new forces in nature, and imparted a new impulse to a civilization compared with which ours is but in a state of infancy, the self-styled representatives of the Apostles, if they adhere to the traditional dogmas, will still be repeating the same warning, still seeking to constrain men by the immediate approach of the Judge who is to burn up the material universe like

a scroll. Whether it be wise to parade as a terror that which to St. Paul and his disciples was perhaps a pure consolation, is a point which we need not decide. Yet it is strange that the Bishops should so little care to dwell on facts which none will dispute, should think it in comparison a small matter to warn men, that, although the world will go on in its fixed course, their own journey through it must very soon come to an end.

But the words, however equivocally they may be used, are found in the Epistles of St. Paul, and possibly Dr. Thirlwall is not the only one who thought that a refusal to subscribe them would be unseemly, while subscription would commit them to nothing to which they were not committed already. The very form of the Encyclical sufficiently shews that every effort has been made to secure a complete uniformity, if not in reality, at least in appearance. The words in which the mediatorial office of Christ is spoken of, undoubtedly express in their strict meaning the view which implies that his sacrifice produced a change in the Divine Mind with regard to man; but they are not so put as to make subscription impossible for those who hold that by his life and death Jesus simply reconciled men to God, by convincing them that they had strayed from Him, not that He had forsaken them. It is notorious that the latter view is taken by the Bishop of Argyll; and when a natural surprise was expressed at the sanction which his name seemed to lend to an opposite belief, Dr. Ewing found it necessary to state, in a letter to the Editor of the *Spectator*, that he still retained the old conviction, which others shared with himself. In short, the declaration is colourless, except in so far as it excludes, more by implication than by direct assertion, all those who maintain boldly that God has spoken to man, not through a book, but by His Spirit in their hearts, and who maintain further, that with much that is invaluable the Bible contains some false science, false history and false morality. The very presence of the American Bishops proves that, in their eagerness to disavow all complicity with the Rationalists, the Anglican Bishops have widened the range of their communion. The significant omissions in the American Book of Common Prayer have thus received recognition and sanction; and the Conference has drifted in the very direction which they denounced as

fraught with fatal dangers. They have virtually passed an act of Comprehension, and the differences which are thus condoned, even if they do not arise from an exercise of private judgment, involve questions which must lead to grave results hereafter.

These possibilities are, however, carefully kept in the back-ground. All that the world is intended to see is the wonderful unanimity of a band of Prelates from all parts of the earth, who can adopt as their own some disjointed sentences culled from the writings of Apostles who lived nearly two thousand years ago. The impression of an unchanging Church and a faith unchanged is thus left on the minds of such as may not look beneath the surface.

The truth is, that the use of these apparently unreal phrases is designed to promote a specially desired end. The scriptural language of the Lambeth Encyclical scantily veils a feeling of profound dissatisfaction. With the exception of a few minds which take a wider range, the Bishops are representatives of two great parties, both of which believe that they are the ministers of a religion supernaturally or preternaturally imparted to men, that a number of events not belonging to the ordinary chain of cause and effect have occurred in attestation of the truth of this religion, and that the narrative of these events is contained in books, the trustworthiness of which must not be called into question. Against this traditional belief they know that the world at large is in revolt. The great mass of the people, as they see, practically disregard, if they do not despise it, as altogether inconsistent with the facts of their life, while the most patient and truth-loving thinkers are daily with greater plainness expressing their conviction that this faith imputes to God arbitrary and unjust dealing, that it rests on groundless assumption, and that it is directly chargeable with all the profanity of the vulgar crowd whom it has sought rather to terrify than to teach. At whatever cost, therefore, this spirit must be put down, or at the least the Church of Christ, in the sense which the Bishops choose to put upon the words, must be freed from all complicity in a thing so utterly accursed. It matters not that many who protest most earnestly against the traditional ideas of Incarnation and Sacrifice, of Atonement and Mediation, are men who seek to strengthen the faith



and trust of their fellows in a loving Father and a righteous Judge. It is enough that they look on the Levitical legislation as a subject of dispassionate inquiry, and see no reason for dismay if Dr. Kalisch should be right in his assertion that the whole of it belongs to an age later than the captivity at Babylon. High-Churchmen, then, and Low-Churchmen are alike dissatisfied ; the former, because men, for whom otherwise they feel a high esteem and could feel a hearty love, look on their sacerdotal system as a theory which has no solid foundation in history or philosophy ; and the latter, because they denounce as grossly mischievous and superstitious the Evangelical idolatry of a written book. But the issue of a crusade against such opinions is very doubtful, and they have no weapons with which victory may be secured or the risk of disaster sensibly diminished. It happens, too, that the compromise which brought the Church of England into existence, has of late years worked very much in the interest of the new school of thought. The principles of interpretation which justified Mr. Gorham in retaining his benefice with strong Puritan views, have likewise been held to justify others who set aside both Puritanism and Sacerdotalism as forms of opinion which find no countenance in the early history of Christianity, and which severally assume a number of points in dispute.

The chance of converting or conquering the men opposed to them seems scarcely to be taken into account in the various Synods, Congresses and Conferences which are designed to defend or promote the faith of what is termed Catholic Christendom. It is apparently taken for granted that the rebellion will gain in strength as time goes on, and that the civil tribunals, to which every dispute in the Establishment may in the last resort be carried, will but add fuel to the fire.\* They can, therefore, be in no doubt as to the way in which they should go. The State has chosen

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\* If we are to give credit to the resolutions passed at the meetings of the "Church Association" held in Willis's Rooms on the 26th and 27th of November last, the leaders of the Evangelical party have determined to oust the Ritualists, if it can be done. They seem to think that £50,000 will enable them to effect this. We must wait and see ; but perhaps these champions of Protestant orthodoxy would do well to consider whether they are not setting in motion a stone which may crush not only their enemies but themselves into powder.

to throw her shield over heretics ; and if the State cannot be brought to recant its errors, the alliance which has been so fraught with evil must be abandoned. Hence all the acts and expressions of these Councils point to Voluntaryism as the only mode of solving the difficulty. Causes ecclesiastical must be settled by ecclesiastical tribunals ; matters relating to the faith must not be brought before any civil authority. The dispassionate impartiality of lawyers, who judge only by the strict letter of the instruments before them, can only be fatal to Christianity and to all religion ; and at once the eyes of the orthodox (for High-Churchmen and Puritans alike claim the title) turn with a longing look to that serene freedom from these wretched cares which seems to be the lot of Nonconformist bodies in these kingdoms. To the Archbishop of Canterbury and his colleagues the power which could crush Dr. Davidson without appeal for writing an Introduction to the Historical Books of the Old Testament is a prize to be greedily sought after.

But in this country, or rather in the Established Church of this country, the action of the principle thus idolized is unfortunately hampered. The law of the land will not allow the enforcement of any religious tests which it has not itself imposed. The patron may make what compact he pleases in private with any one whom he purposes to present to a benefice ; but the Bishop to whom he is brought for induction cannot officially be a party to the signing of any documents which have not the sanction of Parliament. The clergy and laity who gather in Church Congresses may bring all the moral and social force at their command to bear on those among whom they are thrown. They may make the expression of certain opinions an indispensable condition for all promotion ; they may even succeed in placing under a ban those who disavow them ; but here their power ends. In law they have no authority ; and until the whole mass of English society is leavened with their belief, their work is really no more than begun. It is but the web of Penelope, in which the threads are each night newly woven. All, then, that can be done here is to inveigh against the Privy Council as poisoning the very fountains of English justice, to denounce Chancellors as enemies of the Church and of God, and by every means to deter the people from examining fairly the several ques-

tions in debate. Combination may do much, and the continuance of the struggle is itself an assertion of the principle and a proof of its vitality.

The difficulty of carrying on the fight in England naturally suggests that the battle may be fought out elsewhere ; and for the last five years the Bishop of Capetown, aided by a very large majority of the English Bishops, has been straining every nerve to achieve in the Colonies that which is impracticable here. The Archbishop of Canterbury is at once a minister of Christ and an officer of the State. The latter he is only in this country ; the former he is throughout the world. Here, then, might be found the lever by which the wretched Erastianism of the Establishment may be overturned. Thus far, however, the efforts of Bishop Gray have not been followed by complete success. In one case his judicial sentence has been reversed ; in another the whole proceedings have been pronounced null and void in law ; and it is more than possible that the civil courts of Natal may decide that the trusteeship of all buildings belonging to the English Church is vested in one whom Bishop Gray has both deposed and excommunicated. In short, the existing generation of Bishops and Clergy are like the Israelites who came out of Egypt and were judged unworthy to enter the promised land. Some of them, at least, do not appreciate the blessings of Voluntaryism, and unhappily they cannot be made to do so. They undertook the office of Bishop or Priest under the express stipulation that they were to be governed and judged by the laws of the Church of England, and these laws give them the right of final appeal to the Queen in Council. With these, then, if they kick against the pricks, nothing can be done but to wait patiently until they are dead or gone. But in the mean season their opponents may meet as a voluntary society, and choose a spiritual president who may supersede an excommunicated prelate in his spiritual functions, while he leaves his temporalities untouched ; and, still more, an instrument may be drawn up declaring the faith of any Colonial Church which professes to be in union and full communion with the Church of England, and this instrument may be presented for signature to every one who is to be admitted to any ecclesiastical office whatever.

Here, then, arise two points of vital moment—(1), whe-

ther the chief officer of a body which is said to form part of a Church under the supremacy of the Crown can be wholly removed from the jurisdiction of the Sovereign or of Parliament; and (2), whether any instrument not sanctioned by Imperial legislation can be legally imposed on any who have the right of appeal in the last resort to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. It has, seemingly, never been disputed that Mr. Long had this right of appeal, and exercised it, not as the member of a voluntary society, but as a clergyman of the English Church who had entered into a certain compact with a Bishop who, like himself, was subject to the laws of the Establishment. So, again, until Lord Romilly's judgment has been formally set aside, all persons, in any colony, calling themselves members of the Church of England are at once subject to its laws and entitled to the benefit of those laws; and it is perfectly clear that one of these benefits in this country is an absolute exemption from all doctrinal tests which have not the sanction of Parliament.

But in the minds of those who cannot bear to think that the story of Moses may be as mythical as that of the Roman Decemvirs, or that the Jesus of the fourth Gospel as little resembles the Jesus who really lived and suffered as the Socrates of Plato resembles the Socrates of Xenophon or of actual history, the question of the patents of Bishops has raised hopes which may turn out to be illusory. It has been ruled that these patents cannot confer coercive jurisdiction beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, and it has been hinted that for the future no more such patents shall be issued. About the precise mode of appointment to be adopted in this event, no decision seemingly has yet been announced. But if the Crown resigns all rights of sanction or of veto, it is hard, if not impossible, to see how the rights and liberties belonging to members of the Church of England can be secured to the clergy and laity of Colonial Churches. If the right of appeal to the Sovereign in Council is to be reserved to them, then, even if the election of Bishops is left to the voluntary association calling themselves members of the Church of England, it seems impossible that the Crown can sanction the imposition of any doctrinal test beyond those to which Bishops in England are subjected before their consecration. If the Bishop-elect choose

to make such a compact with his clergy, or with another Bishop who is pleased to style himself a Metropolitan, the compact will in law be null and void, and no suit will lie against the Bishop who may violate it either from caprice or from a change of mind resulting from conscientious conviction. Thus the house which these voluntary associates may build will be raised on a quicksand. It may rise to fair proportions, and at any moment it may crumble to its foundations. For there is this difference between the members of the Church of England and all other religious bodies in this country, that the latter have absolute power in the determination of their own religious tests, while the former have none. When his co-religionists chose to put their ban on Dr. Davidson, he had no remedy in law. It is not so with members of the Church of England, nor can it be so until its constitution has been wholly changed. Clergy and laity may meet, if they please, in Church Congresses, and declare that they accept all the decrees of the first four or any number of general councils; they may, like the eleven thousand, subscribe a document avowing the comfortable belief that all sinners dying with any sin not repented of will be condemned to endless torments, or declare their firm conviction that the Bible is throughout correct in all matters of science, history or geography, while it exhibits no flaw in its morality or religion. They may trust to Catholic consent and the power of the Holy Spirit to keep their ranks firm; but if any of these clergymen should hereafter come to a different mind, the law of the land will uphold them in their benefices or in any ecclesiastical office whatsoever. There existed no power adequate to the imposition of such tests, and they who are aggrieved by the apostacy of their fellows must content themselves with the reflection that many are called but few chosen, or in any other way which may please them, except that of resorting to a court of law.

In this country, then, it is not easy to see how, under the present regimen, the Voluntarists can make any solid gains. It remains to be seen whether in the Colonies their position is essentially different. If the judgment in the Long case is to be applied to future cases, it would seem that, under the existing constitution of the Church of England, their cause is lost. It was there distinctly laid down



that Bishop Gray had no right to impose any commands on his clergy which could not be imposed by an English Bishop in his own diocese, and that in cases of alleged disobedience the defendant could not be deprived, except for such cause as would authorize the deprivation of a clergyman by his Bishop in England. But it is absolutely certain that the Privy Council would not suspend or deprive a clergyman who should have been presented to a benefice after subscribing to the Lambeth Encyclical, or the creed of the eleven thousand, or to any other like instrument, merely because after induction he saw fit to change his mind, and maintain the contradictory of the positions in which he had previously avowed his belief. If the change was indecently sudden, or if it could be attributed to unworthy secondary motives, public opinion might pass on his conduct the verdict which it might deserve; but there would be no legal remedy against the offender. If then, regard being had to any differences which may arise from the circumstances of the colony, the clergy and laity retain all rights as Churchmen which they would enjoy in England, it follows that no civil court would or could enforce any doctrinal compact in Calcutta or Bombay which would be *ipso facto* null and void at Canterbury or Lincoln. This must be the case unless the Crown resigns all power of control over the Colonial Churches, or, in other words, unless it ceases to maintain the rights and liberties of English Churchmen in the Colonies. Such a change can be accomplished only by an Act of the Legislature, and any Act which should give to the majority in any colony the power of imposing any religious or doctrinal test before the admission of a clergyman to any ecclesiastical office, would at once rescind the judgment in the Long case, and leave to the Churchmanship of the Colonies no legal meaning or value. That Parliament is competent to do this, will be disputed by none; but until it so determines, we may quite well imagine a case in which a Bishop, chosen by voluntary election, should sign the most stringent theological conditions and should be consecrated in faith of this compact, and then after some years might modify and change his belief on any given point or points, and candidly avow the change. Let us suppose that Mr. Butler had gone out to Natal, not, as was proposed, to be a rival to the legal Bishop of the diocese, but after the resigna-

tion of Bishop Colenso, and with the assent of the Crown to his election. Let us suppose that he entered on his work with thorough devotion to the Catholic faith and cause, but that in the course of years he is led to question the historical accuracy of some statements in the Bible, and that he is brought to accept the dictum of Sir Cornewall Lewis, that all books professing to relate any history must be tested by the canons of credibility which are applied to the determination of facts in our courts of justice. If under this conviction he examines the history of the Old Testament and the New, and comes to the conclusion that there is no evidence for the personality of Moses, Nicodemus or Lazarus, or for the genuineness of the fourth Gospel,—if, in short, Bishop Butler were to put himself in every respect into the present position of the Bishop of Natal, and yet refused to resign his Bishopric on the ground that he was still perfectly orthodox according to the judicial standards of the English Church, what remedy would there be for those Churchmen in Natal who might hold that he had denied the faith and fallen into sheer infidelity? Doubtless, the courts would enforce any compact which, regard being had to the rights of Churchmen in England, the Colonial Churchmen had the power of imposing. But exemption from any tests not imposed by Parliament is the first privilege of the clergy in England. Churchmen, therefore, by ever so large a majority, cannot have the power of imposing any such tests in Natal.

If they who hold that the Church of England is a body distinct from the State and independent of all earthly legislature are willing to carry out their voluntary system under these conditions, they are of course perfectly free to do so. But in proportion to the extent of its range will be the chance that some who have honestly and conscientiously accepted the shibboleth will be led, after long thought, perhaps after severe struggles, as honestly and conscientiously to reject it, while yet they may see no reason for abandoning a profession in which this shibboleth is a mere work of supererogation. Doubtless, if ninety-nine out of every hundred Churchmen agreed in denouncing such changes as acts of utter apostacy from the Christian faith, a great, perhaps an irresistible, moral pressure might be brought to bear on the one man who was bold enough, or ill-advised enough, to express his dissent, instead of quietly

concealing his unbelief, as Mr. Matthew Arnold would probably recommend him to do. But even in our Colonies the minority would not be so insignificant, and in England the idea of thus crushing all opposition is purely visionary. The Sacerdotalists may be both earnest and vehement. Their combination may make them appear more formidable than they are, while even the Evangelical or Puritan party may speak out with a distinctness in some degree compensating the decay of their influence; but on the other side is arrayed almost the whole literature of England. Dr. Pusey and Dr. McNeile alike admit that the general literature of the country is deeply tainted with that which they term infidelity—that politics, religion and science are all treated without reference to an indefectible Church or an infallible Book—that philologists do not shrink from saying that man was not created with his powers of speech and thought developed—that poets and moralists seem to know nothing or to care nothing for any ideas of mediation between man and his Maker. These admissions are supplemented commonly by indignant denunciation of the civil tribunals which justify such opinions, by deciding that there is nothing in the doctrinal standards of the Church of England to disqualify those who hold them from taking any ecclesiastical office. When this issue has been raised again and again and the same sentence comes from the highest court of appeal, that conscience must be morbidly sensitive which would regard the retention of office in such cases as dishonest and criminal. At the least, the number of clergymen who do so retain office in this country is not contemptibly small, and the strength which they derive from the legal sanction thus given to their position is through them extended to the more scanty minority in the Colonies. Were the Church of England in this country a mere reflex of Bishop Gray's Church of South Africa, it is possible that the Bishop of Natal might think it right to withdraw from the battle-field, even though he had the full support of the civil tribunals. But the present condition of parties in the Establishment wholly relieves him even from the contemplation of any such alternative, while it also shews him that he is contending not only for his own liberties, but for those of the most uncompromising of his opponents.

For nothing is more certain than this, that the triumph of Voluntaryism will be followed by the precipitation of the

opinions which are now held in solution by orthodox High-Churchmen and orthodox Low-Churchmen. At present they are willing to believe that nothing can be more dreadful than assertions that David was through his whole life the very type of the unrelenting and sensual despot of the East, or that the discourses of Christ in the fourth Gospel were never spoken by him at all. But if the common enemy can once be overthrown or silenced, a change will soon pass over the spirit of their dream, and the Sacerdotalists will begin to feel that the fellowship of men who reject their Sacramental theory is an intolerable burden. Nor will the Puritans, in their turn, be slow to perceive that the priestly religion of Dr. Pusey and the Bishop of Oxford is in its essence indistinguishable from that of Dr. Newman and Archbishop Manning. The absence of the common opponent, whom they now unite to hunt down, will bring out their antagonism more sharply, until the two elements will be like oil and vinegar enclosed in a bottle. With this perennial source of controversy nothing but the control of the civil power could hinder one or other of the contending parties from repressing or excluding the rest.

If such would be the result of Voluntarism, even without the formal disestablishment of the English Church, the process of disintegration would be far more rapid as soon as the checks now placed on it are removed. For if the united action of these theological parties succeeded in ousting the liberal element by the moral force at their command, or by bringing back every liberal Churchman to some orthodox standard, the State would still be ready to administer true judgment between the High and the Low Churchman. The Privy Council would still continue to affirm that there was room both for Mr. Gorham and for Mr. Macdonochie within the circle of the Establishment. But let the State once affirm that the Church is no longer the body politic in one of its aspects, and the work of disruption will go on with terrible speed. The standard of one diocese would be not the standard of another, and the abolition of the hated Judicial Committee would find its closest parallel in the uncovering of Pandora's box. The splitting up of Churchmen into an increasing number of parties would be but a small part of the evils let loose throughout the land. The Bishops who are now fighting zealously for the privilege of carrying out the voluntary principle would soon

find themselves doomed to destruction. They are now upheld by the State; but with the disestablishment of the Church their order would be revered and valued only by those who regard them as mysterious channels for the transmission of certain spiritual gifts and powers. But it has been well remarked,\* that "this theory has exceedingly little hold on either English or Colonial or American minds. It properly belongs to the conception of an infallible polity, and will not linger very long when once two or three rival Anglican Episcopalian sects are competing with each other for the successorship to the present National Church." That this warfare of parties is inevitable, the method in which the Ritualistic controversy is being carried on furnishes sufficient proof; and when, ceasing to be officers of the State, the Bishops become dependent on the bounty of their adherents, the fall of the order is not far off. They who are honestly convinced that Episcopacy is of Divine appointment and indispensable to the vitality of the Church, would gravitate naturally to the Church of Rome.

It follows that the control of the State does not mean merely an encouragement to any form of scepticism and infidelity, or any designed plan of discouraging orthodox belief. It means a systematic and impartial comprehension of certain forms of thought, seriously diverging from each other, within the pale of one society; and it aims at this comprehension, partly because the co-existence of these parties within that society is a present fact, but still more from the conviction that this co-existence is most salutary for the parties themselves and for the nation generally. It means the enforcement of toleration on those who, if left to themselves, would never dream of tolerating each other. It means the promotion of a charitable and kindly feeling which would speedily be extinguished if an ecclesiastical court of appeal were substituted for the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. It is to this compulsory forbearance that we owe what Mr. Matthew Arnold would call the "culture" which is (perhaps we ought rather to say, which was) a prominent characteristic of the clergy of the English Church. It is to this endurance of theological differences that we owe the impartiality and learning of such writers as Milman and Jowett, Wilson and Stanley, Arnold and Donaldson;

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\* *Spectator*, Nov. 2, 1867, p. 122.



and apart from all considerations of truth in the abstract, the upholding of a system which has produced such splendid fruit is an object well worth all the pains bestowed upon it.

In this country we may be sure that this system will be maintained in its integrity, unless the reformed Parliament which will come into existence two years hence breaks finally with the traditions of the English constitution. Yet it may be worth while to weigh well some other results which would follow the possible measure of abolition. There is no doubt that among the clergy of the Establishment there are many (and their numbers are certainly not diminishing) who are ready to accept all conclusions adequately established by science, who are not precluded from accepting such conclusions by any prejudices of traditional belief or association, who have no hesitation in following to their utmost limits and to their logical issues the paths which the sciences of geology, language and physics, may open before them. Of the laity it is superfluous to speak, for with regard to them these dispositions are not called in question; and such men, whether clergy or laity, form far the larger portion of that body to whom we are indebted for the material, mental and social progress of the country. These men are willing to remain, whether as officers or as members, in a society which is under the control of the civil power, or, rather, which is simply the State itself in its religious aspect. They cling to it as the great safeguard of fair-dealing and toleration, of sound learning and liberal culture,—as the one bulwark against a crushing sacerdotal domination like that of Rome, or a deadening and pitiless sectarianism like that which finds its appropriate expression in the Confession of Westminster. These are men, too, who feel that nowhere else could they find a congenial home—nay, that by every other religious body they would be persecuted and rejected. It is for the rulers of England to determine whether they would wish to see these men severed from all religious association whatsoever; and unless they are prepared for this result, it will be their wisdom to oppose every effort for the disestablishment of the English Church. Such an event would leave these men without any religious associations. For sects they have no liking, and the National Church which they prize as saving them from the terrible monotony of a dogmatic sect (and where may an undogmatic sect be found?), would have passed

away. The issue is certain; but it is scarcely one which the Parliament of England can scarcely afford calmly to contemplate. In the words of the *Quarterly Review*,\* “The power of this party resides in the fact that it possesses an enormous hold over the class by whom public opinion is manufactured,—the journalists, the literary men, the professors, the advanced thinkers of the day.” No sooner will the Church of England have fallen, than all this power and influence will cease to be exercised in the interests of any religious body whatsoever. There will no longer exist any society of men who will insist on the duty of allowing thinkers of antagonistic schools to go on peaceably side by side, and still less on the duty of compelling them thus to bear with each other.

Even now, apart from the toleration enforced by the supreme legal tribunal, the most prominent characteristic of the time is a singular impatience of differences affecting religious or political belief. Professions of forbearance and charity are not wanting, but they are professions simply. Dr. Jeune would silence the Bishop of Natal; Dr. Tait would rob the services at St. Alban's, Holborn, of all their pomp and splendour; and Dr. Wilberforce would prefer to see only that degree of pomp which precisely meets his likings. The stupid and unreasoning Protestantism which Lord Shaftesbury stirs up with too much success, and which seeks to put down Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stewart, would, if Parliament were but to suffer it, break out into a wild crusade against everything that departs from its strict Puritan orthodoxy. Even the *Spectator*, which generally distinguishes between the shadow and the substance, speaks with a wearisome iteration of all high ritual as a child's play, only not contemptible because clergymen will force it on reluctant congregations. So far as this is the case, there is a grievance for which the remedy is at hand; but the same denunciations are cast against those clergymen whose congregations have called for all that has been done for them, and who have merely followed the lead of enthusiastic laymen.

Against this unworthy intolerance it is the duty of all liberal Churchmen—nay, of all Englishmen who love fair-play and fair-dealing, to stand out with uncompromising

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\* Oct. 1867, *The Conservative Surrender*, p. 563.

opposition. Whatever may be their personal taste in music or in colour, it is their duty to protest against the wretched sophistry which looks on Popery as more Popish in a chasuble than it would be in a surplice or a Genevan gown. Nay, rather it is their duty to insist that the theology of Dr. Pusey and of Bishop Hamilton is at once more insidious and more mischievous than that of the men who bring all the appliances of art to bear on their religious worship. It is their duty to insist on that toleration of Ritualists which the Ritualists claim for themselves,\* until it has been proved that they stand beyond the wide circle of comprehension in the Church of England,—to fight on behalf of the Ritualists, though the Ritualists may not fight for them, because the civilization of England is imperilled by any movement which threatens to substitute a monotonous and dogmatic sectarianism for the vigorous independence and varied culture which has marked the clergy of the Church of England, so far as they are clergy of the Establishment,—so far, in other words, as they are, strictly and conscientiously, officers of the State, who look to the State for the maintenance of their own rights, and who are determined to maintain always the rights of others.

#### PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS.

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\* It seems that some High-Churchmen, who do not wish for very ornate services, are beginning to see that persecution of high Ritualists means ultimately persecution for themselves. Thus, in the meeting held (Nov. 19, 1867) in St. James's Hall, Earl Nelson, who presided, declared that he had from his youth stood forward on all occasions for the integrity of the Book of Common Prayer as containing within it the liberties of Churchmen, and that he could not consent to the narrowing of those liberties on the one side or the other. It would, doubtless, be a hard task to convince him that these liberties, which can be assured to them only through the Judicial Committee, will also shield the opinions of clergymen like Mr. Wilson and Dr. Rowland Williams, Dean Stanley and the Bishop of Natal. But so it is; and it is something to find that parties, which can have but little sympathy with such writers, are even on the road to the discovery that their own interests are hazarded by all attempts to repress the liberal element in the Church of England.

Of the system of the high Ritualists, and their real aims and tendencies, it is unnecessary to say more now. We have treated the subject with some fullness in the Theological Review for April 1866, and we have seen nothing in more recent discussions which should materially modify the views there expressed. High Ritualism is the logical and necessary expression of the Sacramental theory. If the result is offensive, the evil must be struck down at the root. In other words, the Book of Common Prayer must be revised from beginning to end. Of such a revision there is not much prospect at present; and if it were carried out, we might yet feel a natural regret at parting with a higher application of art to divine worship than any form of rational religion or philosophy seems thus far able to furnish.

V.—A FEW NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF BELGIUM AND HOLLAND ; AND ESPECIALLY ON THE CHURCH AND SEMINARY OF THE REMONSTRANTS AT AMSTERDAM.

HOLLAND, shut up within herself in an insulated corner of Europe, enjoying a secure and tranquil prosperity at home, and patriotically attached to a language, which is little studied, and which excludes her from general intercourse with men of letters and science in other countries,—has hardly attracted the notice which the intrinsic importance of her intellectual and spiritual condition deserves ; and notwithstanding the constant internal development of her mental resources, fills now a smaller space in the public eye, than she did a hundred or two hundred years ago, when her commerce and navigation were at their height, and her great scholars, in the habitual employment of Latin, possessed a medium of communication with the learned all over the world. Nevertheless, some recent works in French and English have called attention to the divergent tendencies of religious thought and theological research which at this moment so remarkably characterize her Churches and Universities. Nowhere in Europe is the conflict of opinion more earnest and sincere ; nowhere perhaps—not even in Germany—has theological science assumed a bolder and more decisive tone, though always within the limits of profound reverence, and an unenfeebled attachment to the divine essence of the Gospel. Some of the works of her most distinguished scholars are finding an access to the general public through the medium of French and German.\* Altogether, a strong interest must always attach to the civilization of the Low Countries, won by the heroic efforts and

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\* I may mention, as examples, the following works. Of a "Critical History of the Books of the Old Testament," now in course of publication by Professor Kuenen, of Leyden, the first volume has been recently translated into French by M. Pierson, with a preface by M. Renan. A work of Professor Kuenen's on the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua was translated into English, with notes by Bishop Colenso, a few years ago. A small Treatise by Professor Scholten, of Leyden, on "The Oldest Witnesses to the Writings of the New Testament," called forth immediately by the groundless assertions of Tischendorf in his Tract on the Origin of our Gospels, appeared in a German version in the course of the last year.

indomitable perseverance, on which the great work of Mr. Motley has shed so brilliant a light. A very different fortune has, however, accompanied the two sections, into which the chances of war ultimately divided this region. Considering, indeed, the close affinity of the races which inhabit the two countries, and the common struggles in which they were once engaged, nothing strikes a traveller more, or furnishes clearer proof of the moulding influence of government and institutions, than the marked change in manners and in the whole aspect of things which he encounters on passing out of Belgium into Holland. But the change is not instantaneous. The population of South Holland is still mainly Catholic. On traversing lately the district about Maestricht, it seemed to me that the priests actually swarmed. Catholicism in Holland, as well as all the forms of Protestantism and the Jewish religion, is supported by the State. Yet Belgium is not without its Protestant element, acknowledged and maintained out of the national exchequer by a liberal government.

I had a good opportunity of learning something of its actual condition and prospects, from the pastor of a Protestant church in a large manufacturing town of Belgium, whose kind hospitality I experienced some months ago—M. Bost, of Verviers. There are about twelve Protestant churches, he told me, recognized by the Belgian government, and designated generally *L'Eglise Evangélique*. They are not of recent date, and are in connection with the Protestant Church of France. They are found chiefly, if not exclusively, in the great towns, Brussels, Liege, Verviers, &c. As among their brethren at the present time in France, marked diversities of theological opinion prevail among them. But as each separate church constitutes a consistory in itself, and is wholly independent of the other churches, except in the way of friendly conference and mutual counsel, the minister within his own sphere enjoys great liberty of thought and speech, so far as he can carry the convictions and sympathies of his people along with him. M. Bost is a theologian of advanced views, belonging to the school of the younger Coquerel, Nicolas and Reville, though he was educated in the orthodox Academy of Montauban. He admitted, that there were considerable varieties of religious belief within the limits of his own congregation, and that



his freer opinions, when first avowed, had given pain to some. But his conciliatory and religious spirit, the excellence of his character, and the earnest enforcement in his preaching of holiness and love as the one great concern of real Christianity, appeared to have kept his flock together by a bond of personal attachment and respect; and the number of attendants on his ministry, though in the midst of a hostile Catholic population, was, I learned, gradually on the increase. It was impossible, indeed, to spend an evening in his simple *presbytère*, in the midst of his cheerful and well-ordered family, without feeling that the spirit of true religion was ascendant in his home. M. Bost is a personal friend of Bishop Colenso, who visited him at Verviers, and stood godfather to one of his children. Besides these recognized churches, there is a small body of Dissenters in Belgium, who steadily refuse all support from the State, and are rigidly orthodox—endeavouring to uphold in their churches the old Belgian Confession of the sixteenth century. The members of M. Bost's church are Belgians, chiefly of the humbler class, some German merchants and manufacturers, and a few families of ancient Protestant descent who have returned after the lapse of centuries to the country of their forefathers. There is considerable progress of thought among the more intelligent of the working class in Belgium, especially in the great manufacturing districts, of which Verviers is a centre. When I was there, several of this class had recently joined M. Bost's church from the Dissenters. He declared to me his belief, that the future of Protestantism in Belgium was to be looked for in that class.

M. Bost fully confirmed, from his own experience, the fearful picture so powerfully drawn in "*Le Maudit*," of the deadening repression exercised by the Jesuits on all the tendencies to free and liberal thought, especially among the clergy. Whenever any movement of this kind manifests itself, it is at once crushed by the ecclesiastical authorities, and the individual who has betrayed it, is forthwith disposed of in one of two ways: he is either banished to a cure in some remote and uncultivated district, where he can do no mischief from having no kindred minds to hold communion with; or—what is more odious still—he is removed to some apparently favoured position, where the temptations of company and good cheer will be sure ere long to extin-

guish all spiritual aspiration in the coarser habitudes of social enjoyment. There is, however, a large liberal party in Belgium, which though conforming outwardly to the Catholic Church for quiet or fashion's sake, is vehemently opposed to the pretensions of the priesthood, especially in matters of education. The more thoughtful of this party are really *libres penseurs*, with whom M. Bost did not hesitate to class the late King. To the periodical published at Brussels which represents the views of this liberal party, and the precise title of which I cannot at this moment recal, M. Bost is himself a not unfrequent and very acceptable contributor. Notwithstanding this secret sympathy, he occupies a very insulated position at Verviers. He is cut off from all familiar intercourse with the Catholics who surround him. His church and parsonage, both under the same roof, are almost symbolical of his social *status*—not indeed hidden away up some narrow entry like our old English meeting-houses built in the last days of the Stuarts, but shut in behind a high wall at the outskirts of the town, approached through a closed gateway by a broad sweep of steps, and enclosed in a spacious garden and orchard—very quiet and retired, but strikingly secluded.\*

The transition in the course of a day's journey from the smoke and bustle of manufactures and the wooded valleys of the neighbourhood of Verviers to the low-lying expanse of green pasturage and the slow, still waters of Holland is, very remarkable; though the introduction of railways has done much, within the last few years, to change the characteristic features of this singular and interesting country. It is not, however, of the physical aspects of Holland that I am now to speak.—The three Universities of Utrecht, Leyden and Groningen, are each distinguished by a theological tendency of their own. Utrecht is still moderately and learnedly orthodox; and its teaching is said to carry with it the sympathies of the great mass of the people; though the influence exerted on his pupils by one of its former professors, the celebrated Platonist, Van Heusde, contributed powerfully, though indirectly, to that unreserved

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\* M. Bost is the author of an eloquent work, "*Le Protestantisme Libéral*," forming a part of the "*Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine*," now in process of publication by some of the most distinguished representatives of free thought in France.

freedom of research and thought on theological subjects which is now beginning to spread. Of more advanced views in biblical criticism and religious opinion, Leyden is the principal seat. Groningen, which lies in the extreme north of the country, occupies a sort of middle position between the conservatism of Utrecht and the bold liberalism of Leyden. Of these Universities Leyden was the only one which I visited. I took letters of introduction to Professors Scholten and Kuenen; and the cordial welcome and kind hospitality which I experienced from these gentlemen and their families, I cannot allude to without a warm expression of gratitude. What I saw of the interior life of the learned in Holland impressed me very favourably. They are to all appearance liberally supported. Their houses are models of quiet comfort and unostentatious propriety; and their domestic intercourse is marked by a certain air of simple refinement and mental culture. Relieved from anxiety and surrounded by domestic peace, they are able to give the whole force of their minds to their proper pursuits, and to cultivate learning and science for their own sakes, without ulterior objects or the distractions of worldly ambition. It is the combination of such provisions for studious leisure with the needful stimulus to exertion, that has helped to make Holland so pre-eminently a land of learning. M. Scholten may perhaps be regarded as the leader of advanced theological thought in Holland. His course has been quite progressive. He first exercised influence on public opinion by his writings on *Dogmatics*, which have, I understand, done more than those of any other man to free the theology of the Reformed Church, which is still the ascendant Church of the country, from the last relics of the old orthodox Calvinism. He is now lecturing, as I learn from the "Series Lectionum" for the present session, which lies before me, on Biblical Theology in one course, and on Natural Theology, with a review of the opinions of the ancient philosophers concerning God, in another. Latterly he has directed his attention to the more difficult problems of the higher scriptural criticism. Besides the little work in reply to Tischendorf, to which I have already referred, he has also written on the Fourth Gospel, and agrees in opinion with those who question its apostolic authorship. The intellectual genealogy, if I may so call it, of M. Scholten is inte-

resting. He was a favourite pupil at Utrecht of Van Heusde, who was himself a pupil of Wyttenbach, who was a pupil of Ruhnken. He and Kuenen and Dozy (a learned Orientalist, who has written a remarkable book on the "Israelites at Mecca"\*) constitute the advanced guard of the great theological movement which is now taking place at Leyden. Leyden possesses also at this time a very eminent Greek scholar in Professor C. G. Cobet. He writes classical Greek with great fluency and correctness, and is joint-editor with a native Greek of a newspaper, published, I think, at Patras, and written in old Greek. He is now bringing out an edition of Clemens Alexandrinus, with notes in Greek.

Leyden is a place full of interest to the classical scholar and the theologian. The University is a standing monument of the noble spirit of its inhabitants. At the close of the memorable siege, when their great deliverer, William the Silent, to shew his sense of their heroic resistance, offered them the choice of two favours, an exemption from taxation or the foundation of an University,—with unanimous enthusiasm they embraced the last. To this day, the anniversary of their deliverance and the commencement of their Academic fame is commemorated by the eating of a certain vegetable, which had formed a considerable part of their very restricted nourishment during the siege. Fortunately we were at Leyden just at the time when the University was re-assembling after the summer vacation. We attended service on Sunday morning in the great Church of St. Peter, when the session was inaugurated by a sermon. Professor Scholten was the preacher. Every professor of divinity is *ex officio* a clergyman, or, to speak more correctly, a member of the theological faculty can only be chosen out of the ranks of the clergy. As the whole service was in Dutch, it was of course lost upon us. We could simply make out that the discourse was on the parable of the talents. The church was well filled, and in nearly equal proportions by both sexes, who sit apart. M. Scholten is not reckoned one of the popular preachers of Holland. His manner struck us as earnest and impressive. Every one on taking his seat

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\* An account of the views of Dozy on the relations between Mecca and Israel will be found in Appendix I. to the Fifth Part of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch; who has also translated from the Dutch a small treatise by Oort on the Baalim of Scripture, based on the larger work of Dozy.

has a large Dutch Bible set before him, which contains at the end a collection of psalms and hymns with the musical notes of the associated melodies. The service opened with a long reading from Scripture by a lector at a desk a little in front of the pulpit. This seemed to be the time for general conversation and exchange of greetings. Little attention was paid to the reading. There was a general buzz during its continuance. The men sat with their hats on through the greater part of the service, taking them off during the prayers and the psalmody. The cold, damp atmosphere of the church renders this a not undesirable usage. The women were very generally furnished with foot-warmers. There is a large, fine, deep-toned organ in the Church of St. Peter, and the psalmody was plaintive, resembling what I have heard in Scotland. The mode of admission is singular. You go to a sort of bureau, adjoining the nave of the church, something like the box-office of a theatre, and there, on paying a small sum, you obtain a numbered ticket for your place.

I regretted to have so little time to devote to Leyden. It has a quaint and picturesque appearance, rendered additionally interesting by so many literary and historical associations. The banks of the canals are lined with tall trees, overshadowing quiet and solid-built houses of beautiful brick-work, fit abodes of study and contemplation. Here the Rhine finishes its long wanderings, and flows with a strong current through the town towards the huge gates, a few miles off, which discharge it into the North Sea. The Museum of Antiquities is admirably arranged for the purpose of convenient study and comparison, in separate compartments—Indian, Egyptian, Etruscan, Grecian, Roman, with a large collection of Kelts and other antiquities of uncertain origin. The Egyptian compartment is very rich, having a rare assemblage of writings in the hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic character. The University building is a plain edifice (originally a nunnery) with light, airy and comfortable lecture-rooms. The Aula is remarkably interesting, hung round as it is with original portraits of the great men who have thrown a glory round the name of Leyden—including, besides that of the illustrious founder, William the Silent, those of Scaliger, Episcopius, Voetius, Boerhaave, Wesseling, Ruhnken, Schultens, and others. I was sorry



to miss here and in the Library the portraits of Hemsterhuis and Valekenauer. The Library, which I was courteously shewn over by the Librarian, Professor Pluygers, is even more interesting than the University, from which it stands at a small distance. It is very rich in MSS., especially Oriental. Its collection of Karaitic (anti-talmudic) Jewish literature is said to be unique. The first book deposited in the Library was a polyglott Bible (not the Complutensian), presented by the founder, William the Silent. Here, too, is preserved the French Bible habitually used by Scaliger, filled with MS. notes from his pen. Many of the Greek and Latin MSS. contained in this Library originally belonged to Isaac Vossius—among them two of Lucretius, which have been used by Lachmann in fixing the text of that poet. They are in a clear, beautiful character, and would be easily read. There are also among the MSS. of this Library a very curious Latin translation of the Phenomena of Aratus (not Cicero's fragments), with coloured illustrations very much in the style of the decorations of Pompeii—which is supposed to be as old as the fourth or fifth century—and a Greek Bible written in a character closely resembling that of the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus. Here, too, are some very interesting portraits, not contained in the Aula of the University—those of Justus Lipsius, Daniel Heinsius, Grotius, Descartes, Wytttenbach, and the celebrated Jansenist, Arnauld. There are besides several portraits of Scaliger, which, as they all much resemble one another, must convey a good idea of the man. A lofty forehead, sharp features and an imperious air, distinguish them all. In one taken in advanced age this harsher expression is considerably mellowed. The Library, when I visited it, was undergoing renovation and re-arrangement; though it still occupies the original site. An English Presbyterian church once stood beneath it, attended by refugees from persecution under the Stuarts. A monument which it contained to one of the Earls of Loudon is still preserved in the Library. It bears the significant motto, "I byde my tyme." On a piece of ground adjoining the Library, where there was once a house of the Templars, the Independent community of which Robinson was the head, formerly dwelt. Professor Pluygers told me he believed that the Independents, after the death of Robinson, merged into one society with the

Presbyterians, and so lost their denominational individuality. The Library at Leyden has no independent funds, but annually receives a grant from the government for its support.

One of my principal objects in visiting Holland was to obtain some more exact information about the Seminary of the Remonstrants in Amsterdam, which I had reason to believe, from indications that had occasionally come across me, was based on the same principle as our own Institution of Manchester New College—requiring, that is to say, no subscription to any confession of faith, but leaving the Scriptures and the whole field of theology quite open to the free, unbiassed search of the student. In this expectation I was not deceived. From Professor Tideman, the present learned head of the Seminary, to whom I took a letter of introduction, I received the kindest attention and all the information for which I asked. Besides his valuable personal communications, he gave me a copy of the “*Oratio*” delivered by him in Latin at the Athenæum, on accepting the chair of Theology in the Seminary in 1856—which contains a distinct statement of the principles of the Institution, and some interesting facts connected with its origin and early history.\*—One of the first cares of Episcopius and his companions in exile, on returning to their native country in 1626, was to found a Theological Seminary in connection with the Remonstrant Church. A commencement was made. Some distinguished men, among them G. J. Vossius, favoured the design. Its completion was hindered by the still subsisting hope, that the schism with the Mother Church might yet be healed, and the necessity for a separate Academic Institution be superseded. At length, in 1634, the Seminary of the Remonstrants was opened in the house of Episcopius, who became its first recognized teacher and head. From that time to the present, a succession of eminent men have adorned the Remonstrant Seminary, who scattered the seeds of liberal thought throughout Europe—Curcellæus, Limborch, Cattenburgh, Le Clerc, Wetstein, Wytttenbach. Reviewing the services

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\* “*Joannis Tideman, Phil. Theor. Mag. Lit. Hum. Doct. Oratio de Theologiæ in Remonstrantium Reformatorum Seminario professione, etc.*” Some years earlier, Professor Tideman published an academic thesis with the title, “*Dissertatio de Deo Platonis, sive Diatribe in Platonis Philosophie locum qui est de Deo Divinaque natura.*” Rotterodami, 1845.”

of these great men, Spittler did not hesitate to declare that Germany owed the best part of her theological freedom and intelligence to this Arminian school; and Schleiermacher confirmed his testimony.\* *Episcopius* first taught alone; but it was at length found desirable to associate with the chair of theology, another devoted to philosophy and literature; and it was this secondary chair that was filled successively by *Le Clerc* and *Wetstein* and *Wytenbach*. Although the two former are known to the world exclusively as theologians, it was not in that character that they taught in the Seminary of the Remonstrants. *Wytenbach*, the editor of the moral works of *Plutarch*, whose fame rests on his profound knowledge of Greek, was first Professor of Philosophy in the Remonstrant College, whence he removed in the same capacity to the wider sphere of the Athenæum at Amsterdam. From the Athenæum he passed to *Leyden*, where he finished his course.

The Remonstrants at first, in conformity with the ideas of *Episcopius*, deemed a confession of faith not necessary, yet not unlawful nor always mischievous; but warned by the sad experience of other Churches, they at length repudiated it altogether, considering that no man was justified in laying down a rule for posterity; so that the only terms which they prescribed to the General Synod to guide their choice of a man to preside over the Seminary, were these: "to take care that the instruction of our youth be committed to a learned and pious man."† The Seminary of the Remonstrants stands in the closest connection with their Church. Its Professors are appointed not by the magistrates nor by the crown, but by representatives of all the Churches embraced in their communion,—in other words, by the Church itself, subject only to royal approval and confirmation. This is a privilege on which, from the days of *Episcopius*, they have always prided themselves. "As for myself," says Professor *Tideman*, in his Inaugural Discourse, "in my function of theological professor, I am a minister of the Church, having my foundation in its life, discipline and institutions." When *Lücke* and *Ullmann* from Germany visited the Semi-

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\* "Schleiermacherum testem habemus, libertatis ecclesiasticæ semina Arminianorum scriptis per totam Germaniam sparsa esse." *Orat.* p. 19.

† "Curet docto et pio viro adolescentium institutionem mandari."

nary some years ago, they felicitated the Remonstrants on this arrangement, which they thought much better than that of their own country, where one set of men applied themselves to the science of theology, and another to the public ministry of the gospel. M. Tideman speaks very distinctly on this subject. "The Church binds me by no rule of faith. It binds all its members to the gospel, and beyond this it believes that it has no right, and that it would not be beneficial, to proceed. In the learning and piety of a man thus bound to the gospel, it has more confidence than in any formula of faith whatever that should bind him. From his learning and piety it looks for more than from any external bonds whatever."\* In the same discourse Tideman pleads strongly for a close association of philosophical studies with theology, as indispensable not only for ascertaining the true meaning of Paul and John, but also for making a right use of those great masters of modern thought in the schools of Germany, whom it is easy to treat with neglect, but who are already exercising a vast influence through the whole range of intellectual science.

Notwithstanding his firm attachment to the fundamental principle of the Seminary over which he presides, M. Tideman's own cast of theological opinion seemed to me, on the whole, conservative, but moderately and liberally so. He is warmly attached to Scripture, and more interested in the practical and devotional than in the speculative and critical side of religion. I do not think he would be prepared to go the whole way with Professors Kuenen and Scholten in their freer biblical criticism. The Church of the Remonstrants has always been distinguished for its preachers. His immediate predecessor, Amoré van der Hoeven, was a celebrated pulpit orator; and M. Tideman is anxious to keep up the hereditary reputation. Hence his maxim, so strongly enforced in his Inaugural Oration, that a devout and serious mind is the necessary foundation of a good theologian. He would adopt *ex animo* Neander's motto, *Pectus est quod facit theologum*. He struck me as being deeply imbued with the traditional influences of his Church and Seminary, and as

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\* "In talis viri Evangelio astricti doctrinâ et pietate plus fiduciæ habet, quam in qualicunque fidei formulâ, quæ illum obliget. A talis viri doctrinâ et pietate plura expectat, quam a vinculis quibuscunque externis, quæ illum devinciunt." P. 24.

occupying, with some slight doctrinal differences, pretty nearly the same theological stand-point with our own older divines of the Unitarian persuasion—pious, liberal and enlightened, but rather shrinking from the full acknowledgment of those bolder conclusions which the progress of criticism is forcing on the attention of the learned. To the churches embraced in the old English Presbyterian denomination, the history of the Remonstrants possesses a more than ordinary interest. The large-hearted theology which they taught was in close harmony with the anti-Calvinistic tendencies which early marked the writing and preaching of our forefathers; and through Locke, the intimate friend of Limborch, during his temporary exile in Holland, when he was familiar with their views and warmly participated in their controversies, they must indirectly have exerted considerable influence on the theology of our churches in the early part of the last century. At present, as I gathered from conversation, the Remonstrants do not possess the weight either in numbers or in social influence which they once enjoyed. Their strength still lies in the educated middle class. There are now about sixteen or seventeen Remonstrant churches in Holland. They only keep up their numbers in the large towns. Many of their rural congregations have recently died out. Their largest and most important church is in Rotterdam. During the time of persecution, the Remonstrants founded a church of refuge at Friderichstadt in Sleswick-Holstein, which was at first altogether a Remonstrant settlement; subsequently other religious communions have built churches in the town.\* The Academy of the Remonstrants, once so famous, has now only three students and a single professor. They were never a very numerous body; but the influence of their principles always extended far beyond the limits of their avowed adherents. Professor Tideman seemed to think this small number of students fully met the actual wants of their churches, and that they had reason to be satisfied with the good which they had indirectly done, and were still doing, in society. Moreover, the ample instruction in every department of theology furnished by the Athenæum

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\* Some years ago, Professor Tideman, then a pastor at Rotterdam, published a short account in Dutch of this Remonstrant colony at Friderichstadt.



in Amsterdam—of which I must say a few words before I conclude—abundantly supplements, and in fact almost supersedes, the special teaching of the Remonstrant Seminary. M. Tideman is himself a Professor in the Theological Faculty of the Athenæum. Professor Moll, a member of the same faculty, told me that the spread of more liberal ideas in the old Reformed Church of the country had contributed to the gradual decline of the smaller religious bodies outside it, by diminishing the necessity for their separate existence. These considerations had so much weight with the heads of the Remonstrant Church, that on the death of their last Professor, Amoré van der Hoeven, it became a serious question with them, before proceeding to fill up his place, whether they should not relinquish their Seminary altogether. But at last, after much anxious deliberation, they came to the conclusion that, as the extinction of their Seminary would be virtually the extinction of their Church, there were still grounds, amidst the great conflict of theological tendencies which marks the age, for distinctly upholding the rational theology, the solid, reverential, biblical learning, the love of liberty, tolerance and peace, of which it had been for two centuries the glory of the Remonstrants to hold out an example to the Christian world.\*

The Remonstrants have a General Synod, which meets every year, and regulates all matters relative to the common weal, but does not interfere with the financial affairs and internal arrangements of the individual churches, which form each a consistory in themselves, and are based on a principle of congregationalism or independency. The bond of union (*Bruderschaft*), combining them in one religious community, was lately renewed on a broad and comprehensive principle. The Remonstrants possess a valuable Library in connection with their Seminary. It contains a great collection of early printed Bibles, some of them enriched with

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\* “*Ad Theologiam quod attinet, intra dogmatismum critico-dialecticum, et dogmatismum politico-ecclesiasticum, et spiritualismum poetico-philosophicum, qui nostrâ ætate videntur, Theologia rationalis, biblico-evangelica, practica, quæ Remonstrantium plerumque fuit, suum adhuc lænem non sine fructu obtinere poterit, si ab omnibus discens nemini se mancipat. Et in Ecclesiâ, in quâ humanitatis, eloquentiæ, libertatis, tolerantiae, pacis studii aliis exemplum dedit, eam nondum provinciâ suâ carere, quis est qui dubitet, lectis amplissimi Bunseni de Signis Temporis epistolâ, non intimo corde sentiat?*” Oratio, &c. p. 14.

the MS. notes of the learned men who have belonged to their communion. It is also the depository of a large mass of the unprinted correspondence of Grotius, Vossius, Episcopius, Le Clerc, and others, who took part in the early controversies between the Arminians and the Calvinists, and of a rare collection of pamphlets and native literature bearing on the same subject. The writings of the various sects who have at different times sought refuge in Holland—Socinians, Quakers, Moravians, Baptists, &c.—have also found a place here, duly classified in the printed catalogue. Whoever wished to obtain a thorough insight into the religious movements of the 17th and 18th centuries, would meet with ample materials to satisfy his curiosity in the Library of the Remonstrants at Amsterdam. Its walls are adorned with portraits of the great men of the body—among them some very interesting ones of Grotius. M. Tideman told me he considered Arminius as their greatest theologian. The portrait of Limborch, the friend of Locke, has a very decided look. Though so staunch a friend of freedom, he has the traditional reputation of having been somewhat arbitrary and despotic in his own assertion of it.

The Church of the Remonstrants is under the same roof with the Seminary. In more respects than one, much interest attaches to it. It was built for Episcopius on his return from France, on the site of an old hat-manufactory, after the model of the Huguenot *prêche* at Charenton, near Paris, where he had attended worship during his exile. It is perhaps almost the only building yet in existence which gives us an idea of an old French Protestant church in the days of Daillé, Bochart, Petit and Capel, when the Huguenots were still a powerful party in France, and their ministers the most learned men in Europe. The Remonstrant church at Amsterdam is light and airy, but plain. The pulpit is at one end, with the organ over it, and on each side of it seats for the elders and deacons. The centre of the church in front of the pulpit below is filled with chairs and reserved for women; at the sides are benches for men. Two spacious galleries, one above the other, run round three sides of the church, where at present the two sexes sit promiscuously. Here, as I observed in the Reformed Church at Leyden, every worshiper has a large Bible set before him. I believe the church retains its original character essentially un-

altered.\* It was certainly interesting to find oneself in the very place where Episcopius and Limborch had once preached, and where Locke and Le Clerc and Wetstein and Wyttenbach had often been hearers.

Nearly contemporary, I believe, with the foundation of the Remonstrant Seminary was the origin of the "Schola Illustris" or Athenæum at Amsterdam. In its present constitution, it is of the most comprehensive and catholic character. Though not an University, for it has no power of conferring degrees, the four faculties of Medicine, Law, General Philosophy and Literature, and Theology, are fully represented in it; and the members of the last are taken without distinction from different religious bodies. The Reformed, or old National Church, the Lutherans, the Baptists and the Remonstrants, have each their respective professors of theology. I had the good fortune to become acquainted, and spend an evening, with M. Moll, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the Athenæum in connection with the Reformed Church. He is a very amiable and accomplished man, a great archæologist, with a fine taste for the arts. He has an admirable library of ecclesiastical history, arranged chronologically in compartments so as to subserve at once the wants of the student—and descending, where practicable, even to such minutiae as the psalmody and church music of a period. Professor Moll had a call to Leyden, but preferred remaining at Amsterdam; when his friends, to express their gratitude and shew their sense of his value, presented him with a complete series of Dr. Pertz's costly work, the "*Monumenta Germanica*." M. Moll has paid particular attention to the mediæval history of Christianity in the Netherlands, for which, he says, there are ample MS. sources in Holland, yet unused. He is now engaged on a large work in Dutch on this subject.

What struck me particularly in my short but most agreeable and instructive intercourse with Dutch theologians, was the union of remarkable freedom and boldness in their scientific views with a strong practical religiousness of spirit. I think this may arise in part from their never ceasing to be clergymen—never wholly relinquishing the administra-

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\* Judging from the plates in Professor Tideman's Monograph, the interior of the Remonstrant Church at Friderichstadt is in the same style.

tion of religion as a living influence—from the maintenance of a vital connection between the University and the Church. It used to be maintained, that the free, unfettered investigation of theological truth, by which Germany has given such an impulse to the higher mind of Europe, resulted from the fact that her most distinguished theologians have been laymen who cultivated theology purely as a science. No doubt, so long as the Church was tongue-tied, it was an inestimable benefit to the world that free thought should find an utterance through the lips of a Michaelis, an Eichhorn, a Lücke, an Ewald and a Strauss. But, on the other hand, books reveal to us only one side of the deep questions which affect the human soul. A learned man, in the midst of the smoke and silence of his study, however far he may see, sees only in one direction. Living contact with ordinary humanity, insight into its deep wants and besetting infirmities, familiarity with its unappeasable longings and aspirations, facts which come daily under the view of the pastor and the preacher, are indispensable to give us a survey of the whole truth, and to qualify the sweeping abstractions of a speculative intellect by the stern realities of actual life. Where the Church is itself free, the reaction of its practical experience on Academic thought, is calculated to infuse into theological discussion that sober and religious tone, which seemed to me to characterize the freest learning of Holland. We in England are perhaps hardly aware of the work that is being done in that small and energetic country. Bishop Colenso, in one or two of his translations, has given us a glimpse of it. But I should strongly recommend all who desire to keep pace with the progress of theological science in its most solid and satisfactory form, to make themselves masters of a language in which so many treasures of erudition and thought are hidden, and which, though difficult to write and speak with perfect correctness,—from its close affinity with German on one hand and with English on the other, any one, after a few weeks' earnest study, may learn to read with readiness and intelligence.

JOHN JAMES TAYLER.

## VI.—THE CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.

“When I speak of ‘the labouring classes,’ or of labourers as a ‘class,’ I use these phrases in compliance with custom, and as descriptive of an existing, but by no means a necessary or permanent state of social relations. I do not recognize as either just or salutary, a state of society in which there is any ‘class’ which is not labouring, any human beings exempt from bearing their share of the necessary labours of human life, except those unable to labour or who have fairly earned rest by previous toil. So long, however, as the great social evil exists of a non-labouring class, labourers also constitute a class, and may be spoken of, though only provisionally, in that character.”—J. S. MILL, *Principles of Political Economy*, Bk. iv. Chap. vii.

THERE is no class of men who are known so little by their fellow-countrymen as are the Agricultural Labourers. Between them and others there is a great gulf fixed, across which they look and seem to see the gentry sitting in luxury and glory, while to them there come drops and crumbs of comfort in the shape of occasional doles. The extreme ignorance which prevails on this matter may perhaps be understood by one who tries to remember any portrait of a labouring man in fiction which has struck him as being true to nature. As in the art of painting, so in literature, we know a good likeness, though we have never seen the original. Who needs to be told that Bellini's Doge in the National Gallery looked in life as now on the canvas, where the whole story of a life is written in the strokes of the artist's pencil? Nor need we have sat in the sanded parlour of the village public-house to feel instinctively that, save the coarser portions, the conversation in such a place is most faithfully reproduced in the pages of Silas Marner. Perhaps the consummate artist who has given us that work might, if she chose, prove that here also, as a skilful anatomist divines the whole configuration of some strange creature from the small fragment now visible, she could construct a living picture of those in social condition just below the present range of her greatest power. But she has not done so; where she has gone nearest to crossing the line, as in Mrs. Poyser, Dolly Winthrop, Lisbeth Bede, her success has lain among her own sex, not among the labourers themselves; the men are artizans and small farmers; Adam and Seth Bede, nearest to the agricultural class, are also (we speak under correction) the least true to nature.



The success and the comparative failure may arise from the same fact. Those who endeavour to know somewhat of the lives of the country poor, the clergy, their wives and the squire's daughters, find only the women within, while the men are in the fields. If perchance the master of the cottage is at home, it is ten to one that he slouches out, feeling that the visit is to his "missus," and not to him. And as it is almost invariably paid with a certain expressed or implied condescension, the woman, knowing better than the man how much her children need the possible pence for schooling, or old shoes and frocks, can put her pride away, and be glad of a visit which irks and wounds her husband. In the clerical mind, too, there is a certain feminine element and love of small gossip, felt instinctively to be out of place in presence of a man who is for ever in contact with hard realities. There are many clergymen who are not easy unless they visit from time to time all the cottages in their parish, quite irrespective of any distinct reason for doing so, who would think they were frittering away valuable time did they make morning calls on their richer neighbours, but whose conversation in the cottages is and must be mere small-talk, not more useful to either side because it chances to be "other-worldly" rather than worldly.

And of the men who really come before the notice of the gentry, the majority are those brought up for trifling misdemeanours at Petty Sessions, especially for poaching, or applicants for relief before the Board of Guardians, when this Board is not exclusively composed of farmers and small tradesmen. Poaching, in however large measure it may be due to our evil Game Laws, butcherly battues and scant wages, is the one unpardonable sin in the eyes of a county magistrate, while pauperism is for the most part treated as though it were a crime against the ratepayers. Such opinions have a tendency to create their truth, and many a poor man has been made a rascal by the mode in which a venial offence has been visited by the Bench, or casual misfortune treated by the Board. In the mean time, too, many country gentlemen deal with their poorer neighbours under a half-defined impression that all are what those seem to be who come before them officially.

It may appear, however, that if it is difficult to know

the agricultural labourer in his home, if the parson seldom sees the able-bodied men save at a distance, and the squire seldom the respectable, yet in a district where schools are cared for, and children taught in any degree under the eye of the clergyman, the thoughts and ways of those he has in some measure trained must be known to him, even when as men they have passed away from his immediate influence. There is no greater mistake. The child is *less* the father of the man in the labouring class than in any other; the brightness, the cheerfulness, the purity of childhood, pass all too easily into a silent endurance, stolid and uncommunicative, through a period of riot and coarseness. The time also a child spends at school, and in which he is brought face to face with his superiors, is in this class often the happiest in life, and that in which he appears at his best. Comfort, warmth, gentleness, are often far more the characteristics of school than of home, and he is accessible through influences which cannot possibly be brought to bear upon him as he advances in life. Even the most sanguine and energetic of country school managers after long experience would be able to tell on the fingers of one hand the children, purely of the labouring class, on whom they had kept a hold, whose characters they had really known for the ten years after they left school. It is the events of those years, far more than the very few—far too few—of school life, that make the men what they are.

It may be asked, however, whether, having regard to the prevalence of some forms of Dissent in many parts of the country, the Dissenting minister may not be a link between those so widely severed, whether it be not in part the stiffness of an ecclesiastical system fitted only for the educated, which renders the labourer so hard to get at, especially on a ground where in theory all men are equal? To this two answers may be given. Where Dissent is most prevalent among the country poor, the labour of the district is often far less concerned with agriculture than with employments which raise the worker to the position of an artizan or skilled labourer; as in Cornwall, where the mine, or in Portland, where the stone-quarry, are the great fields of work. And next, whatever may be the case in towns, the ministry of Dissent in country villages is unintellectual to an extent scarcely conceivable, while the social standing of

the local preacher is not such as in any degree to link his hearers to the classes above them in the social scale.

In fact, there is no machinery whatever by which the life, the mind, the opinions, the feelings of the labourer can become known to his fellow-countrymen. His class melts into none above it by imperceptible gradations; no able editor attempts to place in intelligible words his dim, unspoken thoughts; his master is not one who has known his labour. But the merchant has often drudged at a desk like his clerk, the factory-owner has sat at the loom, the tradesman has swept the shop, the quarry-master or mine-captain has himself wielded the pickaxe and the shovel; at least there are enough such instances in every other business to render it certain that the ruling class understands and may sympathize with those who depend on it. The labourer's condition is only a matter for individual interest and research, difficult to carry out, with little picturesqueness to invite the trouble. Hard, grimy, prosaic, its only poetry that which arises from its intense reality, its basis on the very foundations of our common humanity,—is the life we invite our readers to consider for awhile, as not without importance to the future of English society and English religion. Yet the thought may not unnaturally rise, that he who has explained that, country parson though he be, he is not necessarily more acquainted with the *real* life of the labourer than are others, is bound at least to state the grounds on which he claims any special knowledge on the subject. As one who in politics as in religion is on what may be termed “the extreme left,” the manner in which the state of the labourer is treated by the more conservative and orthodox, has long seemed to him one of the blots on our vaunted morality. That ignorance and uncleanness, discomfort and squalid poverty, unchastity and riot, should be too often assumed all together as the characteristics of the poor, that some or all of these should be considered irremediable, if not divinely ordained, has raised in him from time to time sentiments alternating between almost fierce fanaticism and an extreme despondency. And he has set himself as a duty to see whether all that seems and is said of the labourer indeed *is*, and, if so, whether some of the evils in his position may not, must not be remedied. No doubt he has made many mistakes, but at least they

are not in the same direction as some of the mistakes of others; and it may be that between opposite opinions as they clash, some spark of truth may be struck out on matters whose importance it is not easy to overstate.

I. There can be little doubt that a demand for increased education through the whole of the country is rising, and cannot long be resisted; among the poor themselves its advantages are beginning to be recognized, though not always the fact that increased culture among the labourers will be almost at once felt in the material form of a rise in wages. This is, however, completely perceived by the employers of labour, who are still, in the country districts at least, tacit opponents of education, who subscribe to schools grudgingly, and with a frequently expressed desire that the education should be as elementary as is possible. In almost all the rural parishes, the school expenses borne by the clergy are out of all proportion greater than those borne by the laity, and we should feel most thankful for this self-denying aid given to progress, by a body of men who are slow to move with the times, did not the dogged dislike evinced to the Conscience Clause and schemes of secular education raise a fear that a part at least of clerical energy in schools is due rather to the desire to prop a waning dogmatic system, than to extend those mental powers which can weigh the teaching presented to them.

But country squires and farmers honestly and avowedly dislike all but the merest elementary teaching, and that of children of tender years. We fully believe that but for very shame's sake many would object even to this. "It makes," they say, "the poor discontented." This really involves far more than they would wish to admit. It is not found that increased education makes other classes discontented, except in cases where it has shewn distinct and redressible wrongs inflicted on them, where ignorant, by their employers. No discontent arises when the evils of the position of the learner are such as are inseparable from his condition, or such as time only can remove. In fact, education alone is that which, in our opinion, will render the labourer able to distinguish the inevitable in his position from that which may be remedied,—that alone which, when a time of change comes, will render him reasonable in his demands, and which may be the only bulwark in hard

seasons of scarcity and trouble against the rising of a dangerous *Jacquerie*. For the time is past in which all education can be withheld from any Englishman, in which ignorance of facts is involved in ignorance of letters. The facts must now be known; it is for education to explain them. When the nearest market town was for all practical purposes the metropolis, the squire a local king, the parson the only man of letters whom the labourer knew, it might be possible to make him believe that his condition was part of the divine order. But there is a silent education in the railway and the telegraph, in the local paper, whose columns are read aloud in the village public-house; and the "thoughts which shake mankind" raise some thrill in the natures which are so slow to move, but when moved are so strong. While an insensible education is going on, disclosing to the labourer his condition, *that* is in many cases withheld, which, by enabling him to claim higher wages, would better it. We use the word "withheld" deliberately; for the children are removed from school by a pressure their parents are unable to resist, at the very time when first their teaching becomes really useful to them. Wages are so low, that a man with children above eight years old is glad of the few shillings which may be earned by them, and the employers of labour insist on these boys being sent into the fields, even if the parents would willingly make an effort to keep them at school. The farmer finds it pays him well to get two boys who, under a man, will do a man's work, but whose combined work costs less than an able-bodied man's wages. And the boys so hurried off to the fields soon forget the little they have learned at school. We have known many lads, not without intelligence, attending a night-school when they reached the age of sixteen, who have had to take up again their learning almost where it was begun at the age of six. The want of use, and hard drudgery in early years, have blotted out all that had been acquired between the ages of six and nine. Night and Sunday schools are but inadequate palliatives of a system which keeps the child of the average labourer in a state of crass ignorance to minister to sordid greed. We need, and soon must have, a system of compulsory education, whether such compulsion is direct or indirect. By indirect we mean any law which would make it illegal for an employer of labour to use the



habitual services of a child of tender years, or of one who had not passed a certain educational test,—for a parent to receive wages for his child, except under the same conditions. This would strike at the root at once of the gang system, and other forms of infant agricultural labour, and possibly, by diminishing the number of hands in any given district, at once raise the rate of wages and necessitate a larger use of machinery. This of itself demands some education of the brain, and, which is most important, frees labour from some of its heaviest accessories, involved in the exceeding physical fatigue which renders the poor so often incapable of any brain-work whatever. If the labouring class had a fair chance of education, it would soon be seen that man, not God, is responsible for their present intellectual torpor; and it would be seen further, that in the brain of the labouring class there is no twist which renders it unable to rise above the present dead level of ignorance. Already, indeed, our modern civilization has proved the very contrary, with even the present rate of education and its advance on that of past generations. Till lately, the only escape from field labour for any large number of village lads was that they should enlist. Those who found their way into gentlemen's service as footmen, grooms or keepers, were too few to be noticed in considering the really available channels. Those who enlisted were almost always the most idle and ignorant, the most sottish and irreclaimable of the village; nor do we deny that drill and discipline often worked a reformation which could never have taken place in any other way: but as the military service is constituted, it is quite impossible the recruiting sergeant should succeed in drafting away the better lads. The horror which a respectable country-woman manifests if her son enlists or threatens to do so, comes not only or chiefly from the fear that her son may

“Be shot for sixpence in a battle-field,  
And shovell'd up into a bloody trench,  
Where no one knows,”

but because she is aware of the usual characters of those who join him; because she knows that he is only too likely to spend his time of peace in alternations of shameful riot and the sick ward; because government will not protect

the soldier's health, lest it should seem to countenance his sins. Hence, till lately, the means of leaving field labour were chiefly open to those who rather sank below than rose above the average moral and intellectual standard. But there has now arisen an army of peace and progress, for enlistment in which the conditions are wholly different,—the staff of railway porters and permanent railway navvies, the platelayers who keep the road in order. None who know these men, up and down the country, their intelligence and general civility, who remember that they, often with nearly double the agricultural wages, are sprung from the same class as the field labourer, will doubt that, free only the latter from some of the conditions which clog his progress, and give general education, the minds so depressed will rise like a spring which has been weighted till now.

Our position then, in brief, on the education question is this, that there should be afforded teaching far more extended in point of time than now, far more extended in subjects for all who can receive that extension, so as to enable the children of the labouring class to seek, if they are able, other careers than field-work, which divested by machinery of many evils, must be more highly paid. That the farmer's profits will really be lessened, we do not for a moment think, not even if over and above his wages the labourer should receive, on the co-operative system, a certain per-centage on those profits; but were they to be lessened, our position would be the same. It is monstrous that while wealth is constantly increasing in the land, while the whole social state of the farmer is enormously raised, his labourer should remain where he was; that to him civilization should have given "nothing but lucifer matches and the penny post;" that to him the embrace of the earth, the mother of all, should give not increased strength, but hopeless labour, and a character for torpor in a mind which he only in this world is never called on to exercise.

II. If, however, the employer of labour is to blame in large measure for the lack of education among the poor, the landlord is scarce less so for the condition of the cottages in which they dwell. An article, however, on this special subject which appeared recently in the pages of this Review, leaves the present writer little hereon to say. There are a

few points which need a word. The system of Union rating will remove one temptation of many landlords to get rid of the cottages on their properties, and so entail on the labourer a long walk to and from his work ; to sell land on lives for cottage building is almost universally recognized as unprofitable ; what now remains is to find it the contrary to build decent cottages for the needs of any given parish or district. That it may be so is fully shewn in the paper we have quoted ; were it not so, there would be less competition for each scrap of freehold land, in even remote agricultural districts, on which cottages spring like mushrooms. And increased wages, which must come, will enable the poor more readily to pay the rent of decent homes. But if it be the business of government, which few will venture to deny, to insist on proper sanitary laws in country as well as in towns, so far as the laws of health are incontestably proved, what is to hinder sensible Building Acts for country as well as towns ? Why not condemn an undrained house, or one without access to water, as easily and as summarily as an undrained pig-sty,—a hovel with but one bed-room, as peremptorily as an over-crowded farm-yard ?

III. But dwellings have more directly an effect on the morals of the people, than would always be allowed even by those most anxious to improve them, even when the size of the family is not so large and the house so small as to render purity difficult and decency impossible. An untidy home drives the master out again to the public-house, and a dwelling which cannot be rendered comfortable soon breaks the spirits and cramps the energies of most women. There are of course some, in all ranks of life, who will make the best of everything,—some, also in all ranks, inveterate, incorrigible sluts. But, as a rule, English cottagers are tidy, clean, industrious at home ; dirt and untidiness are in direct proportion to the difficulty of making a tumble-down, draughty house comfortable, and almost in the same proportion come drunkenness, the curse of our villages, and debt. It would indeed be well if owners of cottage property would consider how much of village sin lies at their own door, how much more arises from the want of cultivation which makes the lowest form of sensual pleasure, indolent fulness of beer, almost the only recreation possible to many a labourer, the only relaxation he can promise himself on his

rare chance holidays. At the public-house there is light, warmth, conversation, tobacco, beer; at the public-house prompt payment is required, so that the ready money often goes there, while the village shop allows credit to an extent which would scarce be credited by those who do not know how enormous are the profits, how much the shop can afford to lose; and it is even convenient to have the labourer to some degree in debt, since the shopkeeper can practically insist on the purchase of inferior articles at the price of good; the debtor, like a beggar, cannot be a chooser. Against this system there is, as it seems to us, one and but one remedy, co-operation. Village co-operative stores have been tried, and succeed in many agricultural districts; they should be tried in all. Capital must be advanced, help afforded at first, but not as charity, simply as a matter of business, and if ready-money payments are rigidly enforced, the cottager will at once buy his goods where he can get them the cheapest, and, paying ready money, will not have so much each week to spend at the public-house, while the share of profits divided among the buyers according to the scale of purchases, will soon be found a distinct inducement to abandon the shop with its adulterated and then still further deteriorated goods. It is with us a question whether it might not be desirable to encourage, by a reduction in the price of a licence, the mere sale of beer in houses where it might not be consumed on the premises, so as to induce the poor to consume it at home, if and when they need it, as the classes above them take their liquor at their meals.\* For it is the drink on an empty stomach, without food at the same time, that leads to much intoxication, to say nothing of the enticements of society, and the difficulty of not paying the publican for the hours spent in his parlour. Such a licence to sell beer might be held by a co-operative store, when once such was in active and effective operation.

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\* In a village in the North of Oxfordshire, there was some years since only one man out of a population of 445 known as in the habit of getting drunk. There was only one public-house in the village, the landlord of which, being a quiet sober man with a trade, sold beer at 1d. a quart cheaper to those who would take it away in their own jugs, than to those who drank it on the premises. He always declared that it paid him to do so, and the good effects on the village were remarkable. We have lost for some years all connection with the neighbourhood, and are unable to say if the same system is continued.

From such a store would often spring reading-rooms for the members, the use of which will be rendered possible and probable by increased education. As yet, it is painful to admit, these have seldom answered their purpose. The causes of their failure are perhaps not far to seek, even over and above the present want of culture in those for whom they are intended. They have been opened either too much and too exclusively under clerical influence, or (as in the case of reading-rooms at Charlton, in Dorset, built and given to the parish by a liberal layman) clogged with conditions against smoking and against beer. They have not been the poor man's clubs; he has not been left to make his own rules, he has been under the patronage of the rich, treated like a child to be led by the hand, rather than to be taken like a brother-man by the arm, if we would aid him. There is an instinct in the labouring man which will recognize the true and the beautiful if he can once set eyes on it, which will lead him to rise to higher pursuits, more cultivated pleasures; but too often those who would do him a kindness, give him what is good with all the pleasure carefully extracted, and expect him to be satisfied with dulness, not remembering that, even if we are virtuous, there need be still for others cakes and ale.

IV. If, in speaking of the labour question, we have said nothing of women's work, it is because this is inextricably connected with the whole subject of the employment of women in all strata of society. It is not a matter to be dismissed in the few paragraphs which could possibly here be given to it. It may, however, be said in passing, that although field work, as it at present exists, is morally and socially degrading to the women engaged in it, many evils are not inseparable from the lighter kinds of labour, or employments in which women may work in company, such as turning hay and feeding a thrashing-machine. Here, again, is a point in which the use of machinery will bring some branches of labour within the reach of women, without of necessity making them brutal and unfeminine. We feel that in the real woman engaged in the fields all that is soft and womanly is more often extinguished than needs to be in the ideal woman, though many of the conditions of her work be unchanged. The proletariat of the "Princess" was at least not drawn from pregnant women and nursing mothers. Such could not have been the



“Eight daughters of the plough, stronger than men,  
Huge women, blowzed with health, and wind, and rain,  
And labour. Each was like a Druid rock ;  
Or like a spire of land that stands apart,  
Cleft from the main and clanged about with mews.”

We arrive, however, at a point in our inquiry where women are vitally concerned, and on which the poor are more misunderstood and misrepresented than on any other, and on which misunderstanding increases the evil of which complaint is made. We must perforce speak plainly ; this is no subject for a false delicacy ; for the whole moral life of our labourers is involved in it.

In the strictly rural districts, marriages are almost invariably solemnized in church ; the facilities afforded for making it a simply civil contract are not valued by the labouring class. And from the country clergy goes up one universal lament that they are powerless to stay what they so strongly and so naturally deprecate, unchastity before marriage. To leave out of consideration for the moment the births of illegitimate children, the first-born child of even the most respectable parents in the class of which we are speaking, is, to say the least of it, premature. Not only does the woman not lose character among her neighbours from such a circumstance, but the very possibility of a different state of things never seems to occur to those most nearly concerned ; nor can even the respectable poor be brought to believe that a different code on the subject obtains in other ranks of society. All that appears required by the strictest village moralists is, that the marriage should not be deferred so long as to make it doubtful whether it will take place at all ; it is certainly considered more seemly that the ceremony should precede any distinct evidence of the necessity for it ; but it is absolutely known to those who are acquainted with agricultural life, that a promise of marriage stands in the same light among the poor that the marriage itself does among their betters.

Now since conversation on such subjects is difficult even among equals so soon as it ceases to be abstract and has any individual bearing, it is far more difficult when one of the speakers is, or considers himself, entitled to deal with the other as from a superior station in rank or morality. Hence it would not be easy to find the labourer's feeling on the subject expressed in words ; but we take it as posi-

tive that the whole parson-power of England brought to bear on one young labourer would fail to bring home to his heart and his conscience that he had in any degree wronged the girl with whom he was "keeping company" if he married her, and had always intended to marry her. Neither would the girl be brought to consider herself in any degree a victim. And if this seem strange, we can only assert that "we speak of that we do know."

Here, then, we meet with a fact unique in the science of morals. A very low moral condition may spring from ignorance and thoughtlessness, but there is a divine instinct in man which recognizes the right so soon as it is really presented to the mind, even if practice does not coincide. We can scarce conceive a state of society possible in which honesty, sobriety, truth, chastity in all other forms, would not be admitted to be theoretically the higher way. In searching for the reason of this strange variation, we are thrown back on first principles.

We set aside as an impossible and even immoral dream all dogmas on the superior essential holiness of a celibate life, feeling sure that here the majority of our readers will agree with us. For the generality, chastity may be defined as the constancy of one man and one woman, each to the other, so long as both shall live. And if this be indeed the essential character of chastity, it will be found by any diligent inquirer that the poor are as a body far more chaste than the higher classes; that having on these subjects their own code of morals, they are on the whole true to it. To speak plainly, we are certain that a larger number of men among the agricultural class could adopt to their wives Arthur's words to Guinevere—

"For I was ever virgin save for thee"—

than in any other rank of society. And from large experience among the poor, we believe also that there are among poor women quite as few cases of infidelity to the marriage vow as in any other class. "The great sin of great cities," again, is unknown among the country labourers; it is not only simply impossible for a young villager to be tempted as in towns, but even to find the opportunity of gratifying lawless and casual lust. When we look at the plain speech of the poor, their miserable houses, we can only say, in

regard to this matter, with a writer in the Times, that we "wonder, not at the vices of the poor, but at their virtues."

If, then, unchastity, considered in its essence, be not a special vice of the poor, it is important that those who have to deal with them make a distinction between the manner in which they and other classes set at nought the institution of marriage. The poor do not make light of the divine part of it; a man is considered base if he deserts the woman he has intended and promised to marry; he merely postpones the civil contract, which is in this country accidentally connected with a religious service. And this no doubt leads to many grave evils. The law can take no account of desertion or breach of contract, except in certain cases always attended with much expense, and practically beyond the reach of the poor. Hence what in the upper ranks of society is an unhappy or ill-assorted marriage at the worst, becomes separation before marriage, entailing an increase of bastardy on the nation, shame on many a poor girl. Of course we are not denying that there are isolated cases, perhaps more than one in each village of any size, of girls who have lost their characters more than once; but once again we assert that the evil of which the country clergy complain as existing among their people, arises from undervaluing the social system of the country, rather than from any recognized violation of a divine or natural law.

That it is of importance to bring about identity of feeling on these matters, no one will doubt; and the first step towards it is to understand the position of those who so widely differ from the majority of their fellow-citizens. This done, it will be seen that village marriages will and must depend in very great measure on the rate of wages. Most labourers are far more comfortable in a house of their own, how poor soever it be, however they may be driven out of it again to the public-house, than "out at lodge." But so long as a girl's parents will keep her, so long as is not clear that her lover or husband is bound to do so, so long will the lover shirk the duty while the wages and prospects of the labourer are what we now see them.

To enforce, facilitate and cheapen, in every case, civil marriage, leaving the religious ceremony to be added or not at will, would probably have a decided effect in making marriage earlier between those who wish and ought to marry.

The fees, small as they may appear to those who do not need them, are often of so great moment to those concerned, that marriage is delayed indefinitely; nor are these the clergyman's perquisites alone, but in some measure those of that entirely superfluous functionary the clerk. And there are two reasons against giving up the Church fees which weigh heavily on some minds who yet feel their severity. Many a man will stickle for every fee because he honestly dreads what he calls "the thin end of the wedge;" that if fees go, next will go church-rates, and next tithes; he believes that these are the heritage of the Church, in which he has only a life-interest, and that therefore he has no right to abandon them. But, more than this, those who do not marry because fees stand in their way are commonly those who have most manifestly made it expedient that they should marry, and so the remission of fees to put an end to a scandal becomes nothing less than a premium on what it is desired to avoid.

We have no doubt that the diction of the Church service stands in its way. No part of the Prayer-book is couched in such obsolete English, so wholly incomprehensible to the uneducated. The actual words of the ceremony, "With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow;" and those others, "Thereto I plight thee my troth," might as well be written in Hebrew for any meaning they now present to the agricultural mind. And no man likes to say what he does not understand; he does not like his marriage, which is a very real and serious thing, to be accompanied by a formula which is to him unreal, unmeaning. While to the more educated classes the service in question has a Jewish cast much to be deprecated, and involves statements on the world's history which are not borne out by facts, it comes to the poor man as a cabbalistic ceremony to be feared, deferred, avoided. A cheap civil marriage, before the nearest magistrate or the district registrar, would at once lessen the present discrepancy between the practice of the poor and the intention of the law of the land, would avoid the seeming, which often leads to real, confusion between chastity and unchastity, while it would be quite as easy as it now is to hinder clandestine or illegal marriages. Thus also might the scandal and absurdity be avoided of using the

Church service for persons for whom it is manifestly unsuited ; for it can scarce be contended that prayers for the blessing of fruitfulness after marriage are adapted for the case of persons on whom that blessing has certainly been bestowed beforehand.

V. The mention of this one service leads us naturally to the question of the influence religion has on the labourer, and of what kind his religion may be. It is sometimes said and thought that a great part of the strength of the Church of England lies in the agricultural poor, and no doubt a far greater number of the lower strata of society attend its ministrations in the country than in towns. The town poor are certainly not church-goers ; in many country districts the fact is conspicuously the reverse. But it would not be fair to leave out of sight certain matters which in part account for this, quite without the need of supposing any strong attachment to the dogmatic system and discipline which it is the office of the Church Establishment to maintain.

Circumstances have made the Church territorial and aristocratic ; the labourer has been virtually “*adscriptus glebæ*,” and therefore largely under the control of the landed aristocracy. The kindness of the squire and parson affording the few comforts which soften his hard lot, it has been a matter of course that gratitude and a dumb sense of dependence have worked with the feeling of obligation, and made so large a portion of the country poor church-goers. Their nature, again, is slow to change, and unless a chance tiff with the clergyman induces defection from church as a sort of mild vengeance, men and women are apt to continue placid attendance where they have been taken as boys and girls. But to say that the country poor are attached to the doctrine of the Church of England is preposterous. Any one who has seen how in country places a High-Church rector may succeed a High Calvinist, and the people remain unconscious of the change, or if conscious adapt themselves almost at once to the new state of things, will understand us when we say that dogmatic differences have, within the wide limits of the Church, no meaning whatever to the poor. Not one in a hundred has a distinct view of any single point of dogmatic theology ; and so far as any indistinct views obtain, they are those of a languid



fatalism, stirred into energy at times by an infusion of much superstition. And this explains why none of the nobler and more cultivated forms of Dissent have any hold on the rural districts; but why those villagers who, not being immediately under the influence of their richer neighbours, leave the Church, become in many places Ranters, and why the chapels of other sects fall insensibly into the hands of Calvinistic preachers of a low and ignoble type. A view of God which leads to a deprecatory worship—of Christ as of one who has done so much for man that man need do nothing for himself—a strong dread of the powers of evil, very commonly taking the form of belief in witchcraft and charms—such is the basis of the dogmatic creed of the labourer, so far as he can be said to have one at all.

It is among the many proofs that true religion is above and quite independent of dogmatic statement and faith, that the English labouring class are not other than a religious people. Though Mr. Tennyson, in the “Northern Farmer,” has summed up for him, and such as he, the spirit in which he listens to the words in which the divine message is couched, and the view which his inmost soul takes of the messenger, he has yet heard the divine voice speaking directly to him, waking more than in any other class love to man and often love to God. It is wonderful to those who know the trials of the poor to hear the frequent expressions of earnest love to the Father of all, the affectionate yet reverent tone in which “my blessed Jesus” is named by those who have so incomplete conceptions, as it seems to us, of the characters and work of both. The patient suffering in sickness manifested, the perfect resignation to God’s will, the eager yet humble hope that at least the next life will be a better one than this, which are the usual features of the death-beds of the poor, are proofs, if such were needed, that the love of God is awakened in the heart quite otherwise than through the intellect. And if, indeed, there is needed the slow discipline of years or the iron hand of sickness to work into the mind that He who is strong is also loving, if the thoughts of the healthy and young towards God and Nature are sometimes rather those described in “Caliban upon Setebos” than those we have named, can we wonder at it? Can we wonder that men to whom God has given thews and a will to work, brains which might be exercised, children with

mouths to feed, but whom the same God has, as it seems to them, hedged in with limits they cannot pass, and dulled their brains, and given them by the hand of their masters a bare nine shillings a week, should not always easily learn that love to Him He afterwards teaches them, and should mistake the sins of society for the stern will of their Maker? But since love to man is one half of religion, and Christ said that whoever did kindnesses to his brethren did them to him, we claim the poor as a religious class, if for nothing else than for their good deeds towards their fellows. They may revile each other, say those hard things of and to their neighbours which people of higher rank only think, but if a man or woman is sick or sorry, willing and unhired hands are always ready to do kindly offices and help the helpless. The patient watch of many a husband whose day's hard labour alternates with a broken rest by his sick wife or sick child, the tenderness of many a hard hand softened by the softness of the heart, shew those who can see the religion of the poor.

No one who can read the signs of the times doubts, nor indeed do many who cannot read them, that the Church of England is passing through a crisis, of which the issue is so doubtful as to render it uncertain whether it will even survive in a form in any degree identical with its present one. If, indeed, it enlarge its borders and relax its terms of communion, still remaining essentially the same, it may be, and that increasingly, the Church of a more educated proletariat. It is much that in every parish there should be at least a semi-cultivated and semi-educated minister of religion to lead the worship of the people. But if it be necessary, and perhaps it is, that the labouring classes should pass to a conscious and deliberate freedom from dogmatism, as other classes are slowly passing, through a period of strict belief in definite points of theology, then we cannot think for a moment that, even with the largest modifications consistent with the preservation of identity, the Church of England will hold its influence over the country poor. Its creed is too scholastic, its worship too decorous and too cold, for minds in the early stages of such a development. The "incomparable Liturgy" is in the main composed of services intended and well suited for the "offices" of religious houses, but not easily lending themselves to popular

worship. The Litany and the Communion office may, indeed, be suitable to this end ; the one because it is really prayer, the other as lending itself to a high and imposing ritual, and as giving substance and weight to one great and, by the uneducated, easily credible dogma. But a religious organization which shall really reach the hearts of the people, which shall instil into them its own dogmatic system, must be formed more on the model of the Catholic missions abroad, or the Wesleyans, where active, at home, must have either fervid, simple preaching, or simple yet rich pictorial effect, strong appeals to the feeling as outside of and above reason. If, however, such a passage from the non-dogmatism of ignorance and apathy to the non-dogmatism of a philosophic religion is indeed inevitable, it behoves all men to consider whether such fervid faith will not necessarily be accompanied in the mass, who are not leavened but only stirred, by a greater laxity in morals, and to guard against it, if it be found true that the warm religionism of missions and camp meetings results not only in the conversion of some, but the fall from innocence of others.

VI. To those, however, who think with us that if man only do his duty by man, we need not perplex ourselves much about God's part, who believe that our Father in heaven will teach the souls of those of His children who wear fustian quite as well as those of the wearers of broad-cloth, and that He will not require of the ignorant more than they can give, the social and moral points in the labour question are of far more importance than that on which we have been led to speak. One only of these remains on which we wish briefly to touch. Whatever causes have led to the present depression of wages, whatever may hereafter lead to their rise, that a redressible evil exists is plain to those who consider that the labouring class alone is that which under no circumstances does or can lay up provision for old age. In the large agricultural district in which we write, there is no single instance known to the clergy or to the relieving officer in which a labourer past work is not an inmate of the Union workhouse or a recipient of out-door relief. We do not speak of sickness, for the inability to provide adequately for unforeseen and expensive medical attendance may be common to members of

all ranks, but this class alone habitually and as a matter of course calls on the State to help its aged and infirm. If society indeed is unable at present to see any remedy for this state of things, paralyzing to energy and degrading to self-respect, it lies with society, and government, which is the hand of society, to see that at least the relief given is free from circumstances which are harder to bear than dependence itself. There is no need to enlarge on evils which are now known to all, except to say that if, which God forbid, there ever come in England a strife of classes, the starvation minimum of out-door relief, the foul abominations of many country workhouses, the almost enforced neglect of many sick by the underpaid Union doctor, will not and cannot, we may almost say ought not, to be forgotten by the poor. Whatever be the modifications to be made hereafter in the workhouse system and in the whole Poor Law, one provisional and immediate reform is both possible and needful, that the Guardians for each parish be not elected only by the ratepayers, and that the Board be not composed only of such ratepayers' nominees and the few magistrates who may choose to attend. If it seem too strong a step to insist that in parishes where there are two Guardians, one should be elected by those who in case of need are entitled to relief, or that a second should be so added in parishes now entitled only to one, it would be easy to add the clergyman as ex-officio Guardian, till such time as the law is revised and improved. He at least is not under the thumb of the farmers, nor afraid at times to fall out with the squire ; he, by the bedside of the poor, has known something of their wants, and something of their wrongs at the hands of those who with unconscious irony are called their Guardians.

Irreligious, immoral, dreamy, revolutionary, unpractical, utopian, are some of the epithets which may be bestowed on the writer, if this paper chance to fall under the eyes of those who do not agree with him, and they may be few who can agree. To seem to undervalue the principles of Political Economy (which we do not) is bad enough ; to suppose that the English Church system and the Thirty-nine Articles are not the sole depositories of truth, may appear to others a greater heresy still. Well ! we beg them to say what they please, and, having exhausted adjectives, to ponder the ques-

tions raised. They may still not always think with us, nor for evils which they may admit discover the same remedies. But thought may convince some of the upper classes that the poor have the same "hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, are hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as" the rich are. Would that we could make the quotation complete, and not omit the words, "fed with the same food"!

And the more our richer and governing classes learn this, the nearer will they be to giving the labourer better teaching and better homes, power to rise and to raise his children, wages out of which he can save, to guard against a work-house death-bed and a pauper's funeral. These things, which are the rights of the poor, may, if given now, be accepted stolidly through ignorance, or even gratefully, but if long withheld they will be claimed "with a high hand," as were claimed the rights of the Children of Israel when they went out from slavery.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

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## VII.—ONE SPIRIT: MANY FORMS: ONE WORK.

*The History of the Litigation and Legislation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Ireland between 1816 and 1849.* By T. S. James. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1867.

*Nonconformity and Liberty: Letters addressed to Thomas S. James, Esq., on his "History of the Litigation and Legislation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Ireland between 1816 and 1849."* By John Gordon. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1867.

The cautious student meets now and then with a statement, which he believes out of respect for the authority of him who makes it, though in itself incredible. Such is the astonishing announcement of Mr. Gordon in the first line of his answer, that he has read Mr. T. S. James's book! The



full weight of the assertion will be felt only by such, if any there be, who shall try to repeat his Herculean labour. At the same time, five minutes spent in turning over the leaves of that heavy volume, will justify to any one the surprise which we express. Several persons have been recorded whose daily habit it was to read through their newspaper, leading article and advertisements all included, and if otherwise harmless, they were suffered to go about unconfined. That some one once read over the Dictionary, from A to Z, is reported, and may be true. But that any one, who had the use of his limbs, could sit out Mr. James's book read to him; that any one who possessed a superannuated "Times," or a volume of old sermons, should give his reading hours to "Presbyterian Chapels and Charities;" or, doing so should have failed to sink into a lethargy beyond poppies; may be believed, but cannot be brought within the sphere of human understanding. Mr. Gordon does not tell us what his daily dose of James amounted to; after how many pages he rushed into the fresh air; whether an intelligent and trustworthy Sunday scholar, armed with a rattle, stood by his chair, having orders to sound his awakening instrument whenever Mr. Gordon imitated Homer; or whether relays of able-bodied teachers were not kept in readiness, in case the opiate worked dangerously, to walk Mr. Gordon about until consciousness returned. We only know that Mr. Gordon read it. *Credimus quia incredibile.* And most seriously we thank him for having done so. Because the work, many people think, needs an answer; and a Book, most people think, to be answered, needs to be read. We do not quite agree with either of these propositions. At the same time we gratefully acknowledge the self-denying energy of Mr. Gordon, who, having done what few men could do, and live,—perused the work; has, moreover, done well, what perhaps anybody who wished it could do, but not as he has done it,—answered the work. Justice requires us to state that Mr. Gordon seems to have taken in it, also, a certain pleasure; to have experienced a keener enjoyment, than usually rewards virtue. He hunts up with zest Mr. James's misstatements; takes to pieces, with an evident satisfaction, his logical fallacies; lifts up the pyramids of argumentation, as with pleasure in the strength of his own arm, to shew

that they stand upon nothing ; and pronounces sentence, in terms not justly chargeable with obscurity, on the Unrighteousness of the End which Mr. James proposes to himself, and the Unfairness of the Means whereby he endeavours to reach that end. In our humble judgment, no one need know more of Mr. James's work, than he will get from Mr. Gordon's careful, fair, and not too tender reply.

We hinted above, that we do not altogether think the book needed a reply. For there is a class of human utterances that die best when left to themselves, acquiring a species of life in the process of being killed. We assuredly should not have run the chance of giving to this publication, even the slight and temporary importance of writing upon it, did it not, "by the irresistible suggestiveness of contrast," recal certain points, upon which we desire to deliver ourselves. For the book is not a book at all. If its parts were in any intelligible way marked off from one another, except in the table of contents, it might be viewed as a number of books in one cover. It is *not* a History of "Presbyterian Chapels and Charities," nor even *Mémoires pour servir* in the writing of such a History. It might be called a collection of Documents concerning Religious Persecution in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, only that the documents are gathered and annotated in the hope, were it possible, of using them as Weapons of Offence in a like unholy cause in the latter half. If it were a book at all, it might be called an Essay towards shewing that Bigotry cannot prevent inevitable changes of religious opinion ; but its author wants to prove the exact contrary. It might be looked upon as an Encyclopædia of efforts once made, on a narrow field, but with great and bitter energy, to prevent the Spirit blowing where it listeth ; to lay the weight of pecuniary loss, on the free movements of the love of truth. It might have been a Blue Book, but then its contents must have been gathered impartially. It might have been a sort of Nonconformist Hansard, but then its reports should not have been garbled. As it is, it resembles nothing so much as what we cannot doubt its outward and visible form actually was, when it went as copy into the printing-office, and caused, by the illegibility of its MS., dismay and lamentation among the denizens of that gloomy abode. It must have been a vast collection of printed newspaper and

pamphlet cuttings, pasted into a scrap-book, the margins of whose leaves were written over with original matter. This scrap-book we acknowledge to having treated as a lucky-bag, dipping into it here and there, with varying success in our hawls. At one time we find such information as *this*: "Birdorp Craig, al Birdhop Craig, 10 miles west of Ellesden al Catchike al Reddesdale. f. Joseph Tait [rem.] John Chesholme. 300. 24. G. 1.;" and so on for forty-seven pages. This, however, is in the Appendix, where even authors of *books* are permitted to be statistical, and obscure. Nor does the present writer affirm, as incautious antiquaries used to do concerning the cuneiform inscriptions, that there is no meaning at all. A Layard has excavated Assyrian history out of the Birs Nimroud. A future gold-digger, probably a self-taught student from Ballarat, may extract interesting Nonconformist nuggets from Mr. T. S. James's Appendix. Again, at another dip, we come upon some twenty-seven pages of which the following is a specimen: "That it is established as a fact beyond doubt that L. H. was an E.O.P.D. from the Established C. of E., and that in her religious faith and belief she was a decided T. and P.D., and that in her religious faith and opinions she differed very greatly from the I. D. from the Established C. of E., and had no connection whatever with the class of D. commonly called I.," &c. &c.

After an examination that cost us a headache, we think we may say that these hieroglyphics are extracted from affidavits in a suit brought by certain Scottish sects, called Kirkmen and Seceders, united in their desire to pouch the booty, but decidedly hostile to one another on every other matter, as those sects usually are whose lines of demarcation are invisible to outsiders. One may also find, in an account of Lady Hewley's case, covering one hundred and forty pages, a few precious bits; as, for example, the answers given in by certain defendants, which, being in the words of Scripture, were not deemed sufficient; whereupon they were ordered to give further answers, and they who required further answers did not take much by their motion: for\* "Defendants Wellbeloved and Kenrick say: 'They believe it to be true that, in so far as the doctrine of a Trinity of

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\* P. 276.

Persons in the Deity is to be found in the Scriptures, the Protestant Dissenters called Unitarians receive the same as scriptural; and that in so far as such doctrine is not to be found in the Scriptures, but not further or otherwise, the Protestant Dissenters called Unitarians reject the same as unscriptural:" and thus through all the chief controverted points, rendering answers where the serpent was sweetly blended with the dove. One comes, here and there too, upon very pleasant little stories, as that, for example, where the party on the *wrong* side, according to James, in the Wolverhampton dispute (seventeen pages), hurrying post haste to Stafford to get first the ear of the Grand Jury for an information against his antagonist, is, by that antagonist, the party on the *right* side (sec. Jac.) outrun, and by a carriage-and-four passed, so that when he arrives at the Assize town, he finds himself defendant in place of plaintiff. Benignant reader will understand that there was very little right on either side, and much wrong on both; as is usually the end of squabbles between Congregations and Trustees, wherein locksmiths are employed to shut, and sledge-hammers to break open, Chapel doors. The Preface, this present writer *has* read through, and must acknowledge that he has rarely perused twenty drearier pages, even in the not lively species of literature, to which it belongs. The parts in the Preface which need reply have been replied to, as those in the rest of the book, by Mr. Gordon. He may with confidence be trusted, as having omitted to notice no important *class* of errors, and no large *order* of misstatements. The only fault we find with Mr. Gordon's able and complete answer is, that it takes the matter too seriously, as though Mr. James's attack really imperiled great principles and precious rights; as though his book could do anything but perpetuate—along with some interesting facts, and a few valuable documents—the writer's own bitter disappointment at the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Act, which, in the opinion of the introducers of the Bill, was "a moderate and scanty measure of justice." It is not this time the venerable fly in amber; it is certain fossils in a lump of worthless conglomerate. But the disappointment is genuine; the bitterness of heart is sadly serious. No man could have undertaken such a labour of hate as this weighty book has been, without very strong convictions.

Mr. James's confession of the imperfections of his work, along with the hope that it has not been altogether in vain, is sincere and manly. Another proof—and they grow, we trust, scarcer with time—of the darkness which religious bigotry brings over clear sight, and the hardness which it pours into honest hearts. For that he calls the Protestant Dissenters, commonly of late years known as Unitarians, "Socinians," he has been sufficiently chastised by Mr. Gordon. That impropriety may be excused at least by those like the present writer, who object to a dogmatic title, and who are willing to be called names—as Huguenots, Quakers and others were—by opponents, which themselves neither accept nor reject. But the *odium theologicum* must have been strong, and for the while blinded sense of justice and due respect for the conscientious convictions of others, in a man of character and principle, when Mr. James can assert "that law lords, as law makers, not only shake off the technicalities of their courts, but the notions of right and conscience which they know they must observe there." "Those who supported the Bill carried the vote of their House by assertions and reasonings which they had themselves rejected and exposed as false and fallacious." "The Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst) misrepresented the decision in the Hewley case, forgetting the point of it, and grossly exaggerating details which he entered into." When he can say—"The Premier (Sir Robert Peel) supported it only by assertions which were the exact opposite of the facts." . . . "Every stage of the Bill in each House was equally signalized by some new trick or deception on the part of its noble, right honourable, or honourable supporters."\*

It is clear, and Mr. James acknowledges it with disgust, that Lords Lyndhurst and Brougham would have been willing for the Bill to have gone farther, and to have stopped litigation "where actual possession for thirty, forty or sixty years could be proved, even though there had been a will of the founder, and though the principle upon which the founder desired his charity to be administered could be proved." The Bill did not, however, do this; probably it is better as it is. The Bill provided, that in all cases in which the will or other instrument creating a fund "shall



declare in express terms . . . the particular religious doctrines or opinions for the promotion of which such fund is intended, then . . . such fund shall be applied to the promoting of the doctrines or opinions so specified, any usage of the congregation to the contrary notwithstanding." Some of us may think the Bill incomplete, and may desire, and when opportunity serves work for, its enlargement or amendment. As long, however, as the law stands as it does, the duty of "Unitarian" Trustees seems very clear; and that is to divest themselves, with all convenient speed, of all moneys, be the same small or great in amount, that were given for purposes, known by common usage of language as, "orthodox." That the Bill gives no power to resist suits instituted to recover money given under such close Trusts, is clear; if not from the wording of the Act itself, which seems as plain as language can be, certainly from the decision in January 1860, on "the Matter of the Ancient Chapel, Toxteth Park." To hold, until it is wrested from us by law, money to which the law gives us no right, is not dignified. And the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Act makes a great and obvious difference in the moral aspects of the matter. Before the Hewley decision, "Unitarian" Trustees might naturally consider themselves, and doubtless did consider themselves, to be in just possession of property which, having come into their hands by natural descent, belonged to them rather than to any others. Until that Decree undeceived them, they believed the day to be gone by for raking up penal laws, and applying obsolete statutes, persecuting under the guise of toleration, to questions where, in the words of Mr. Sheil, "the enthusiasm of orthodox solicitors was associated with the rapacity of acquisitive divines." The original Trustees were not to think themselves less competent to administer trust funds given by Trinitarian ancestors, than is the present Established Church of England to use the buildings and the property, raised and endowed, by Roman Catholics; and when the law was pronounced against them, they could not recognize its justice, and waited to be compelled to do what only compulsion could justify to themselves.

But the Dissenters' Chapels Act having secured us so large, even if not a full measure of justice, the case is altered. Henceforth the duty of yielding up into "orthodox" hands, every fund expressly left for "orthodox" pur-

poses, seems as clear as daylight. This has been already in several cases done. It is generally believed, however, that opportunities still exist for surrendering, with a good grace, moneys which will otherwise one day be overhauled by the present, or some improved, Charity Commissioners. That our country is full of misapplied Trust funds, funds that do everything but what their founders meant them to do, and go into any one's pocket except those for whom they were intended, is true enough, and very sad. This, too, needs mending, and will be mended by and by, but the fact does nothing to relieve our consciences. We have a reputation for honesty to keep up. If we are not honest, we are nothing. And to apply to the purposes of Unitarian teaching or worship, funds expressly left to support Trinitarian worship or teaching, can hardly be accounted honest, until there is no more Trinitarian teaching for which it can be used, or at least until the law shall have been altered.

Opinion has changed, and is changing very much, upon the whole subject of Endowments. We recognize now that the purpose of our pious ancestors, Roman Catholic or Puritan, in leaving of their substance for the service of God and man, was a noble purpose. Experience has taught some of us, and is teaching all, that this comparatively easy form of beneficence, as is usual with easy methods of doing duty, is less noble, and also less truly beneficial, than the nobler and harder one. We are beginning to see that to do good with his substance, a man must do it himself, or see it done; that he must give with a living hand, not with a dead one. When with a cheerful heart and a wise judgment a man gives and sees to the application of his gift, good will come. The Christian ideal, "Sell what thou hast and give to the poor," allowing for Oriental amplification, is approached by all who hold, after the admirable doctrine of "social duties" reviewed in the last number of this Journal, that some of their worldly substance is *due* to the service of God and man, year by year. By those who only bequeath what they could no more enjoy, the Christian ideal, as we now see it, is scarcely even approached. Law will probably seal the results of public opinion in this direction, by extending to other kinds of property the Mortmain statutes. Their application solely to land, is founded on the unjust and absurd distinction which calls "land"—the only species of property, which can never in the nature of things

be wholly within an individual's control, can never be any one's true *proprium*—*real* property. This, however, is mere anticipation. The sentences with which Mr. James's work closes, before the Appendix, deserve to be quoted. They are cited with approval by Mr. Gordon, and afford the sole occasion on which the present writer has agreed with Mr. James, both in word and in spirit.

"Experience," he says,\* "has shewn that endowments have very rarely if ever benefitted them (Dissenters). Independently of this consideration, it seems difficult to prove a man's right to withdraw any property from the dominion of those who come after him by giving it to charity, and so perpetuating his own control over it. *Te teneam et mortuus*, should not be said by a Christian man to his property. Endowment is a very potent part of establishment, and religious opinions should be left to be supported year by year by those who believe them; for error of one sort or another will, generally, be better endowed than truth, and the latter will be most advanced if endowment is prohibited."

It would have possessed uncommon interest for us, if we could learn answers to a few questions, which this last sentence suggests. Why should error be better endowed than truth, except on the view against which this whole book is designed to be a battery of heavy ordnance? How can error come to be endowed better than truth, except on one of two suppositions: either that truth-loving congregations, when endowed, have a tendency to prefer error, on which theory Mr. James ought surely to have rejoiced that the old Presbyterian funds had fallen into the hands of "Socinian" holders, leaving orthodox churches free from their contaminating influence; or otherwise, that what he calls "error" is the natural offspring of what he calls "truth," which we should be more ready to admit, perhaps, than he? In either case, the course taken by the party by him defended can hardly be approved by him, as a true making "friends of the unrighteous mammon."

The re-opening of this controversy ought not to be wholly in vain. We had thought it over, decently buried in the past. It was not our wish to be reminded, that less than a generation ago, a suit could be brought to turn out Trustees

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\* P. 633.

whose administration was not complained of, at an expense to the charitable fund amounting, says Mr. James, to above £10,000,—approaching, said Lord Lyndhurst, £30,000. Their administration *could* hardly be seriously impugned as partial, when of 247 recipients of the funds during the last year of the ejected Trustees, 64, according to Mr. James, more probably 61 only, were “Socinians.” What ought we to learn from this? The day of endowments we may believe to be past, but the days of chapel-building have come again. The most scrupulous care will doubtless henceforth be taken, in the deeds of all future chapels and schools, to avoid expressions that could, by any possibility capable of being foreseen, become exclusive or hostile to freedom. This may be looked on as duty towards the future; a duty to posterity—according to the noble principles of J. S. Mill, that we owe to posterity repayment of whatever was done by public-spirited men of times past for us. “Unitarians” possess many chapels and some funds now, which would not have been theirs had not the givers of them abstained from expressing, so as to bind the future, their own cherished convictions. We have but to do likewise. To work for the Future in all and every sphere of human activity, is identical with doing the duty of the Present in the best possible way. When we have in hand that which is to endure for some years, perhaps generations, we are not called upon to work for, i.e. in the place of, the Future, as with an insight into the Unknown which would be miraculous—and useless. We are to perform the present duty with especial care to clear our view of it from all selfish admixture; from all alloy that is temporary, local or personal; from all tradition come down out of the past, and therefore no more wholly suited to the present. We are not bound to provide in the Trust-deeds of our chapels for the time, which a few may dread and a few may hope for, but which at all events is not yet come, when Christianity shall be “overcome,” as the Germans say, i.e. passed by, left behind. Still less are we called upon, when we raise temples to the worship of God, to look forward into any gas-illuminated dreary future, when some “Positive,” or Negative, Philosophy shall have taken the place of Religion. But inasmuch as we are arrived, perhaps, at the point of seeing that all who worship *one* God worship the *same* God; and certainly

can know, if we will, that members, few but chosen, of all the Monotheistic peoples are beginning to realize that oneness of their beliefs, which Lessing means to depict in the beautiful parable spoken by the sage Nathan ; as we know, moreover, that "chosen men from every nation under heaven"—Hindoos, Parsees and Buddhists, for example—are working their own way to this very Monotheism,—it may appear sufficient, and if sufficient, best, to devote our churches henceforth simply to the Worship of God and to the Elevation of man ; it may seem best not to add any of those customary references or inclusions of Jesus Christ, which, if examined, would be found to have their origin in some Divinitarian hypothesis concerning his nature. To the present writer this course seems a continuing, a carrying forward, not an exaggeration or perversion, of that wise reticence, that anxious care *not* to put fetters on the necks of their successors, which marked our Presbyterian forefathers respecting their own Trinitarian convictions.

To meet together for the worship of God and for religious instruction, and to have a place where thus to meet, is not only the chief, it is the sole, *raison d'être* of a congregation of a chapel. *The Church*, i.e. all faithful men and women at one time living on this earth, or in one country, must do a great deal more than that, or they do not fulfil their destination ; their Christianity is not worth much. But *a church*, that is a congregation, unites, meets, exists, for that end, and that end only. The nature of the end, as most see and all experience, demands some considerable degree of Agreement among those who thus meet for worship and instruction, and between them and the person, if any, whom they set over themselves as teacher. The union should be a close one ; an union of hearts ; an opening of the treasures of the spirit in him who teaches, a willing and thankful receiving in those who hear. And close Union will be found to involve considerable Agreement, not precisely in all forms of thought, called Doctrines or religious opinions, but certainly in the great limbs or chief roots of thought—what we might call Systems of belief. Therefore, the existence of sects or denominations whose members worship usually apart, is justified in the nature of things. No liberality of spirit could make a member of the Society of Friends feel at home, as a regular worshiper, in a Roman Catholic



Church ; and not any, the most perfect, catholicity of heart could enable a follower of Channing to take, with full consent, the ministrations of the most excellent Calvinist. The visible church must be thus divided, or rather, let us say, arranged in order. We call it not schism when a garden of man's making shews fruits and flowers, each occupying its own place, gathered together as soil or exposure suit each one. We detect no rivalry when in the unspoiled country, "Garden of the Lord," white lilies open their pure bosoms upon the still water, pink roses cluster on the hedge-row, and harebells toss their merry heads on the sandy wayside. Union in spirit along with diversity of doctrine, unity of essence in worship along with varieties of form,—these, we have learned from our greatest leaders of this generation to hope for, in the Church of the Future. We have learned from them to dread each and any artificial Union, by howsoever noble names it might be called, lest it should prove a wolf in sheep's clothing, and turn out to be only one sect more.

We live in no peaceful time. Darkness and threatening storm-clouds are over the future, immediate and distant alike. "We see not our signs, and no one telleth us how long" matters in the "Religious World" shall be as they are, or get better, or grow worse. But among all the signs that trouble and alarm, this one gives true comfort: the fact that this "Union amid Diversity" is more possible to be recognized than ever before. Hearts and minds find one another now as never aforetime. Utterance is in every way more easy. The dialects of churches, and the patois of sects, are wearing down. They had their historical interest, like Swiss dialects of cantons, or Italian patois of provinces ; but for humanity's need, a Christian κοινὴ διάλεκτος is to be preferred, to the side-by-side existence in this land, of High-Church Attic, Dissenting Doric, and Evangelical Bœotian. Men brought up in the most diverse Christian sects meet, mutually unknown, in a room or a railway carriage, and find that in heart they agree—the Calvinist with the Friend, the Unitarian with the Episcopalian. All agree because they are seeking the spirit, and conceive that the letter may, must, to a certain extent be neglected. The converse is likewise true. "Our foes are they of our own household." The men with whom we must exchange pulpits, may be

those with whom we have nothing else in common. But this is a delicate subject. They who love the Lord *know one another*. The invisible Church always existed, and was acknowledged by all; consisting of those whom the eye of God saw to be truly spiritual, truly disciples of the highest and best, under whatever differing forms. The union of the spirit exists now not *more* than before, but more known, more felt, through the increased communication which is one special distinction of this age. Would anything be gained by attempting a declared and formal Union? They, who permit no artificial barrier to divide their hearts one from another, are united—in heart; can they be more so? It is their inmost conviction that “all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity,” and, with a formula even wider—which the same great apostle would have acknowledged as synonymous—all who strive to make the love of God and the love of man, the twofold yet harmonious poles of their spiritual life, *are* one in heart, *must* agree, *can* work together, whenever they meet, converse, and find a common purpose. It seems futile to form an objective Union for the purpose of *being* something, or of expressing aloud that we *are* something. To be is what each one learns and does for himself, by himself. What I *am* is between my own soul and the Infinite One. I do not go out of myself, do not consciously join in society with others, in order to *be*. Surely we unite with others that we may *do* something. The purpose of objective union is co-operation. If we say, “Go to; I will unite with my neighbour on the basis of speaking the truth, or on the great principle of every man’s being bound to help those that want help, or to be sober and temperate,”—we get at once, what most of us recognize, not to be true Societies. We say, a Temperance Society, to join which men promise to be temperate, is logically unsound, because they unite to be something which was their bounden duty before. The Freemasons seem to be an association whose object is *to be*—humane, brotherly; and few who are not members of that Society doubt that Freemasonry is Christian brotherhood, *plus*, cap and bells. If it possess an organization to effect mutual help, the cap and bells may be excused. If we are to draw all free religious thinkers together, let it be to carry out to their legitimate consequences the principles of Religious Freedom. Let us have an Asso-

ciation to procure the Repeal of the Act of Uniformity to begin with, remembering the admirable advice of J. S. Mill at the breakfast to W. L. Garrison, that to do any real good, men should from conviction aim at some end, that seems to others Quixotic, Utopian. We believe the carrying of that Repeal, not a whit more improbable than was the Repeal of the Corn Laws, at the opening of that agitation; and a thousand times more probable, than was Negro freedom in America, when Garrison stood up against the world.

But less startling and more needful is a Union of Beneficence. Never before as now, though by blessed inconsistency always more than theoretic opinion permitted, did men of discordant religious opinions meet and work together on the platform of good works—stand shoulder to shoulder in the battle for the rights of mankind. Ere long we shall see commonly, what has been seen already in a most unpromising quarter—Glasgow—an union of all the religious denominations of a city, for the purpose of organizing effectual beneficence. It were a worthy exercise for the best Christian spirits, to organize such a Religious Mission to the Heathen of our workshops and the Unconverted of the useful classes, as would bring to *them* the idea that all sects really mean the same thing, viz. Love to God and, but especially in, Love to Man. By using the *specialité* of each sect wisely, such union would bring within the influence of the morality and religion of Jesus, the Many who now remain without in darkness, but would come in if they could see His light, even through variously tinted panes. Out of such Union for work, who knows what Church might grow? Who can say what sweet accord of divine service might spring up among men meeting from time to time to divide, according to skill and capacity, the one work of serving mankind, and to compare experiences and rectify errors? Who knows how closely they who were of one heart, in using their hands for some good work, might come to be of one mind? Recruits from a dozen sections of a country soon sing the same chorus, and step to one march. But the Letter is not yet found, we must think, that will hold the Spirit which must animate any Union or Church, that would be truly wide enough for the present. Many of us feel that were we to give up—for ourselves—the name of Christian, we should be letting go “the Name above every name:” losing

our hold upon the best Word that has lived down the tide of Time: that to do so would be a denying of our Master: an ingratitude for all that we might have learned, so much more, alas! than we have learned, from Him and His teaching, as they have opened themselves to our minds. Many of us feel that in losing Jesus for our acknowledged Master, we should, in no mystical but in a very actual sense, be losing what is to us the best guarantee of God himself. Many a poor weak heart that cannot rise to the contemplation of pure spirit, feels that He indeed revealed God to us, and is our Mediator just because He was always near to God, as we are not, and dare not hope to be.

On the other hand, how can we dispense, in a Spiritual or Free Religious Union, with those whom no latitude of permitted interpretation would induce to suffer themselves to be called Christians? The Christian virtues are not all found most in Christians. Think of the unflinching love of Truth shewn by men of science, who now-a-days, alas for it! rarely call themselves Christians. Consider the intellectual conscientiousness of men like Huxley and Darwin. This quality of intellectual conscientiousness is not yet so much as named among Theological virtues. Where is the confessed Christian philosopher or politician, who has read Parliament and the thinking public of England, such lessons of—we *must* call it—"religious" duty, upon social and political questions, as J. S. Mill?

The mistake of any proposed objective Union on the basis of Holiness and Love, which is, we fully agree, "the only possible principle of a true Catholic Church," seems to the present writer to be *à priori*, antecedent to all experience of success or failure, in fact. The Union *exists*; it *needs* not to be made, and it *cannot* be made. Nothing can frustrate it but our own want of faith. When our Religious spirit truly lives on the side of its awe and veneration, we are Methodists with the Wesleys; Evangelicals with Fletcher or Wilberforce; Roman Catholics with J. H. Newman; Episcopalians with John Keble, or the Hares, or the Trenches; and Theists with Parker or F. W. Newman. When our Religious spirit truly awakes, on the side of Truth and Holiness, we feel that above the *arrière pensées* and "farther fetches" of Theologians, we are lifted up and purified by the men of Fact and Law, who will at no price "lie

for Jehovah," not even so far as to assert that He exists, when they cannot prove it; who put off what their hearts desire, as ours do, till His hand, which is "about them and they know it not," shall touch them to a life they dared not hope for, after this "life's fitful fever." The Union *is*, therefore we cannot make it. If we try, we only draw another line, on the already so be-sectioned chart of Spiritual Geography. No union of Christian men with whatever most painful elimination of Christian ideas, or writing of the name of Jesus in invisible ink, could be anything but a weakened reproduction of the Evangelical Alliance. The best event that could happen, except that it should not be attempted, would be that it should fail!

W. H. HERFORD.

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#### VIII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *The Second Table of the Commandments, a Perfect Code of Natural Moral Law, and of Fundamental Human Law, and the Criterion of Justice.* By David Rowland. Longmans. 1867.

A FRESHNESS and evident earnestness of thought, which it is delightful to meet, is brought into theology and biblical criticism when an educated layman feels impelled to write on such subjects. Here we have a lawyer of high standing (known as the author of one of the best and most readable books on the constitutional history of England) applying himself to the Second Table of Mount Sinai, and maintaining it to be "a Perfect Code of Natural Moral Law," &c. Ethical subjects are not new to Mr. Rowland, who a dozen years ago wrote *An Inquiry into Moral Evil*, and more recently a treatise intitled, *Laws of Nature the Foundation of Morals*. Both these little books were as fresh-minded as the present treatise; and all evince a profound belief in the harmony of nature and revelation. Probably, indeed, few professed theologians, even of the most scripture-loving order, would think the thesis announced in the title of the



present volume strictly tenable, unless its terms were defined in a somewhat special sense. With the highest historical estimate of the laws of the two tables, as seen in comparison with contemporary institutions, few would pronounce them a perfect code either of Religion or of Morals. The First table (containing Laws i. to iv.) forbids polytheism, image-worship and taking the Holy Name in vain; but lays down no positive rules for worship in spirit and in truth. It also fails in the direction of excess, if viewed as an abstract code of pure religion and worship, by its Sabbath law (the fourth), which stands forth in its Jewish ceremonial dress, and only the spirit of which can endure, as thankfully preserved by our Christian civilization. So the Second table, of six commandments respecting human morals, admirable as it historically is, scarcely meets the ethical philosopher's demands for a comprehensive abstract or code of human duty in all departments. He finds the great mutual rights of human beings defended, indeed, by the prohibition of the great wrongs, murder, adultery, theft, false-witness; but these four laws are preceded by the injunction of honour to parents (the only *positive* precept besides that of the Sabbath, and scarcely of the nature of judicial law, though truly the basis of moral character); and they are wound up by the prohibition, Thou shalt not covet, which is virtually a recapitulation and extension of the other four, with more direct reference to the evil *desires* from which the evil acts flow. Moralists have not failed also to observe that these commandments fall short of a thorough system of morals, as the virtues of Beneficence, Truth, Justice, Temperance, Self-control, &c., are not enumerated. How, then, does Mr. Rowland, with his exact legal habits of thought, maintain his thesis? By defining his nomenclature in a way somewhat new in moral philosophy (and somewhat confusing, it must be confessed, till clearly apprehended); but which, if we adopt it with him, makes his meaning perfectly clear and his positions in the main indisputable. He distinguishes moral *Law* from moral *Duty*, as a part from the whole, namely as that part the violation of which is not simply an immorality but a *crime*, and the regulation of which is rightly matter of human Jurisprudence. His position, therefore, in effect is, that the Second table is a perfect code of *natural jurisprudence*, and the true criterion for the

human administration of Justice. This theme he maintains with great earnestness and clearness, and in a manner that justifies the theologian's highest admiration of the Decalogue. He points to Life, Family and Property as the great natural rights of man, which are sanctioned by the 6th, 7th and 8th Commandments. Then he vindicates, as a lawyer (or a theologian) well may, the judicial importance of the law against false-witness, and also the propriety of its stopping short of all questions of casuistry as to the obligation of Truth, where crime is not involved. Still, even on this definition of Moral *Law*, the first commandment of the Second table seems a beautiful excrescence, shewing Moses as a Moral Teacher as well as Jurist; and the tenth, Thou shalt not covet, is represented by our author himself as a somewhat superfluous summary of the previous four. We may hesitate, therefore, to accept the Second table as a "perfect code" even of fundamental human law; while proud of the attestation thus given, in a form legal rather than theological, to the wisdom of the Decalogue. The later chapters of the book call the great Jurists in aid of the author's conclusions, and severely deprecate the utilitarian principle of morals in comparison with "the theory of natural moral law." Perhaps the two, when rightly and well understood, might be proved consistent, if not identical.

E. H.

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2. *A History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy.* By Charles Hemans. London: Williams and Norgate. 1866.

To trace the history of Christianity by a close and exact examination of the works of art which have been created to meet her requirements, is an idea which has unfortunately not been very successfully carried out in this book. The subject is one which might be as rich in result as it certainly would be attractive in process; but Mr. Hemans fails to connect the gradual development of the dogmas of the Church so closely with its artistic growth, as we think he might have done, if he had executed his own plan more thoroughly and more consistently. As it is, he has given us a sketchy ecclesiastical history, with occasional notices of contemporary works of art unorganically attached,

so that the story is too frequently interrupted by what almost appears irrelevant matter. Many common statements, for instance, both as to the doctrines and the ceremonies of the early Christians, would be much modified by a careful and critical study of the interesting memorials which have been preserved to us in the Catacombs of Rome. But the reader of Mr. Hemans' chapter, "The Church in the Catacombs," will be more fortunate than the present writer, if from it he can derive anything akin to a clear conception of the very gradual development to which those venerable memorials of antiquity (which our author persists in calling "*subterraneans*") bear witness of Christian dogma. In the earlier epitaphs we trace but very slight indications indeed of anything which can with certainty be distinguished from a refined Paganism, and it is only in very late inscriptions that we see Christ spoken of as Divine, or trace in the titles added to the names of the departed the recognition of those varied spiritual orders which have been adopted as apostolic in the Roman Church. Mr. Hemans overlooks this gradual growth far too much. For instance, he asserts,\* that "no moral truth could be more convincingly established by monumental proof than the unanimous belief with which the Church, at this first and purest phase in her history, directed adoring regards to the Logos, the perfect Image of the Father, as true and essential Deity." For this unqualified statement it would be difficult to find the satisfactory evidence; and if our readers refer to an article upon the Catacombs in our second volume, p. 644, they will find the contrary opinion affirmed by a writer upon whose critical accuracy and learned research they can rely with safety. The symbolism which marks all the paintings in the Catacombs and all the earliest sculpture discovered on sarcophagi must surprise those who think of the early Christians as ascetic. It may be confidently affirmed that all the emblems are of a cheerful character. We see no trace of anything which is not suggestive of faith and hope and joy: so far is this avoidance of everything painful carried, that on one sarcophagus where the soldiers are represented as crowning our Lord in mockery, a garland of flowers is substituted for the crown of thorns mentioned in the gospel; and whether

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\* P. 47.

it was, as Mr. Hemans suggests,\* “from a reserve imposed by reverential tenderness, or the fear of betraying to scorn the great object of faith respecting that supreme sacrifice accomplished on Calvary,” or, as we are almost inclined to believe, from the habit of dwelling more upon the life, both past and present, than on the death of Christ, we cannot discover a single reference to the agony or the crucifixion of the Lord in all the monuments of the Catacombs.

The gradual decline of Christian simplicity in faith and morals after the triumph of the Church in the time of Constantine, is very fairly and conscientiously traced, and the causes of the fall of the Empire are very graphically narrated. It is rather surprising that, with so clear a recognition of the low condition into which the Romans had fallen, Mr. Hemans should still ascribe the destruction of the ancient memorials of art to Gothic and so-called barbarian invaders. He is acquainted with the valuable writings of Gregorovius, to whom he often refers with just praise; and yet he repeats the charges so wantonly made of the ruthless havoc of the invaders, instead of pointing out, with the learned historian of the city of Rome, how it is owing to the barbarism of the native Italians themselves that the rich treasures of ancient art are lost to us for ever. The references which in various parts of the volume the author makes to the destruction of ancient works of art are inconsistent; as at times he tells us of “edicts passed by the Goths to protect antique statues against the barbaric propensities of a degenerate people,”† “of statues and friezes by Praxiteles and Lysippus thrown down as mere missiles of war in the defence of the fortified Mausoleum of Hadrian by the Greeks,” who were then besieged by the Goths; while he has accused the Goths in previous passages of having been the ruthless ravagers of the treasures of art.

Of greater importance to the world than the loss of artistic treasures is the influence which the fall of the Western empire had upon the power of the Pope. With the abolition of the power beneath which the Bishops of Rome had been subject, rose the influence of the hierarchy and its chief priest, who now began to exercise temporal authority in the city. We find Boniface I. depriving the Novatians

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\* P. 41.

† P. 230.

of churches which the Emperors had permitted them to hold ; the Liberian Basilica witnessed a Pope burning heretical books ; and with the temporal authority the Church obtained, and only too soon exercised, the right of persecuting heretics. The fifth century also gives us the first example of a head of Christ which is neither beautiful nor youthful, departing from the more ancient type, and now painted as mature in years and stern in aspect. It was but natural that as the doctrinal teaching of the Church dwelt more upon the position of Christ as the Judge instead of as the Saviour of men, that the representations of him should partake more of the awful character which that office suggested ; while the yearning of man for tenderness and love seeking for expression, should bring into greater prominence the memory of Mary, and give rise to the reverence for her which early in the same century caused a church to be dedicated to her, and which in our own day has led to the definition of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The history of the Roman Church during the dark period of the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, is a painful study ; and though Mr. Hemans, with charitable zeal, dwells upon every benevolent action which can be ascribed to any of the Popes, even if that benevolence manifested itself in the indiscriminate almsgiving which perpetuated for centuries a dependant spirit among Roman citizens, yet page after page of his work is marked with sad records of ambition cloaking itself with the garb of religion, of personal greed making pretence of zeal for the Church, until we close the book with the painful feeling that the Church had almost entirely lost the spirit of the faith it professed to teach, and that it cannot have been among the Bishops of Rome that Jesus Christ found his true disciples.

The period of nine centuries which is included in Mr. Hemans' book brings the reader to the time when the German empire was established under the great Charles, a time from which, according to some chronologers, we ought to date modern history. To write an impartial narrative of the progress of the Church in those times is a high merit, and this we must accord to the gentleman whose work we are noticing. It is equally free from the opposite extremes of Roman Catholic or Protestant bigotry ; indeed, at times we have been impressed with a conviction that the author



is even more liberal than he would most likely be willing to confess. Holding as he does opinions which startle the reader—as, for instance, when he confesses to a belief in the supernatural element having been mixed up with the oracle system of heathenism;\* sympathizing as he does with such sacerdotal practices as auricular confession†—yet no one can more fearlessly expose the degeneracy of Roman Catholicism, or attack more effectively the baneful influence of the temporal sovereignty of Popes or the excesses of Mariolatry; and although there can be no doubt as to his personal adherence to the standards of so-called orthodoxy, he declares that practical religion and humanity may co-exist with any dogmatic errors, and that even the unorthodox may be true Christians.‡ It is in such a spirit alone that ecclesiastical history can be truly written; but even this spirit will not be sufficient to make all contributions equally valuable. Adequately to describe the course of Christianity, critical power, graphic vigour, philosophical insight, must be combined with cordial sympathy for everything pure and holy, and extensive reading and study, and we cannot say that we have discovered all these qualities in the book under review. S. A. S.

### 3. *Miscellaneous.*

Mr. White's "Life and Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg"§—our notice of which has been deferred in the hope of being able to give a more elaborate estimate of the book and its subject than we now find to be possible—is an excellent piece of religious biography. The two handsome volumes in which it is contained comprise not only all that is known of the life of Swedenborg, but an abstract of his various works, in which the curious reader, who may have been deterred by the diffuseness of the master's style, and the confusedness of his utterance, from making the attempt to comprehend his distinctive principles, may have such a foretaste of his wisdom as, should the experiment prove successful, may allure him to deeper study. Mr. White's style is lively and pleasant; his methods of presenting ab-

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\* P. 126.

† P. 164, note.

‡ P. 247.

§ Emanuel Swedenborg, his Life and Writings. By William White. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1867.

struse and difficult themes clear; and, above all, he impresses the reader with a strong conviction of his perfect trustworthiness and candour. The truth about Swedenborg is not unfrequently such as a zealous disciple might hardly wish to have told; and Mr. White tells the truth. Rightly or wrongly, the reader feels that he has in this book the materials for a fair, even if not a complete and final, judgment of Swedenborg's claims. So far as it goes, it is a real and solid addition to his knowledge.

Mr. White's relation to the life which he has to narrate and the doctrines which he has to describe is peculiar, and not easy to be exactly made out. Had he not been conscious of the highest appreciation of Swedenborg as a religious seer, he would hardly have taken the pains to write this book. But he is Swedenborgian on the critical side. He sees nothing improbable or irrational in Swedenborg's claims, and defends the reality of his celestial and infernal visions; but at the same time he seems to say that the visionary could see objectively only that which was subjectively in himself, and he asserts an individual right of criticism and selection. If we understand him correctly, he accepts only such of the teacher's authoritative declarations as approve themselves to his own consciousness, and rejects the rest. So, again, he appears to look at Swedenborgianism rather as a special philosophical method of viewing the relations between the seen and the unseen world, than as a basis of visible religious communion; and is caustic and severe, often to the reader's great amusement, in his account of the New Jerusalem Church, which claims to represent Swedenborg's influence in Europe and America at the present day. To this we have nothing to object. We are ready to admit that to Swedenborg must be conceded the credit of having vividly conceived and described a relation between the world of matter and the world of spirit which, if not actual, is at least possible. Whatever acceptance this view may finally meet with, his name will always stand high among those who have laboured in a very difficult and neglected portion of the philosophical field. But in regard to the matter of visions, which are alleged to have an objective reality, and which we are required to accept on the word of the seer, we submit that it is not possible to exercise a critical choice. The evidence is the same for one as

for all. Whatever improbability attends upon one series of alleged supernatural facts, cannot be dissociated from any other. If Swedenborg saw Catharine of Russia and Louis Quatorze in high heavenly places, from which St. Paul was an outcast and a stranger, the moral incongruity from which our conscience recoils must be suffered to vitiate his whole story of heaven and hell. When he utters the most frightful calumnies against the morality of the Quakers, and asserts the existence of a Gentile people in the inner parts of Africa, living in the full light of Divine knowledge,—the unfounded statements, which our own experience readily proves to be false, cast uncertainty about other statements which he makes as roundly, but which we may not have the same means of testing. We suspect that Swedenborg himself would make very light of a disciple, like Mr. White, who believes only as far as he pleases.

To the student of human nature, the book has a very high value in the singular way in which it unconsciously establishes a parallel between the man and his visions. More almost than any other man, he claimed to see what was outside of himself, and all the while the stuff of his dreams was furnished by his own individuality. Beyond this, in the very interesting chapters which narrate the life of his father, Jesper Svedberg, Bishop of Skara, we are permitted to see how far this individuality was inherited. A great peculiarity of Swedenborg's mind was a very vivid but exceedingly prosaic imagination. No man sees so many visions, yet no one sees them in so hard an outline and in so material a shape. The whole world of spiritual realities is laid open to him, yet in his report of what he sees is neither touch of beauty nor breathlessness of awe. He describes Heaven as he might describe Holland, and makes an inventory of its mansions with the precision of an auctioneer. And it is amusing to find in the old Bishop of Skara precisely the same kind of imagination; he, too, sees angels and spirits, and they behave to him in the most earthly and unspiritual fashion possible. The following story of angelic visitation is surely unique, and explains much in the career of his son:

“Whilst a student,” says Bishop Svedberg, “God kept me from evil company. To be with holy men, and to read the works of those who had written about the Bible, and whose fame is

spread through the learned world, was my chief joy. God's Angel once stood by me, and said, 'What are you reading there?' I replied, 'I read the Bible, Scriver (whose *Treasure for Souls* I esteem more than all gold and silver), Lütkeinan, Jo. Arndt, Kortholt, Grossgebur, Jo. Schmidt, and others.' The Angel then asked, 'Do you understand what you read in the Bible?' I answered, 'How can I understand when no one interprets for me?' Then the Angel said, 'Get Geier, J. and S. Schmidt, Dieterich, Tarnov, Gerhard, and Crell's *Biblical Concordance*.' I said, 'Some of these I have, and the others I will procure.' Then spake the Angel, 'Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein;' and, 'If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.' I sighed, praying that by the help of God's Spirit I might give each minute of my life to His most holy will. Thereon the Angel blessed me; I thanked him humbly, and he departed."\*

It is almost needless to add that in these volumes many theological problems are stated and solved, in a way which involves very singular disagreement with the prevailing religious thought of the day. On this ground, as well as on many others, we cordially recommend them to the careful student.

M. Renan has just issued a thirteenth edition of his "Life of Jesus,"† which is announced as "revised and augmented," and which, in truth, includes important additions and alterations. A Preface of considerable length, and a still longer Appendix, "on the use which it is right to make of the Fourth Gospel in writing the Life of Jesus," are entirely new; and the text of the work itself has been throughout carefully revised and corrected. The principal subject discussed by M. Renan, both in his Preface and in the Appendix expressly devoted to it, is the relation of his work to the Fourth Gospel. "The opinion (he says) which I had adopted in the first edition of my book" is the following, also in the main that of Ewald, Lücke, Weiss and Reuss. "The Fourth Gospel is, as a whole, the apostle's; although probably edited and retouched by his disciples. The facts narrated in this Gospel are direct traditions about Jesus. The discourses are often free compositions, express-

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\* I. 3, 4.

† Vie de Jésus. Par Ernest Renan. Treizième édition, revue et augmentée. Paris: Michel Levy Frères. 1867.

ing only the manner in which the author conceived the spirit of Jesus." The opinion which he now holds is that of Nicolas and Weizsaecker. "The Fourth Gospel is not the work of the apostle John. It has been attributed to him, by some one of his disciples, about the year 100. The discourses are almost entirely fictitious, but the narrative parts contain valuable traditions, which in part may be traced to the apostle." The Appendix contains a long and acute analysis of the Fourth Gospel, the object and result of which is to justify M. Renan in the peculiarity of his method—namely, the selection of the historical framework of the Fourth Gospel as trustworthy, coupled with the entire rejection of the discourses recorded in it, as not to be reconciled with the sayings of Christ reported by the synoptics. The minutiae of his criticism cannot be transferred to these pages for consideration and judgment; it is enough to say that he has succeeded in establishing a logical accord between his account of the origin of the Fourth Gospel and his way of using it. It is at least possible that a disciple of the school of John, willing at once to aggrandize his master and to claim the authority of Christ for his own theosophy, should have written a Gospel, in which, while the discourses attributed to the Lord were the product of his own invention, the narrative should preserve very valuable features of early Christian tradition. Only we must confess that it looks as if M. Renan had rather accommodated his theory of the origin of the Gospel to his way of using its evidence, than used its evidence in accord with what seemed, upon a fair examination of the facts, to be its origin.

We turned with some interest to the passage which narrates the quasi-raising of Lazarus. It is no longer there. Lazarus himself has vanished from the scene. He is not, as was commonly supposed, the brother of Martha and Mary, and an accomplice (according to M. Renan in his first edition) in the sham miracle got up by pious fraud, but only our friend of the parable, "who lay at the rich man's gate," and who has acquired by some means an objective existence. We must extract the passage.

"Jesus, after having accomplished this species of pilgrimage to the scenes of his first prophetic activity, returned to his cherished abode at Bethany. The fact that he performed no mira-



cles at Jerusalem, could not but greatly afflict the faithful Galileans. Tired of the poor welcome which the kingdom of God met with in the capital, the friends of Jesus, as it seems, wished for a great prodigy which should greatly astound the incredulity of Jerusalem. A resurrection would appear to them more convincing than anything else. We may suppose that Martha and Mary opened the subject to Jesus. Common report already attributed to him two or three deeds of this kind. 'If some one were to rise from the dead,' said without doubt the pious sisters, 'perhaps the living would repent.' 'No,' must Jesus have answered, 'they would not believe if even the dead were to rise.' Recalling then a story which was familiar to him, that of the good beggar, covered with sores, who died and was borne by the angels into Abraham's bosom, 'If Lazarus were to come back,' he might add, 'they would not believe him.' At a later period, singular mistakes as to this matter gained a footing. Men spoke of Lazarus raised from the dead, and of the unpardonable obstinacy which could resist such testimony. The sores of Lazarus and the leprosy of Simon were confounded, and it was admitted as a part of the tradition that Mary and Martha had a brother named Lazarus, whom Jesus summoned from the tomb."\*

This account, if wholly inadequate to explain what would seem, if with M. Renan we give credence to the historical statements of the Fourth Gospel, to have been the facts of the case, at least withdraws the offensive accusation against Jesus of having played a part in the enactment of a pretended miracle. But the accusation, abandoned in this particular instance, is in the Appendix repeated in a more general but not less offensive form; and we are expressly told that in addition to the miracles ascribed to Jesus by his disciples, there were others which are to be explained by the hypothesis, that the Lord himself "consented to play a part." These words, which do not stand alone, but express in brief much of what is most representative in M. Renan's thought, sufficiently prove his inability to rise to the moral stand-point necessary for the solution of the problem of the Gospels. No matter with what subtlety of dialectic he may state and defend his hypothesis, it remains true that sweet waters do not flow from bitter fountains. The strongest and purest moral force that ever moved the world could not have had its origin in imposture.

No words of ours are needed to recommend to the student of theology the translation of a part of Ewald's great work on the History of the Jews, edited, with a Preface, by Mr. R. Martineau.\* The section now presented to the English public extends from the beginning of the History to the death of Moses, and corresponds to the first, and the first 296 pages of the second volume of the original. There may have been good reasons, with which we are not acquainted, for stopping short precisely at this point; but the division, though corresponding to the popular conception of the Pentateuch, is not that adopted by Ewald himself, who more philosophically includes in one great section the whole of the story from the revolt of Israel against Egypt to the rise of the monarchy. The translation is admirably executed; and though to the mere English reader, unacquainted with the perplexed obscurity of Ewald's style, and the consequent difficulty of the task, this may seem too strongly put, it will be borne out by whoever takes the pains to compare a page of the version with the corresponding passage of the German. And at a time like this, when theological debate turns in a quite unprecedented way on questions which arise around the early Hebrew history, it is a very great thing that the thoughtful portion of the English public should have access to the chief work of the greatest Orientalist of his day,—a work written in entire freedom from the narrowness and acrimony of controversy, and characterized throughout by a remarkable vividness of historical insight, and a singular power of critical analysis. Everywhere but in England the book has long since impressed itself upon the theological thought of the time; while even here men of freer sympathies, like Milman and Stanley, have used it as a rich repertory of fact and argument. Now it will have the opportunity of modifying general opinion, which it can hardly fail to do, in a remarkable way; for no one who claims to give any opinion at all upon the matters upon which it treats, can with a good grace plead ignorance of it. It is a volume which ought to be upon the shelves and in the hands of every one who

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\* The History of Israel, to the Death of Moses, by Heinrich Ewald: translated from the German. Edited, with a Preface, by Russell Martineau, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in Manchester New College, London. London: Longmans. 1867.

calls himself a teacher of religion, or who desires to form his own judgment upon facts of Hebrew history. We sincerely trust that its success may be such as to induce translator and editor to address themselves to the task of preparing for English readers the remaining portion of this great work.

The second series of Essays entitled "The Church and the World,"\* is scarcely equal to the first, either in the interest of the special subjects discussed, or the intellectual strength of their treatment. "The barren and dry land of Protestantism" is the burden of their strain; and they expose, not without a certain scorn and bitterness, the weariness and the weakness of a form of faith which uses large words with poor meaning—repeats the formulæ of the past without entering into their spirit—converts the majestic self-renunciation of the gospel into a petty scheme of personal salvation—and tries to keep its votaries just clear of the brink of perdition, and to get them just within the gate of heaven, a torpid state without any disquieting fear or exciting love.† The spirit from which modern Ritualism is at least in part a profound revolt, can scarcely be better expressed than in the words of Paley (quoted p. 480):

"‘The patrons’ (says Paley, after having quoted the words, ‘born again of God and the Spirit,’ ‘dead to sin,’ ‘alive from the dead,’ ‘buried with Christ in Baptism, and raised together with Him’)—‘the patrons of a more sober exposition have been often challenged, and sometimes confounded with the question, If such expressions of Scripture do not mean this, what do they mean? To which we answer, Nothing; nothing, that is, to us; nothing to be found or sought for in the present circumstances of Christianity.’”

The claim of these Essays is, that the ancient words should be used with the fulness of their patristic meaning; or, to apply the words of our Lord, that the new wine should not be put in the old bottles; and their avowed effort is to bring into sharper contrast the rationalistic and the hierarchical types of faith. When a writer in *Fraser's Magazine* declares that it is a "tremendous proposition" that a "fellow-

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\* *The Church and the World. Essays on Questions of the Day in 1867. By various Writers. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longman, Green and Co. 1867.*

† P. 173.

man, by virtue of the authority vested in him at his ordination, should have the power to place me in a different relation to God, as my Judge, from that in which I should have been without his ministration," according to the Essayist\* he stumbles on the very threshold of Catholic truth! The age of compromise within the Church is thus rapidly passing away, and the boundaries of two hostile camps are being more and more precisely defined. In this respect we esteem the work accomplished by the Ritualistic party as of high moment. Thoughtful men are asking from their religious teachers more clearness of expression as well as a more abounding charity. It surely cannot longer be esteemed a service to God or man that the liberal Christian thinker should employ the phrases of a mediæval theology, or endeavour to reconcile submission to the dogmatic authority of a Church with the claims of personal independence.

Among the Essays, the one upon "Preachers and Preaching," by Dr. Evans, is of considerable general interest and value. It is a frank and perfectly sincere statement, by one who wishes to know the truth, as to the efficacy of his profession to face honestly the doubts and difficulties raised in various literary circles.

The Essay on "Greek Rites in the West," by the Bishop of Brechin, is full of quaint learning, and its antiquarianism is pervaded by enthusiasm for the restoration of church unity between the East and the West. The scattered hints the Bishop gathers of the relations between the Greek and Latin tongues in the worship of God, are exceedingly curious, and are most important to him, in view of that "mighty process of re-union which is stirring the hearts of men as the weariness and the doubts caused by three centuries of division are becoming intolerable."†

We must confess to a feeling of great disappointment with the Archbishop of Dublin's "Studies in the Gospels."‡ It is evident that Dr. Trench's strength lies less in things than in words. Acute and often suggestive as he is in the analysis of words and the dissection of phrases, he is altogether shorn of his strength, when he comes to discuss the matter of the Gospels, by considerations of dogma.

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\* P. 221.

† P. 164.

‡ Studies in the Gospels. By R. C. Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London: Macmillan. 1867.

It is not too much to say that this book, proceeding from a dignitary of highest place and reputation in our Established Church, shews absolutely no trace of the new theological learning. It is full of antique erudition: fathers and schoolmen, ancient apologist and mediæval commentary, are mustered with needless care, to prove what no reader of the New Testament need for a moment doubt. But for Dr. Trench the Gospels are still plenarily inspired in every word and letter: if he does not say so in terms, the assumption lies at the basis of his treatment of them; he makes no allusion to difficulties of which every thoughtful Christian now asks for a solution at the hand of scholarship: while his uncertain touch when handling the character of Christ, and his utter failure to bring his personality before the reader in distinct form and vivid colour, are only one proof the more that the doctrine of the Incarnation, at least as commonly held, cannot find living expression beyond the limits of the creeds.—In like manner, the author of a little volume before us, "*The Man of Sorrows, and his Relationships*,"\* is unable to grasp the conception of the true humanity of Christ; and starting from the assumption that his life was one unmingled sorrow—that cheerfulness, or smiles, or laughter, are things that cannot possibly be attributed to him—loses himself in a maze of speculation as to a possible Divinity of Christ, which is neither human nor semi-human, yet somewhat less than truly divine.

"*Lamps, Pitchers and Trumpets*"† is the quaint, not to say affected, title which Mr. Paxton Hood gives to a thick volume of lectures "*on the Vocation of the Preacher*," delivered to the students of Mr. Spurgeon's college. The lectures contain much vigorous thought, expressed in a lively style; and the pages are well worth turning over, if only for the anecdotes with which they are studded. But it is sufficiently plain, both from the general tenor of Mr. Hood's advice and the preachers whom he chiefly delights to honour, that he has little conception of the intellectual function of the pulpit; and that he looks upon the gospel wholly as a

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\* *The Man of Sorrows, and his Relationships: a Contribution to Religious Thought.* London: Stock. 1867.

† *Lamps, Pitchers and Trumpets: Lectures, delivered to Students for the Ministry, on the Vocation of the Preacher.* By Edwin Paxton Hood. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1867.



rounded system of truths, to be enforced upon the people in every possible way, rather than as a mystery of divine life into which they must to a certain extent find their own path. Still there are good matter and wise counsel in the book.—A far worse book, from the same school of divines, is Mr. George Gilfillan's "*Remoter Stars in the Church Sky*,"\* by which Mr. Gilfillan seems to mean certain worthy preachers of the gospel, who by the power of his pen are to be drawn from an obscurity which ill befits them. We doubt, however, whether his turgid and often fulsome praise will greatly affect the reputations of any, either for good or ill. But how comes Robertson of Brighton in this "gallery of uncelebrated divines"? Because Brighton is remote from Dundee, the evident metropolis of the Church? To most men south of the Tweed, and to many north of it, Mr. Gilfillan himself is, if a star at all, a much "remoter star" than Robertson, and twinkles with a much fainter lustre.

We cannot too strongly recommend to the attention of our readers Mr. Tayler's thoughtful and beautiful pamphlet, "*A Catholic Christian Church, the Want of our Time*."† At a time when the opinions and wishes that he expresses are beginning to take a practical shape, and are meeting with sympathy and opposition from equally unexpected quarters, nothing can be more opportune than this careful statement and vindication of the views of those who desire to see a visible Church which shall be at once Catholic and Christian. To us, nothing can be more marvellous than that some large-hearted Christians (as, for instance, an able contributor to this number of our Review) should think that, even under the present sectarian organization of Christendom, sufficient expression may be given to the thought and the desire of Catholicity, except perhaps the extent to which the very conception of the unity of the Church, as a right and desirable thing, has faded out of the minds of most Protestants. And we are strongly convinced that this conception can once more be produced, and the correspond-

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\* *Remoter Stars in the Church Sky* : being a Gallery of Uncelebrated Divines. By George Gilfillan. London : Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1867.

† *A Catholic Christian Church, the Want of our Time*. By J. J. Tayler, B.A., Principal of Manchester New College, London. London : Williams and Norgate. 1867.

ing desire awakened, only by an actual re-organization of the Church upon a broader basis ; that every day's continued existence of the sects as they are deepens and embitters sectarian feeling ; and that by the substitution of many sects for one Church, truth suffers only less than charity. The objection on the other side is perhaps more difficult to meet. Why should the universal Church be Christian only? Why introduce a name which, by some at least, is felt as a limitation? But at what point is this objection to stop? If it is valid against the word Christian, it is equally valid against the word Theist. Men who love truth and follow after righteousness might protest against dogmatic committal to a belief in the existence of God. The line must be drawn somewhere: somewhere there must be a practical expression of the object of association; and the right medium has been hit when diversity which gives width, is most happily blended with agreement which gives intensity. If, as seems probable, the disuse of the word Christian would practically prove more exclusive than its use, it is sufficiently vindicated. But for this and many other aspects of the same difficult but most interesting question, we trust that our readers will turn for themselves to Mr. Tayler's pamphlet.

With the conclusions of the thoughtful and ingenious essay entitled, "*The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things*,"\* we are wholly at one, while we must express our entire disagreement with its premisses and arguments. Proceeding from an acceptance of the Bible as the literal word of God, and looking upon its contradictions as in complete accordance with all God's dealings with mankind, which are at once a veil and a revelation of His nature, the author arrives at a belief in the ultimate blessedness of all men, and is even prepared, with Origen, to accept the final restoration of Satan himself.† Whether the method of exegesis adopted by M.A. will convince many readers, we are unable to say; but we welcome any attempt to remove from the minds of men the burden of a doctrine which ought, if accepted by any one, to rob him of all joy on earth and all blessedness in heaven.

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\* *The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things.* By M.A. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1867.

† Pp. 105—109.

Mr. Griffith has done his volume of Sermons an injustice, in raising expectations which they do not fulfil, by entitling them, "*The Continuity of Religious Development.*"\* They do not answer to this title, but are seven thoughtful discourses, which will no doubt be welcomed in their present shape by those who heard them. So, in like manner, the posthumous volume of Dr. Drummond's Sermons,† eloquent as they often are, will have their chief value in the eyes of those to whom they are a memorial of a long and faithful ministry; while to the general reader the most interesting part of the book is Mr. Scott Porter's affectionate Memoir. Nor in so saying do we intend even to hint disrespect of Dr. Drummond's power as a preacher. We can well conceive of these sermons as producing, upon the fervid lips of their author, a great and legitimate effect.

We owe Mr. Higginson an apology for not having earlier introduced to the attention of our readers his "*Catechism without Questions,*"‡ a book of "elementary instruction in natural and revealed religion," designed for use by parents and ministers. Although there are one or two passages of this little work which appear to us to be unnecessarily controversial in tone, we can cordially recommend it as containing much valuable information in a condensed form. It is, however, rather as a text-book for the minister or teacher, than as a class-book for children, that it should be used; and its very condensation would necessitate the use of a copious verbal commentary. Employed in this way, we can conceive that many teachers would find it of the greatest value.—"*Tracts for the Day,*"§ of which nine numbers are now issued, continue their temperate and well-reasoned defence of that Sacramental form of religion, of which what is popularly called Ritualism is only the external presentation. The spread of Ritualism would be less rapid, and

\* *The Continuity of Religious Development.* By David Griffith. London: Williams and Norgate. 1867.

† *Sermons*, by the late Rev. W. H. Drummond, D.D., M.R.I.A. With Memoir, by Rev. J. Scott Porter. London: Whitfield. 1867.

‡ *A Catechism without Questions, or Elementary Instruction in Natural and Revealed Religion, &c.* By Edward Higginson. London: Whitfield. 1867.

§ *Tracts for the Day: Essays on Theological Subjects by various Authors.* Edited by Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. No. IV. Miracles and Prayer. V. The Real Presence. VI. Casuistry. VII. Unction of the Sick. VIII. The Rule of Worship. IX. Popular Rationalism.

these Tracts easier of reply, if Protestant polemics against Rome had of late years been anything better than an inarticulate shriek of fear and hatred.—Other pamphlets which lie on our table are, Mr. Lettis Short's able and eloquent Sermon before the British and Foreign Unitarian Association;\* an affectionate tribute to the memory of the late Rev. Franklin Baker, in the shape of funeral Sermons by Mr. Wells and Mr. Worthington;† and a thoughtful and touching Sermon on Immortality by Mr. James Drummond.‡

E.

NOTE TO ARTICLE VII., No. XIX.—“*Liddon's Sermons.*”

Mr. Liddon has addressed a letter to the writer of the notice on his Sermons in the last number of this Review, from which the following is an extract:

“Before your remarks led me to look closely into the matter, I had no idea that my Sermons had anything in common with the Spiritual Exercises beyond a general pursuit of the same line of thought as that which is followed in the opening meditations. And I had no recollections whatever of my indebtedness to Manresa.

“The simple account of the matter is, that the first Sermon in my book was composed from MS. notes compiled or jotted down at various times for the purpose of extempore preaching, and unaccompanied, I regret to say, in almost all cases by any reference to the sources from which the several notes had been taken. Somewhere between 1852 and 1854, when I was Curate at Wantage, I must have made the extracts from Manresa, which, by the bye (although it does not matter, as doubtless the book is the same), I never saw except in a French form. I cannot profess to remember in detail the process of composition in the case of a sermon which I wrote in 1863, but I do not doubt that I

\* The Permanent Power amid the Transient Forms of Christianity: a Sermon, &c. By J. Lettis Short. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1867.

† Sermons preached in Bank-Street Chapel, Bolton, &c., on occasion of the Death of Rev. F. Baker, M.A. By G. H. Wells, M.A., and Jeffrey Worthington. Bolton. 1867.

‡ Immortality, or the Testimony of the Soul to a Future Life: a Sermon. By James Drummond, B.A. Manchester: Johnson and Rawson. 1867.

believed myself to be copying or enlarging notes of my own, of which the book before me was mainly full. . . .

"And I do not doubt that the same account applies to the other Sermon which you notice, preached in 1860, 'Christ's Welcome to the Penitent.' It was preached extempore, and written out afterwards. . . .

"I would quite as readily have acknowledged my obligations to Manresa as to P. Felix, and I thank you for reminding me of them. If my book ever reaches another edition, I will certainly acknowledge them."

In a subsequent letter, Mr. Liddon says :

"Your criticism was certainly severe, and I am perhaps too directly concerned fairly to estimate its justice. But with the facts before you, it was probably not more than I had a right to expect. And, as it is, I entirely deserve the discredit which must attach to my culpable carelessness."

It would be mere impertinence in us to praise the admirable temper and tone of Mr. Liddon's letters ; it is only what those who know him, whether they differ or agree with him, would expect. We can only feel sorry we have misunderstood him and his action in the matter of his Sermons. It is, however, a curious psychological fact, that a man can so steep himself in the thoughts of another as to mistake them for his own, and he can only do so, it would seem, when the whole current of thought in each mind is in the same direction. And Mr. Liddon's explanation only strengthens our conviction, which is probably that of many of his own school, that the Anglican and Roman theologies are in their essence one. It is well that both sides in the controversies of the present day should note this fact, whatever conclusions they draw from it.

We quote one more passage from Mr. Liddon's second letter, making the sentiments our own :

"I wish most earnestly that we were more nearly agreed as to the nature and range of religious truth. But we may be nearer each other than we seem to be in the distance,—or, better still, we may be journeying towards agreement."

C. K. P.



# THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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No. XXI.—APRIL, 1868.

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## I.—ERASMUS IN ENGLAND.

IN the year 1498,\* Erasmus paid his first visit to England. There his name was not wholly unknown ; for, although he had not yet published any of his great works, some early literary efforts were in private circulation, and English visitors to Paris who were interested in the progress of learning might have heard enough to induce them to seek his acquaintance. But there was another circumstance which had enabled him to establish friendly relations with this country. While pursuing his own studies in Paris, the necessities of his purse compelled him to take pupils, and the warmth of his feelings led him to attach himself to these pupils with no common affection. Indeed, Erasmus must have been the most delightful of preceptors. The letters of this period shew with what enthusiasm he entered into his work, and with what fondness he regarded the young men entrusted to his care. In one of them he almost exhausts the vocabulary of Latin Billingsgate in heaping

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\* It is very difficult to determine whether Erasmus went to England in the summer of 1497 or 1498, but there is no doubt that he left it early in the year 1499. The dates of his letters imply that he visited Oxford first in 1497, returned to Paris about Christmas, and again crossed the channel the following summer. But it is clear that the dates of the letters are not to be implicitly relied upon, some of them being manifestly erroneous ; and I find no internal evidence of two visits at this time. In favour of the earlier date for his arrival may be urged the statement that Colet was "about thirty" when he first made his acquaintance, Colet having been born in 1466 ; but this statement was made many years after, and can scarcely be considered conclusive. On the other hand, there is nothing to shew that Erasmus was so long as a year and a half in England. I assume accordingly, as agreeing best on the whole with such evidence as we have, though not as altogether certain, that he crossed to England some time in the summer of 1498, and remained there eight or nine months.

playful abuse upon Christian, himself a former pupil, for having removed his younger brother Henry from under his charge; and another, written in the name of this Henry, who would seem to have been a special favourite, shews that he aimed to mingle pleasure with his instructions, and to excite in the minds of his pupils the same ardour for learning which he felt himself. His extensive reading and tenacious memory enabled him to entertain them with stories from the classics; and during their walks among the vineyards on the banks of the Seine he would declaim in eloquent commonplace against the meanness of business and in praise of learning, telling them that was the only lasting riches, which fortune could neither give nor take away; that it increased by use, instead of diminishing, &c.; that, in short, without it we are not even men. Literature, according to the same letter, was not only the business of the day, but its sole occupation. "At dinner the talk is of letters; our suppers are made sumptuous with literary seasoning. When we go to walk we chat about letters, and they are even introduced into our games; we converse about them until sleep steals over us, and then our very dreams are learned; when we waken in the morning we begin the day with letters." That was indeed a literary life. And Paris being at this time a resort for students from all parts of Europe, and Erasmus being without a rival as a teacher, the number of young men from different countries who passed through his hands must have been considerable. Amongst these were some, possibly not a few, young Englishmen, but especially two of noble birth and destined to positions of influence, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and Thomas Grey, son of the Marquis of Dorset. Between these young noblemen and the student of Rotterdam subsisted the most cordial friendship, a friendship which continued through life. And by them, and by others like them, the name of Erasmus was carried to England, whither he himself was now to proceed at the invitation of Mountjoy.

The Universities were of course the great attraction for Erasmus in England, and to Oxford accordingly he repaired at once, carrying with him letters of recommendation to Father Richard Charnock, Prior of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine (of which order he was himself a member)

and head of St. Mary's College. In external aspect, Oxford did not at that time differ very widely from its present appearance. Its noble Colleges, most of which are older than the Reformation, were there, only fresher and more beautiful than they are now ; and yet even then the sentiment of antiquity was not wanting for those who remembered that the University dated—such at least was the common belief—from the reign of King Alfred. Its beautiful academic gardens, “studious walks and shades,” then as now invited to meditation. But although Oxford has retained to the present hour so much of its mediæval character, it was yet to a considerable extent peopled by another world ; it was a very different set of ideas that circulated among its students. Monks of various orders—black Benedictines or Augustinians and grey Franciscans—might be seen mingling with the scarlet robes of the Doctors and the gay colours of the Bachelors. Among those learned men the language of Chaucer was probably seldom heard. Corrupt Latin—at this time, however, gradually becoming purer as the ancient classics were more studied—was the universal medium of communication in the world of letters, and Erasmus, who was obliged to apologize to one of his Dutch correspondents for writing to him in Latin on the plea of his imperfect acquaintance with *his own* language, had no difficulty in making himself understood at Oxford. The old *Trivium*, embracing Grammar, Dialectics and Rhetoric, and the *Quadrivium*, comprising Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy, were believed to complete the circle of the Arts ; but these studies were pursued not by any independent method, but only as they were presented in wretched mediæval hand-books or bad Latin versions of the Arabic translations of Aristotle. The great Latin classics were beginning to be read by more enterprising students, but the corrupt writers of the Middle Ages still swayed the class-rooms, aided by the grammars of Priscian, and Boetius was preferred to Cicero and Horace. As for Greek, it was almost unknown. Ten years before the arrival of Erasmus, some Italians had visited Oxford and given lectures on that language, but without any marked success. Already, indeed, it was regarded with some suspicion, but not yet with the dislike and hatred which it subsequently provoked, when with the growing freedom of the human mind it came to be

spoken of by the adversaries of learning as the fountain of all heresies. It need scarcely be added that the scholastic philosophy—that grand attempt to establish the theology of the Roman Church on the basis of logic, and reconcile Aristotle with St. Augustine—still reigned supreme. Nominalists and Realists, Thomists and Scotists, still divided the field between them; still disputed with unabated enthusiasm about instants, essences and quiddities; still discussed with unflagging interest whether the Deity could have taken the form of any creature but a man,\* whether the Pope was greater than St. Peter, whether the Virgin Mary was instructed in the liberal arts, or what was the colour of her hair. One man, indeed, was already raising a modest protest against this so-called philosophy; but had its advocates understood the signs of the times, had they foreseen that they were about to be assailed, not with their own weapons, in the use of which they were probably skilful enough, but with the far more deadly shafts of endless raillery and wit, of vast learning and indomitable industry, they might well have trembled at the name of Erasmus.

At Oxford, Erasmus met with at least a few congenial spirits, interested in the same studies with himself, filled with the same contempt for monkish ignorance and stupidity, and looking forward with the same hopes to the triumph of learning. There was Linacre, afterwards physician to Henry VIII., the most painstaking of scholars, the most accurate of grammarians, a man of very varied learning, and one of the first to go from this country to Italy for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of Greek. There was Grocyn, who, along with Linacre, had returned a few years before from Italy, where both had studied Greek at Florence under Demetrius Chalcondyles and Politian, and who was now giving public instructions in that language. There was Thomas Latimer, also an excellent Grecian, an accomplished theologian, a man of eminent ability and of “more than virgin modesty.” There was young Thomas More, the future Chancellor of England, at that time a lad of seventeen, of the most excellent promise and of manners the most gentle and winning. And there was another Thomas, and another

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\* I put the question in a form that may be as little shocking to the reader as possible. Erasmus states it thus—*Num Deus potuerit Diabolum aut Asinum assumere.*

future Chancellor, Wolsey, then bursar of Magdalen College. But the man who possessed most interest for Erasmus and exercised most influence over him was Colet, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's School. Of this eminent man it will be necessary to subjoin a somewhat fuller notice, for which we are chiefly indebted to his warm admirer and friend, the scholar of Rotterdam.

Colet was born in London in the year 1466, the eldest, and at the time that Erasmus first made his acquaintance the only survivor, of a family of eleven sons and as many daughters. His father was Sir Henry Colet, an eminent citizen, and twice Lord Mayor, of London. Sent to Oxford at the age of seventeen, he went through the regular course of study and distinguished himself in every branch, not only giving much time, as was required of him, to the scholastic philosophy, but reading Cicero with the utmost eagerness, and making himself master of Plato and Plotinus. He was besides an excellent mathematician. Having taken his degree of M.A., he went abroad about the year 1493, visiting France first and afterwards Italy. Before this, however, he had determined to enter the Church, and indeed already, according to the evil practice of the times, had been presented, though he was not even in deacon's orders, to no less than three livings and one prebend. In Italy he devoted himself entirely to the study of theology; and the works of the Fathers, especially Ambrose, Cyprian, Origen, and Jerome, whom he greatly preferred to Augustine, were read with enthusiasm, while the works of the schoolmen, though much less to his taste, were not neglected. Nor did the young divine altogether despise the literature of his own country. Colet desired to prepare himself for preaching the gospel to the people, and as Erasmus tells us that he polished his language by studying the writings of those who had done for England what Dante and Petrarch did for Italy (probably Erasmus had just heard the name of Geoffrey Chaucer at Oxford), we may be sure he had taken some deep draughts from the "well of English undefiled." On his return to England, Colet again took up his residence at Oxford, and immediately began a course of public and gratuitous lectures on the Epistles of Paul. The lectures at once attracted notice. Boldly throwing off the trammels of the scholastic divinity



and approaching the subject naturally and rationally, Colet treated the Epistles as actual memorials of the apostle and his age, and not as a mere armoury of theological weapons ; and such freshness and interest did he succeed in imparting to the subject, that, although he had not yet taken any degree in theology, perhaps, however, partly because he was known rather to despise such degrees, the Doctors and Dons came crowding to hear him, bringing their note-books in their hands.\* It might well be suspected that some of his audience were led by other motives than curiosity or the desire of profiting by his instructions. To have been in Italy was itself a suspicious circumstance ; to be opposed to scholasticism was worse ; and besides Colet was known to have little respect for the University degrees in theology. He was, moreover, not entirely innocent of Greek, though his knowledge of that language was by no means extensive. It does not appear, however, that any heresy was found in his lectures. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was eventually conferred upon him unsolicited, and he accepted it, says Erasmus, rather to comply with the wishes of those who thought him worthy of it than as having himself desired it.

When Erasmus arrived at Oxford, the first to welcome him, after Father Charnock, was Colet. He was then thirty-one years of age, of a tall and elegant person, the sweetest manners and the utmost purity and simplicity of life. He told his friend, surely with some little exaggeration, that he had been naturally of an exceedingly proud disposition, most impatient of wrong, with a strange propensity to love, luxury and sleep ; fond of mirth and pleasantries, and not altogether free from covetousness ; but

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\* The reader will find a fuller and very interesting account of these lectures in Mr. Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers of 1498." That Colet's theology was founded on a much more natural interpretation of Scripture than that of the schoolmen is clear. But whether it had come wholly under the dominion of common sense, even according to the standard of that age, the following passage from Knight's Life of Colet may perhaps render doubtful :—"In his comment on 1 Cor. vi. he doth scarce allow going to law ; and in the viiith chapter of the same Epistle he allows not marriage to be lawful ; but only as a remedy *contra incontinentiam*. . . Nor did he think it necessary that Christians should marry for the begetting of children ; for that (saith he) *might be left to the Gentiles*.—But what if the Gentiles should be converted ?—Then (saith he) *the Kingdom of God was come ; then would the world be Sanctus et animo et corpore ; then would the end be and God all in all, &c.*" Introd. p. xii.

so strenuously had he fought against those vices with the aid of philosophy, the study of divinity, watching, fasting and prayer, that he had preserved himself pure from all worldly stains. As a student he was indefatigable, in his pleasures extremely moderate; and it was only when he entered into conversation with ladies or engaged in an encounter of raillery with the wits of the University, that he permitted his natural mirthfulness to overcome his acquired gravity. It was seldom, however, that he went into mixed company, and when he did, he contrived to sit beside some grave divine with whom he might converse in Latin, so avoiding the light or worldly talk of the dinner-table. He took particular pleasure in the society of children, and used often to recal how Christ had compared them with angels, and exhorted his disciples to imitate them.

The first interchange of civilities between the two scholars was by letter. Colet wrote a warm greeting to Erasmus, telling him he had heard of him in Paris, and had been shewn a letter of his which excited his curiosity, and gave him the impression of having been written by a man of great learning and wide general knowledge. "But," he adds, "what particularly recommends you to me is, that the reverend Father whose guest you are told me yesterday that in his opinion you are a most excellent man and endowed with singular goodness." Then, after a few more complimentary phrases, the writer concludes, as is natural, by expressing his anxiety to do what lies in his power to make the visit of Erasmus as agreeable to him as he feels sure it will be advantageous to England. The reply of Erasmus is much longer, much more elaborate, more profuse of compliments, and with a greater affectation of modesty. The praise of a man like Colet, he says, is of more value to him than that of a whole army of the illiterate. Yet so far from making him feel proud, it humiliates him to be told he possesses those qualities which he venerates in others, but is conscious of wanting himself. He will not, however, find fault either with those who so affectionately recommended him, or with Colet's readiness to receive their recommendation, since it is natural for a humane man to think well of strangers, and of a kindly one to give ready credence to friends. Accordingly he values his judgment as friendly, though he cannot approve of it as true; not because he

thinks his correspondent an incompetent judge, inasmuch as he knows him to be a man of remarkable discernment, nor suspects him of flattery, since he is not ignorant of the simplicity of his nature, but because he was misled by his own extraordinary candour and modesty to listen too favourably to the praises of others. But lest his friend should complain that he had been imposed upon with bad goods, Erasmus volunteers a portrait of himself, which he says will be the more true to life in proportion as he knows himself better than any one else:—"You will find a man of small fortune, or rather none at all; without ambition, but most ready to return affection; with but a slight tincture of letters, it is true, but still a most ardent admirer of them; who has a religious veneration for excellence in others, but has none of his own; who may be easily surpassed in learning by any one, but in fidelity by none: simple, open, frank, unskilled alike to affect and to dissemble; of small but unimpaired ability, sparing in his speech; in short, one from whom you have nothing to expect but good-will." England, he continues, has such attractions for him chiefly on account of its abundance of learned men, "among whom I count you by far the first." And then the letter concludes with a description of Colet's style. "Nor shall I now describe, most excellent Sir, how much I have been charmed and delighted with your style, so smooth, so calm, so unaffected, flowing from your well-stored mind like a fountain of purest water, equal, uniform, clear, simple, full of modesty, with no violations of taste, no complicated or obscure sentences; so that I cannot be wrong in thinking I see in your letter as it were an image of your mind. You say what you mean, you mean what you say. Words born in the heart, not on the tongue, follow the sense spontaneously, not the sense the words. Finally, with a happy ease, you pour out without trouble what it would cost another the utmost labour to express. But I will forbear to praise you, lest I should offend one who has shewn me such kindness. I know that they are most unwilling to be praised who of all men most deserve it. Farewell."

Both these letters were more artificial than any one would think of writing now, but that was to be expected from men writing a learned language, and conscious that every word would be criticised. They were, however, the begin-

ning of a friendship which ended only with death. It was probably not long after this that Erasmus was present at a College dinner-party—described by him in a letter to a friend who was to have been there—at which Colet presided, when a discussion arose as to the cause of Cain's rejection. Colet maintained the fanciful notion that Cain's offence consisted in the distrust of the Creator's goodness, and confidence in his own industry, which he shewed in becoming the first tiller of the ground, while Abel, content with the spontaneous produce of the earth, was a keeper of sheep; a more rational interpretation, however, it must be confessed, than that of the popular orthodoxy of our own day. What view Erasmus adopted is not said; only he and the rest of the company opposed Colet, who, however, was a match for them all. According to the account of Erasmus, he was transported with enthusiasm, his tone changed, his eyes flashed, his face was transfigured, he seemed like one inspired. The discussion had lasted long, and was becoming too hot to be agreeable, when our clever Erasmus brought it to a close in the happiest way. Nimble changing sides—no doubt his friend's arguments had really convinced him—he proceeded to narrate a story which he pretended to have found in an old moth-eaten manuscript, in which he made Cain's laborious toil, and the greediness by which it was prompted, a part of his offence, but added thereto a theft perpetrated on the produce of Eden by the connivance of the angel that guarded its gates. Colet had no doubt laid himself open to ridicule by seeming to make industry a sin; but the strong point of his position was, that Cain was rejected for something wrong in his own conduct or motives, and not, as was probably maintained on the other side, for having offered a bloodless sacrifice. And here Erasmus came effectually to his aid. The fable is told with all its author's graces of rhetoric, but if it has not been extended and adorned, as is probable, for the entertainment of his correspondent and the admiration of posterity, the hearers must have begun to yawn before it was concluded. It produced, however, the desired effect of restoring peace. The end, which is all that can be inserted here, is, that God, seeing how Cain delighted in toil, resolved to give him more than enough of it, and accordingly sent among his crops armies of ants, weevils, toads, caterpillars, mice, birds,

and all sorts of destructive creatures, to attack them in every stage of their growth. "Cain endeavoured to appease God by an offering of fruits, but finding that the smoke would not ascend, he perceived that God's anger was fixed against him, and accordingly abandoned hope."

On another occasion Erasmus took the part of the scholastics against Colet, and maintained it, notwithstanding his great, perhaps excessive, respect for the learning of his opponent; and this time it so happened that the divines were on that side which would be now generally allowed to be the side of reason and common sense. The subject of discussion was the agony of Christ in the garden, and the words in which he seemed to pray that he might escape from death—"O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." The received explanation at that time was, that "Christ as true man, being in that hour unsupported by the aid of his divinity, shrank from the appalling suffering which was then at hand, through that infirmity which he had assumed along with many other imperfections of our nature;" and that explanation Erasmus adopted so far as to maintain very decidedly the presence of this human weakness, though he was willing to allow that there might be various meanings in the sacred text, the Word of God being manifold. Colet, on the other hand, argued that it was inconsistent with the great love of Christ to pray that he might escape that death which he had before so earnestly desired for our sakes, and that it was absurd in the extreme to suppose that while so many martyrs had not only met the most cruel tortures without fear, but had welcomed them with joy, their love conquering all sense of pain, Christ, who was love itself, and had come into the world for no other end than by his own death to deliver us who were subject to death, could have shrunk either from the shame or the pain of the cross. Accordingly, Colet would refer the sorrow of Christ to anything rather than fear of death; and his opinion, which he supported by the authority of Jerome, who, he said, had alone seen the truth on this question, was, that "our Saviour Jesus prayed for nothing else than that his death, which he desired should be the salvation of the whole world, might not be ruinous to the Jews." This most unnatural interpretation Erasmus discussed at great length in a treatise, written in the form



of a letter to Colet, in which he set forth with great candour and learning the arguments which had been urged on either side in the conversation of the preceding afternoon. His argument in this disputation-kin (*disputatiuncula*), as he is pleased to call it, which he amplifies with any amount of rhetorical language and illustrates with great wealth of classical allusion, may be very briefly stated. Christ, in taking upon him the nature of man, took with it also all those imperfections which, though they are among the consequences of the first sin, are not themselves sinful. Such are hunger, thirst, fatigue and so forth, and amongst these is the fear of death. If it is argued that a brave man does not fear death, it may be answered that fortitude does not consist in insensibility to danger, but in overcoming the natural dread of approaching evils so far as to encounter them manfully, and that both Homer and Virgil describe their heroes as shewing all the outward signs of terror. If it is argued that Peter, a sinful man, was possessed by so deep a love for Christ that he lost all sense of fear and was ready to lay down his life for his sake, and that it is therefore monstrous to attribute to Christ the fear of death and at the same time the most absolute love, it is ingeniously replied that, while in us one feeling flows in upon and absorbs another, in him each power of mind and body discharged its natural function independently of all others, so that the love for mankind which made Jesus willing to ascend the cross, and the fear of death which made him shrink from it, existed side by side, neither feeling intruding upon or diminishing the other. That so many, both heathen and Christian, martyrs should have embraced death with alacrity and even joy, is felt to be a great difficulty, and full justice is done by Erasmus to the argument thence in his opponent's favour; and his answer, that the martyrs were endowed with fortitude through another's virtue, not their own, whereas Christ in the moment of suffering was deserted by his divinity, is from the rational point of view less satisfactory than most of his reasoning. Erasmus, however, is so far from granting to Colet that his own view takes anything from Christ's love, as to maintain that it even enhances it. For, whereas Christ took upon him the nature of man of his own accord, it was his love for mankind which prompted him to assume that very weakness through

which he shrank from death, and in this light "the more imperfections you attribute to him (saving those which are sinful or unworthy), the more you will illustrate the love of the Saviour." And Erasmus finally is carried so far as to assert that Christ had assumed "a bodily frame than which there was never any other more sensitive to cold, heat, fatigue, want and pain, and a soul in all its faculties of the very keenest feeling." It is noteworthy, as indicating the theological position of both men, that this treatise nowhere suggests the view which at once occurs to the mind as the received orthodoxy of our own day—namely, that the agony was occasioned, not by the anticipation of death, even of a death fraught with all the significance of the crucifixion, but by the foreknowledge that the vials of God's wrath were about to be poured out on the sufferer. Erasmus does indeed regard the death of Christ as a ransom for the world; but his language is cautious and reverential, and as far as possible removed from the revolting extravagances which Luther afterwards wrote upon the same subject. "It was fitting," he says, "that that death should be as bitter as possible which was paid for so many deaths, which was to wash away the sins of the whole world." His doctrine appears to have been—and it was probably that of Colet also—that Christ by his life and sufferings provided "an inexhaustible treasury of merits," sufficient not only to blot out original sin, but to leave a surplus which might be applied to the expiation of our daily faults. As regards the question between them, Colet was not convinced by the arguments of his friend. He wrote a courteous note, thanking him for the pleasure he had derived from his very long but most agreeable letter, and acknowledging the accuracy with which he had remembered their conversation, and his learning and eloquence. He declared, however, that he still retained the opinion he had imbibed from Jerome, and enclosed the first instalment of his reply. In this he merely disputes the preliminary position of his friend, that the Scriptures are susceptible of a variety of constructions, maintaining that their fruitfulness consists not in their yielding many senses, but in their yielding one true one. A note from the hand of Erasmus himself intimates that the correspondence on Colet's part was continued, but the remainder has been lost.

The *Disputatiuncula de tædio et pavore* has another than a theological interest, as indicating the progress Erasmus had at that time made in the study of Greek. Greek words here and there throughout the treatise shew that neither he nor his correspondent was entirely ignorant of the language, but two circumstances would seem to indicate that to the writer Greek literature was still to a great extent a *terra ignota*. After quoting several passages from the *Æneid* in illustration of his argument that insensibility to danger is no mark of a brave man, he adds, "the same thing has been noticed by the learned in the Homeric poetry," nor is there in the whole composition any quotation from a Greek author. There are, however, signs of some degree of familiarity with Plato, though not necessarily in the original. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that he seems to be quite unacquainted with the Greek Testament; for not only does he invariably quote it in Latin, but he actually founds an argument on the pronoun *iste* (not the exact equivalent of τοῦτο) in the words, *Transeat a me calix iste*. Such is the force of habit, that he actually forgets, and expects his opponent to forget, that the New Testament was written in Greek, and quotes the Vulgate as though it had all the authority of inspiration! But, after all, this need not have been an oversight. If Erasmus and Colet might have hesitated to affirm that the Vulgate was inspired, at all events it was customary to argue from its text as if there were no original to appeal to beyond it.

Notwithstanding such differences as these, which indeed were only sufficient to cement their friendship, there were at least two things in which there was complete sympathy between Erasmus and Colet. These were dislike of the monastic system and enmity to the schoolmen. Colet, whose mind had been more systematically directed to the study of divinity than that of Erasmus, was probably the first to revolt from the ingenious subtleties which constituted the theology of those days; and in this respect he would seem even to have exercised some direct influence on the mind of his more accomplished and less cautious friend. He used to say, Erasmus tells us, but only in the presence of those on whom he could rely, that he considered the Sco-tists, who were vulgarly credited with extraordinary acuteness, dull and stupid fellows; for to dissect minutely the

words and sentences of others, and criticise now this point and now that,—that, he said, was the mark of a barren understanding. But for some cause or other—probably he had lost much time in reading the ponderous folios which contain his works—he was still more severe upon Aquinas. Upon one occasion, when Erasmus was praising the great schoolman, especially his *Aurea Catena*, which he thought was a valuable aid to the understanding of the Bible and the Fathers, Colet avoided expressing any opinion; but in another conversation, on the renewal of the subject, fixing his eyes upon him to discover whether he was serious in his recommendations of Aquinas which he was now urging with vehemence, and perceiving that he was speaking from his heart, he exclaimed, as if he had been suddenly inspired, “Why do you preach to me of a man like that, who must have had boundless arrogance, else he would not have been so rash and presumptuous as to define all things; and much of the spirit of the world, else he would not have contaminated the whole doctrine of Christ with his own profane philosophy?” Erasmus was struck with his friend’s enthusiasm, and forthwith began to study the writings of Aquinas. The result was, that the esteem in which he had hitherto held them was speedily dispelled.

The controversy regarding the passion of Christ took place shortly after the first acquaintance of Erasmus and Colet, and the conversation just referred to probably occurred about the same time or even earlier. We must now for a moment follow our versatile theologian into different scenes; for in the Christmas vacation of 1498-1499, he ran up to London to see his friend Mountjoy, and spent the time merrily—the gayest of the gay, associating with great men and courtiers, laughing, feasting, kissing the fair and bowing to every one. “We have made some progress in England,” he assures a friend in a letter written in the very best of spirits, evidently from the midst of those gaieties. “Your old acquaintance Erasmus has become a tolerable huntsman, no bad rider, and a most accomplished courtier; he makes a good bow and wears a pleasant smile; and all this in spite of nature. . . . If you knew the wealth of Britain, you would put wings on your feet and fly hither; or if your gout prevented you, you would surely wish to be a *Dædalus*. For to mention but

one thing out of a great many : there are here ladies divinely beautiful,—the kindest and most fascinating creatures—far before the Muses whom you worship. There is besides a custom which can never be praised enough. Wherever you come you are welcomed with kisses, and the same on your departure ; you return—kisses again ; you are visited, kisses are offered ; your friends take their leave, more kisses ; you meet an acquaintance anywhere, immediately kisses : in short, wherever you turn, the air is filled with kisses. And if you had once tasted how delicate and fragrant they are, you would certainly desire, not for ten years only, like Solon, but till death, to be a sojourner in England.”

It was during this winter vacation that Erasmus was first introduced to the future King of England, Henry, then Duke of York, his elder brother Arthur being still alive. He was staying with his friend Mountjoy on his estate at Greenwich when More came to visit him, and under the pretence of a walk carried him away to Eltham, where the royal children were receiving their education. They were playing in a large hall when Erasmus and More entered, and Henry, a manly little fellow, who had just attained his ninth year, advanced politely to meet them, accompanied by his sister Margaret upon one side, and Mary, then a child of four, upon the other. Arthur was not present, and Edmund was an infant in his nurse’s arms. Presently More put into the hands of Henry a composition of his own, and Erasmus, having nothing of the kind ready, was not a little annoyed that he had not been forewarned of the purpose of their walk, and the more so when the Prince during dinner sent him a slip of paper challenging him to a proof of his literary powers. Three days passed before he was able to respond ; but by that time he had produced an elaborate poem, in alternate hexameter and iambic verse, in praise of England, Henry VII., and the royal children. The verses are what might be expected from a man thoroughly imbued with classical literature but without much genius for poetry. England is, of course, described as the finest country in the world, and with the finest climate. Henry is the best of kings, great in war but inclined to peace ; more patriotic than the Decii, more pious than Numa, more eloquent than Nestor, with ability superior to Cæsar’s, and liberality greater



than that of Mæcenas—parsimonious in nothing save the blood of his subjects. The praise of the young Prince is less fulsome. A few graceful lines acknowledge his early love of learning and his resemblance to the father whose name he bore. The poem was accompanied by a letter to the Prince, in which he was entreated to accept an offering, which, however unworthy, was in its nature better and more enduring than any of the gifts of fortune.

It was apparently about the same time that Erasmus wrote from London to his friend Robert Fisher, who was then in Italy, a letter in which he expresses his delight with England, and especially with the friends he had made at Oxford. "I should have been long ago where you are," so it runs, "had not Lord Mountjoy, just as I was ready to set out, carried me off to England. For what place is there to which I would not follow a young man so accomplished, so kind, so amiable? God love me, I will follow him even to hell. You certainly gave me a very full and most graphic description of him, but, trust me, he surpasses every day both your description and my own good opinion. But how do you like our England, you will ask? If you think my word worth anything, my dear Robert, believe me when I say that I never liked anything so well. I have found here a climate as delightful as it is perfectly healthy; moreover so much culture and learning, and that of no common kind, but recondite, exact and ancient, Latin and Greek, that I now hardly require to go to Italy except to see it. When I listen to my friend Colet, I can fancy I am listening to Plato himself. Who would not admire that perfect encyclopædia of knowledge which is to be found in Grocyn? Than Linacre's judgment, where will you find any more acute, profound or nicely polished? Has nature ever made anything gentler or sweeter or more happily gifted than the genius of Thomas More? Why need I review the rest of the catalogue? Strange it is what a noble crop of ancient learning is springing up everywhere in this country—an inducement to you to hasten your return. By me you are so loved and remembered, that there is no one of whom I speak oftener or more freely. Farewell. In haste."

In the beginning of the new year Erasmus returned for a month or two to Oxford to renew the intercourse which he had found so delightful. He left Oxford and England in

January, but not without an earnest effort on the part of Colet to detain him. Colet was extremely anxious that he should undertake a course of lectures on the Pentateuch, or Isaiah, or some other book of the Old Testament, similar to those which he himself was giving upon the Pauline Epistles, and he even reproached Erasmus with a dereliction of duty in declining the task. It was not, however, to the mind of Erasmus to settle down at Oxford, nor, much as he loved and admired Colet, would he give up for his sake his purpose of visiting Italy and devoting himself to the acquirement of Greek. Fortunate is it for the world that he did not accede to the proposal. He would indeed have made an admirable Professor, but would he have had time to edit the Greek Testament and write the many other works by which he prepared the way for the Reformation? He was interested, no doubt, in the cause of Scriptural theology in opposition to the subtleties of scholasticism, but it was more to his taste to encounter the old system openly with all the resources of his wit and learning, on a field where he might win the admiration of the world, than to undermine it by means of lectures delivered to Oxford students; and if he had accepted the invitation of Colet, where would have been the *Encomium Morie*? In truth, the thing was quite out of the question. The life, the movement of the new age was, one might almost say, impersonated in Erasmus. His mind was far too restless, his genius too ambitious, to permit him to look on a lectureship in a university as in any way fulfilling the purpose of his life. So he excuses himself on the plea of insufficient knowledge. How, he asks, can he teach others what he does not know himself? Colet had asked him to give some warmth to the studies of the place during those cold winter months; but how can he warm others when he is himself shivering all over? He had never intended to remain at Oxford, so that it is unjust to reproach him for having abandoned what he had never undertaken. Colet, it seems, would have been satisfied had he consented to give lectures on poetry or rhetoric; but as the other was above his strength, so this fell below his purpose. In short, he must presently return to Paris, and waits only for the winter to relax its severity. Before the end of January this plan was carried out; from Oxford he returned to the continent, crossing from Dover

to Calais, having paid a visit to More and Mountjoy on the way.

It is not difficult to understand why Colet and Erasmus were so strongly attached to one another. *Eadem diligere et odisse*—to have the same likings and dislikings—is said to be the firmest bond of friendship. But, in truth, friends, like lovers, must be complementary to one another, and they will be most constant when each finds in the other something that is wanting in himself. The respects in which Erasmus and Colet resembled one another, and the respects in which they differed, were precisely such as to constitute the firmest bond of friendship. They agreed in their opinions, their tastes, their love of learning, their dislike of scholastic subtleties, their inclination to interpret Scripture naturally. But if Colet found in Erasmus far greater intellectual vigour, profounder learning, more extensive knowledge of the world than he could pretend to, and a poignant humour which he did not possess, Erasmus found in him, on the other hand, a deep earnestness, a gravity and holy fervour which were not in his own nature, and of the want of which he may have been conscious. Colet, moreover, seems to have been a little of the ascetic. When he went to London he gave up suppers, and he seldom drank anything but beer or partook of more than one dish. His friend, on the contrary, being of a sickly frame, required pampering, and the self-denial of others is not always the less admirable if we are unable to share in it. There is no reason to suppose that Erasmus first learned from Colet that dislike of scholasticism which ever lent vigour to his pen. Through his influence, we have seen, his judgment underwent some modification in regard to one of the great leaders of that philosophy, with whose works he had previously had little acquaintance. But as for the theologians of his own day, the bitter experiences of his early life, the strict discipline and loose morality of Stein, the damp bedrooms and rotten eggs of Montaigu (a Scotist college near Paris where he had spent some time), had taught him to hate both their life and their doctrine. There was, however, one respect in which his English friend would seem to have exercised a distinct influence over his mind. Erasmus had not indeed so far escaped the influences of his age and of his monastic training as to suppose that any study could compete in

importance with theology, yet his natural tastes would probably have led him to give secular learning at least an equal place in his regard. The spirit of Colet may be traced in the absolute devotion to divinity which he sometimes expresses. When he writes to this friend he puts himself on the defensive, endeavouring to shew that he looks upon his excursions in profane literature as little better than trifles of which he would gladly free himself, or at the best as preparatory to his graver studies, and that his whole heart is in theology.

Erasmus was in this country again in the year 1506, when he visited Cambridge, and was made Doctor of Divinity of that University; and while in London he was fortunate enough to become acquainted with Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, to whom he dedicated a Latin translation of the Hecuba of Euripides, and who afterwards proved one of his kindest and most liberal patrons. His first impression, indeed, of this Prelate was not altogether favourable; for on the presentation of the Hecuba, the Archbishop repaid the compliment with what seemed to Erasmus a very insignificant present, and he and his friend Grocyn, who had accompanied him, had a good laugh together in the boat, as they were rowed away from the palace at Lambeth, in trying to account for this niggardliness on the part of a man of such reputed generosity and wealth. Grocyn, who would seem to have known the ways of the world better than his friend, suggested, what was no doubt the true explanation, that the Archbishop must have suspected that he was not the first to whom the Hecuba had been dedicated. "And how," asked the aggrieved scholar, "can such a suspicion have entered his head?" *Quia sic soletis vos*, was the reply—"Because such is the practice of you literary men." Determined to shew that in his case at least the suspicion was groundless, Erasmus had his Hecuba printed as soon as he got back to Paris, and having added to it a translation of the Iphigenia in Aulis, on which he had employed himself at Cambridge, he dedicated both to Warham, and thus secured his friendship and patronage.

On this occasion the stay of Erasmus in England was brief. He had at length found the means of fulfilling his long-cherished intention of visiting Italy, and the same year or the next saw him on his way across the Alps. He was

at Rome when a letter reached him from Lord Mountjoy, announcing the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne, and pressing him to return; and not long before he had been honoured by a letter from the Prince himself, expressing the warmest interest in his fortunes. Mountjoy tells him the King is ready to welcome him, and the Archbishop of Canterbury to give him a rich benefice; and to enforce his invitation, he sends him a sum of money to pay the expenses of his journey. Erasmus appears to have had no thought of settling permanently at Rome, nor indeed anywhere else; had he chosen to engage in the war of intrigue that went on at the Pontifical court, his abilities would easily have gained him a Cardinal's hat; but he loved freedom, and he liked England; and accordingly the year after Henry's accession, 1510, we find him once more in London, and this time with that dear friend of his, the simplest, truest-hearted and most loveable of Englishmen, Thomas More. As he rode across the Alpine snows, this friend had been much in his thoughts; and how strange it was, it occurred to him, that the wittiest and wisest man he knew should bear a name which in Greek signified the Fool. And then, no doubt, he began to think how many real fools there were in the world, and what various forms folly assumed. His own experience and reading furnished him with abundant examples; and before his journey was at an end, a kind of declamation, in which, under pretence of eulogizing folly, he might turn all classes of men into ridicule, had worked itself into some sort of shape in his thoughts. Arrived in London, he took his pen, and within a week had completed one of the famous satires of the world.

The *Encomium Moriae*, or Praise of Folly, is certainly a most amusing piece of satire, abounding as it does in wit and eloquence, and displaying great knowledge of the world and keen observation of men and things. It reminds us of Lucian perhaps more than any other writer, in the contempt, generally good-humoured, which it pours out upon all human occupations. But the idea is probably quite original. Folly, who speaks throughout, introduces herself as the sole cause of mirth in heaven and among men, who spreads joy over every countenance however sad before, just as the sun, when he "shews his golden face to the earth," sheds new bloom and the freshness of youth over nature.



She then claims the right of trumpeting her own praises, and calls upon all to prick up their asses' ears to hear her. Having announced her name and parentage, she declares herself to be a goddess, and indeed the very chief of divinities, inasmuch as she is the authoress of the greatest blessings to humanity. For she not only gives life itself, but also all the pleasures of life. Who knows not that man's childhood is by far the most delightful period of his existence? And why? Because he is then most a fool. And next to that his youth, in which folly still prevails; while in proportion as he retires from her dominion, and becomes possessed, through discipline and experience, of mature wisdom, his beauty loses its bloom, his strength declines, his wit becomes less pungent, until at last weary old age succeeds, which would be absolutely unbearable, unless Folly, in pity of such grievous miseries, gave relief by bringing on a second childhood. Nature herself has kindly provided for an abundant supply of folly in the human race; for since, according to the Stoic definitions, wisdom means only being guided by reason, whereas folly, on the other hand, consists in submitting to the government of the passions, Jupiter, wishing to make life merry, gave man far more passion than reason, banishing the latter into one little corner of his person, and leaving all the rest of the body to the sway of the former. Man, however, being designed for the management of affairs, could not do without a small quantity of reason; but in order to temper the evil thus occasioned, at the suggestion of Folly woman was introduced into the world—"a foolish, silly creature, no doubt, but amusing and agreeable, and well adapted to mitigate the gloom of man's temper by familiar intercourse." Woman owes all her advantages to Folly. The great end of her existence is to please man, and this she could not do without folly. If any one doubts it, he has only to consider how much nonsense a man talks to a woman whenever he wishes to enjoy the pleasures of female society.

It is now shewn that friendship, love, marriage, success in life, are all dependent on the aid of Folly, which blinds us to the faults of others as well as to our own. Then comes a fine piece of satire on war, which Erasmus always detested. Hunting, gambling, and other frivolous tastes, are similarly ridiculed, and then at length he delivers his

first blow at the monks. "But that class of men is altogether of our kidney, whose sole delight is to hear and tell lying stories of miracles and prodigies, and who can never have enough of fables about spectres, spirits, ghosts, the place of future punishment, and a thousand such wonders; which are all believed the more willingly as they are remote from truth, and in the like proportion tickle the ear with a more agreeable itching. Such fables are not only wonderfully useful for relieving the tedium of the hours, but they are also very profitable, especially for priests and preachers. Akin to these, again, are they who have permitted the no doubt foolish, but still agreeable, persuasion to possess them, that should they see a wooden image or painting of St. Christopher Polyphemus,\* they will not die that day, or that whoever shall salute a carving of St. Barbara will return safely from battle, or whoever meet Erasmus on certain days, with certain tapers and certain prayers, become suddenly rich. Now, forsooth, they have invented a George Hercules too, like another Hippolytus. His horse, most religiously adorned with trappings and studs, they all but worship, and to swear by his brazen helmet is an oath for a king. But what shall I say of those who flatter themselves with the pleasant delusion that they can grant pardon for sins, and who measure the periods of purgatory as it were with time-pieces, meting out centuries, years, months, days, hours, as if by a mathematical table where there could be no possibility of error? or of those who, trusting to certain little magic marks and prayers which some pious impostor invented either to save his soul or with a view to gain, promise themselves wealth, honours, pleasures, abundance, unfailing health, and a green old age, and in the other world a seat next Christ himself,—which, by the way, they would not wish to reach for a long time yet; that is, not till the pleasures of this life, however much against their will and however closely they may have clung to them, shall nevertheless have flown—then they would wish those heavenly joys to follow. Here is a man—say a merchant, or a soldier, or a judge—who thinks that by payment of a single coin

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\* The pictures of St. Christopher often more nearly resembled Virgil's

"Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum,"  
than the gentle saint who carried the infant Christ.

out of his robberies, the whole Lerna of his life may be once for all cleared out, and imagines that so many perjuries, lusts, fits of drunkenness, so many quarrels, impostures, perfidies, acts of treachery, can be redeemed as by contract—aye, and so redeemed that he may now return to a new round of crime. But could any frame of mind be more foolish—I mean happier, than theirs who by the daily recitation of those seven verses from the Psalms promise themselves more than supreme happiness? And these magic verses some jesting demon, who was not however so cunning but he could be taken in, is believed to have pointed out to St. Bernard, the poor devil having been entrapped by the saint's art.\* And these things, which are so foolish that I am almost ashamed of them myself, are nevertheless regarded with approbation, and that not merely by the vulgar, but even by the professors of religion. \* \* \* Now if in this state of things any odious wise man were to rise up and proclaim what is doubtless true,—Thou shalt not perish miserably if thou livest well; thy sins will be forgiven, if to thy money thou addest hatred of thy misdeeds, and after that tears, watching, prayers and fasts, and changest thy whole manner of life: such and such a saint will bless thee if thou wilt endeavour to follow his example;—I say, if the wise man should bray out such truths as these, behold of how great happiness he would rob mankind, and into what confusion he would plunge them!"

Erasmus now proceeds to attack in succession various classes of men, including merchants, grammarians and schoolmasters, poets and scholars, lawyers, philosophers, monks and theologians. On the two last, of whom he knew most and who presented the greatest number of points for attack, he is particularly severe. Even the highest dignitaries of the Church do not escape the lash. He lectures the cardinals on their duties, and finally lays hands on the supreme pontiffs themselves. No situation, argues Folly, could be more wretched than that of the viceregents of Christ, if they endeavoured to imitate Christ's life—namely, his poverty, toil, doctrine, his cross, his contempt for life; which they would do if they had the smallest particle of wisdom. As it is, however, they leave all the labour to Peter and

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\* The saint threatened that if he did not shew him the verses in question, he would read the whole book of Psalms every day.

Paul, who have plenty of leisure for it, while they reserve for themselves the pleasures and the splendours of their office. It would be interesting to find that Erasmus maintained here the same generous doctrine of religious toleration which was shortly afterwards propounded by his friend More in the *Utopia*. This, perhaps, could hardly be expected in a work so purely satirical. There is, however, a passage which ridicules the scriptural arguments used by the ignorant monks in proof of the Church's right to burn heretics:—one of these was derived from St. Paul's command to Titus, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject," the argument being obtained by dividing the Latin word *de-vita* and translating "out of life:" from which it is clear that he did not think the stake the most satisfactory refutation of false doctrine. The piece concludes in truly orthodox style with shewing from Scripture the advantages of Folly; and certainly much of that ingenuity which the proverb ascribes to Satan is displayed in the adaptation of texts from the Bible to such a purpose.

Such is a brief and imperfect analysis of this remarkable work—remarkable not merely for its inherent excellences, which, however, perhaps scarcely entitle it to a first place among compositions of the kind, but still more as being the earliest, in that century at least, and the most decisive signal of the advance of that reforming spirit with which the Papal power was ere long to engage in deadly and terrible encounter. As the work proceeded, it was read to More and other congenial friends, by whom it was received with applause. Erasmus, if we may trust his own statement, made many years afterwards, valued it too slightly to think of publishing it; possibly he may have shrunk from the hostility which it was sure to arouse. Any objections he may have had, were, however, overcome by the friends who had encouraged his undertaking. Through their agency a copy of the work—an imperfect one—eventually found its way to Paris, and was there printed. The work was received with immense favour, especially among people of influence, and within a very few months went through no less than seven editions.\* The monks of course were enraged, but did not

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\* There is some difficulty in fixing the date of the publication of the *Enchiridion Morie*. Hallam says 1511, but gives no authority. I can find no trace of it before 1514. Erasmus himself says (but his memory may have deceived

very well know what to do with a man who had corresponded with the King of England and stood high in favour with the Pope. They, however, prevailed on one Martin Dorpius, a theologian of Louvain, to write to Erasmus to remonstrate with him on the publication of the "unlucky *Moria*." This he did in a highly respectful and complimentary style, telling him how unfortunate it was for his own fame that such a book should have appeared at the very time when he was beginning to be held in admiration by all the most eminent lawyers and theologians. The reply of Erasmus was equally conciliatory: he made a long and elaborate apology, and even condescended to say that he regretted the publication of the "*Moria*." It need scarcely be added, however, that his subsequent tone towards the monks, so far from being modified, was more bitter than ever.

The correspondence with Dorpius took place after Erasmus had left England, and that was not till towards the close of 1513, or in the beginning of the following year. A very few words must suffice to give an account of his occupations during the intervening period. The Archbishop of Canterbury had promised him a living, and this promise he now fulfilled by giving him the rectory of Aldington, in Kent. It is to the credit of Erasmus that he felt conscientious scruples about accepting a charge the duties of which it was impossible for him, owing to his ignorance of the English language, to fulfil. The Archbishop met his scruples by assuring him that he did far more good to the Church by his books than he could by preaching to a little country congregation, and that he well deserved any reward the Church had it in her power to bestow. His objections, however, were not overcome without a promise that the interests of the parish would be provided for at the Archbishop's expense. On this understanding he consented to draw a small yearly pension from the living. The remaining years of his residence in England were spent between

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him) that he was in Paris when it was printed, and there is no evidence nor likelihood of his having been in Paris from 1510 to 1513. If the *Encomium* was published in 1511, it is strange that there should be no reference to it in the correspondence between Erasmus and Andrew Ammonius during the stay of the former at Cambridge. More probably the MS. was for that period in the hands of Sir Thomas More.



London and Cambridge, and were devoted chiefly to his projected edition of St. Jerome, and the collation of the New Testament. At Cambridge, it is said, he was made the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, and he afterwards gave lectures on Greek. Whether he was appointed to the Greek chair of the University seems to be a little uncertain. There is a statement of his own to the effect that he taught Greek *gratis* for a few months ; but that may mean either that he delivered voluntary lectures previous to his obtaining the professorial chair, or that the salary attached to the chair was little more than nominal. From a letter to his friend Andrew Ammonius, a literary man from Lucca, of the most genial temper, whose acquaintance he had made in London, we learn that he gave lectures on the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras, and that the attendance at his class was small, though he was hoping it might increase. Here also he speaks of undertaking lectures in theology, adding that the remuneration is too small to be an inducement, but that in the mean time he is working hard at his studies. Erasmus would now have been perfectly happy had it not been for the plague, English beer and poverty. The first turned the University into a solitude by driving its inmates away, and made him vow that he would fly thence if it were only to die somewhere else. His friend Ammonius, it must be owned, did his best to preserve him from beer, and to satisfy the yearnings of his soul for the light vintage to which he was accustomed, by sending him now and then a flagon of Greek wine. And as to poverty, he ought to have been a rich man by this time. He must have made something by his writings, and much more by his persevering and ingenious begging, in which art he was an adept. But his habits of life were expensive ; Cambridge was an expensive place to reside in ; and his frequent journeys to escape the plague or visit his friends must have drawn heavily upon his purse. Accordingly we find him still complaining of poverty. Nevertheless, he seems to have lost none of his affection for England. If the material advantages proved less substantial than he thought he had been led to expect they would be, he had at least won for himself universal consideration. There was not a Bishop but was proud to be saluted by him. The King himself had noticed him in the most gracious manner. The Queen

had endeavoured to secure his services as a preceptor. Wolsey, then Bishop of Lincoln, was most friendly, though he confined himself to making magnificent promises. Finally, the two Universities vied with one another for the honour of his presence. These, it is true, are the boasts of Erasmus himself when he wishes to represent his fortunes in the most favourable light; but there is no reason to doubt that here, as well as in Rome, the way was open for him to the highest honours, if he chose to seek them. If he was poor, it was because he preferred learning to ambition, because learning was the thing which he loved best in this world. The cause of letters was the cause for which he lived and for which he would have died. The enthusiasm of study never rose so high before or since. The smiles of Kings and the favours of Archbishops were to this man as nothing compared with his beloved books.

ROBERT B. DRUMMOND.

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## II.—ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

SIR,

I AVAIL myself of your expressed readiness to see both sides of an important critical question presented in your pages.

Mr. Tayler's recent learned book on "The Character of the Fourth Gospel, especially in its relation to the Three first," has been noticed in your pages respectfully as it deserved, and with apparently a general assent to its conclusions on the part of your reviewer.

To many of your readers, perhaps to most of them, these conclusions would, if inevitable, be most unwelcome, and they must at least be permitted to question its reasonings. Without presuming to rival Mr. Tayler's ecclesiastical learning, it is no presumption in me to dispute his conclusions on grounds strictly critical, yet simple and intelligible to all readers of Scripture.

I believe this book presents the first occasion, in the annals of English theology, of doubts being thrown upon

the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel, except by writers who have equally impugned the authenticity of all the four Gospels. But the question itself is not new. It was debated in Germany at the very beginning of the present century; and, since the time of Bretschneider, whose *Probabilia* appeared in 1820, no new argument, I believe, certainly no new critical fact, has been discovered bearing upon the question. More than forty years ago, the whole argument on both sides was brought into focus by Kuinoel, in the Prolegomena to his able notes on John's Gospel; all the objections (especially those of Bretschneider) to its authenticity were thoroughly examined, and this most learned, candid and able critic pronounced his distinct opinion in its favour. He decided that the writer must have been a Palestinian, and must have lived in the first century; that he was an eye-witness of the things he relates and an intimate companion of Jesus; and that a writer of a later age would have written very differently on the union of Christ with God, which this Gospel makes prominent. He points to the apocryphal New Testament writings as proof of the difference in thought and style which the second century introduced. Thus the question is not new to English theological students, but only to the general English public. Few of the latter are much acquainted with those feats of German criticism which consist in exhausting all arguments on both sides of a question, as a mental exercise; though not a few are disposed to accept the negative results of the process on trust.

But even English books of theology have long since pointed out to the notice of popular readers, the distinctive peculiarities of the Fourth Gospel as compared with the other three. It has always been plain to every intelligent reader, that the first three differ far less from each other, in contents and in tone, than John's from them all. The first three detail chiefly the ministry of our Lord in Galilee, Peræa and the neighbouring parts, until the time of the fatal passover, when he plainly avowed his Messianic claims at Jerusalem; so that we might hardly have known from their narratives that he had ever taught there except at that last festival. John, on the other hand, gives very few details of the life in Galilee, and almost confines himself to the visits of Christ to Jerusalem at the various festivals. And

this distinction involves another. John omits the chief part of the discourses of our Lord which are preserved by the rest, and gives us in full detail a large number (especially those held at Jerusalem) which are not to be found in any others. So different are the contents of his Gospel from those of all the rest, that, on looking through the columns of a *Harmony*, we usually find the fourth blank when one, two or three of the others are full, and when the fourth is occupied there is seldom anything in any of the rest. Hence it is generally and naturally believed that John's Gospel was written *after* the other three, and that its author *had seen* one or more of them. Hence, too, it has been generally inferred that John's particular design in writing was, not to produce a new or complete Life of Jesus, but to supplement the others with additional facts and discourses. And the explanation of his personal ability to do this seemed obvious. Our Lord, according to all the four writers, spoke with studied reserve of his Messianic claims (under that misapprehended name) till the very end of his ministry, and (even according to John) went up "not openly, but as it were in secret," to the earlier Jewish feasts. The apostles do not seem to have attended him in a body on those occasions; but who so likely to have been uniformly with him as the "loved disciple"? If Matthew, the only other apostle evangelist, was not with our Lord on those occasions, and if John uniformly or generally was, this would at once explain the leading specialty of his Gospel. And this quite agrees with his own declaration of the purpose with which he wrote it, namely, "that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." This purpose, no doubt, is essentially common to all the four; but John points out more studiously than the rest the progressive indications of his Master's divine mission.\* Further: it is no new remark, that John's narrative and his reports of his Master's conversations are tinged with the colours of

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\* I must take exception to Mr. Tayler's statement (p. 4), that "instead of cautiously advancing his claims, and only towards the close of his ministry announcing himself as the Christ—Jesus, in the Fourth Gospel, from the very first reveals his high character and office by an unreserved disclosure of the Divine Word that was incarnate in him." It is John, I think, who points out these signs of Messiahship, rather than Jesus, who asserts them more distinctly or earlier than in the Synoptics.

the narrator's own mind to a degree not seen in the others ; and the longer of those conversations cannot, of course, be taken as verbally reported by him. His Gospel is decidedly what modern criticism calls *subjective*. We see the hero through the mind of the biographer. In a minor degree, John is to Jesus what Plato is to Socrates. Modern orthodox critics have commonly asserted this special tinge to consist in the clearer avowal of Christ's Deity, in which the other three evangelists are thought by them to be very deficient. Mr. Tayler thinks it consists in a philosophy of the *Logos*, or *Word*, which did not blend itself with the idea of Christ so early as the life of his apostle John. But the author himself is unconscious of any other purpose than simply to shew that Jesus was *the Christ, the Son of God*. Are not Biblical critics too fond of detecting the special purpose of the writer, his "stand-point," his "point of view," his "philosophy," when his only purpose may have been to tell what he knows?

The difference between the contents of the Fourth Gospel and the other three was early noticed by the more critical of the Fathers. Eusebius says that John, the other narratives being known to him and approved by him, remarked their want of an account of the earlier part of our Lord's ministry, their authors having chiefly confined themselves to his actions during one year, beginning with the imprisonment of John the Baptist. This is not indeed an exact or complete description of the phenomena ; but the first ten chapters of John do seem to belong mainly to the early period so passed by in the other three ; the larger part of the Galilean life more fully recorded by them seems properly to follow ; and then the rest of John's Gospel, from the approach of the last passover, runs parallel of course to the other three accounts, but with a large amount of additional materials, and little repetition of their details.

These, then, are the chief specific differences observable, and almost universally observed, between the Fourth Gospel and the other three. Do they bring its genuineness into suspicion ? Or are they not explained in a perfectly natural manner on the belief that it was written by the apostle John ?

There are internal marks of genuineness, innumerable, which it requires no great learning, but simply human feel-



ing and common sense, to estimate. The little explanatory parentheses so often inserted in the Fourth Gospel especially, seem to bespeak a contemporary, if not an eye-witness. Such are these: "There was much grass in the place;" "John was not yet cast into prison;" "For that sabbath was a high day;" "The servant's name was Malchus," &c. "There is at Jerusalem a pool," could hardly have been written by any one who knew that the city had been long ago laid in ruins: he would surely have said, *There was*. And what means that odd little interruption of Christ's discourse at the end of ch. xiv., "*Arise, let us go hence*," if he did not just then move to leave the paschal chamber, and then for some unexplained reason resume his discourse where he was, and *go thence* a little later, as mentioned at the beginning of chapter xviii.? How but as the simple record of fact could such a parenthesis have crept in? and who but an eye and ear witness could have written it: "That the world may know that I love the Father, as the Father hath given me commandment, even so I do. (*Arise, let us go hence.*) I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman," &c. Who could have written this consecutively if he had not heard it at the time? A most delicate, and because so delicate a most convincing, mark of authorship is found in the way in which John the Baptist is spoken of in the Fourth Gospel. All the others describe him habitually by his title *the Baptist*, as if to distinguish him from Christ's apostle John. But the Fourth Gospel calls him simply *John*. How natural if it was written by the apostle John, himself (as inferred from i. 35—40) a disciple of the Baptist previously, still reverencing his former master as the Messiah's forerunner, and never imagining, in his own modesty, that any other John stood conspicuous in Christ's history! His own name he does not mention; but when, towards the conclusion, he has to speak of himself, it is as "the disciple who leaned on Christ's breast at supper," or "whom Jesus loved."

Similar internal marks of authorship, appreciable by any one, may be seen in the other Gospels. For instance: Christ's prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem, recorded by all the first three, contains, together with the most striking prediction of that event, the anticipation of a visible coming of Christ, so contrary to the event that we naturally con-

clude those records must have been written *before* the fall of the city, and mingled with expectations natural enough to the Jewish relators *before*, but hardly conceivable on the supposition that the Gospel narratives were written 80 or 100 years *after*. So, in the lists of Christ's twelve apostles, given severally by the first three, Matthew is by the other two enumerated simply by his name, as if they would spare the needless opprobrium of his former occupation as tax-gatherer for the Romans; but in his own list he writes himself bravely down, *Matthew the Publican*—a tacit sign of authorship, and sign of a true man. Mark's Gospel, again, stated by the uniform testimony of antiquity to have been written under the suggestion of Peter and from materials supplied or dictated by him, brings out the character of the latter without disguise on various occasions not wholly creditable to him, when the others mitigate their narratives somewhat in his behalf. A sign as strong as it is unobtrusive, that antiquity has rightly given the authorship of the second Gospel to Mark the companion of Peter.\*

So much for the popular internal marks of the genuineness of the Gospels. They are quite as abundant, to say the least, in the Fourth Gospel as in any.

The *external* evidence, as derived from Christian antiquity, may be briefly stated. The Fourth Gospel was never ascribed to any one but John the apostle. It was named as his by the early Fathers, and quoted with reverence by some yet earlier as sacred scripture when (as often was their habit) they did not mention the name of the writer. Irenæus, about 178 A.D., names the four evangelists, and gives fanciful reasons why there must be four and no more. Tatian's *Diatessaron* attests the fact. And (perhaps most important of all) Eusebius (born about 270 A.D., and Bishop of Cæsarea about 315) making a catalogue of the sacred books of the Christians, distinguishes three classes, namely: (1) those universally received by all Christian churches; (2) those received by some and doubted by others; (3) spurious books. Eusebius is a little confused in one or two expressions; but there is no confusion in what concerns the present inquiry. All the four Gospels, with the names now borne by them,

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\* I see, indeed, in your July number that the authenticity of Mark's Gospel is ingeniously impugned; but Mr. Tayler seems to grant the genuineness of all the three Synoptical Gospels.

are put by him among the books *universally acknowledged*. And (as the other writings ascribed to John form a necessary part of this argument on the Fourth Gospel) it may be well to state here, that Eusebius classes the First Epistle also among the universally acknowledged books, and the Second and Third Epistles and the Apocalypse among those which were variously received and rejected by different persons and churches. As to the Second and Third Epistles, they are of little importance in a theological point of view ; but are generally admitted to be from the same pen as the First, their phraseology being so similar ; and their non-universal reception may be explained by their being merely private letters, and therefore comparatively little known at first.

The question of the authorship of the Apocalypse or Revelation is essentially connected with that respecting the Fourth Gospel. Mr. Tayler points out clearly the impossibility of ascribing both to the same writer. The earliest mention of authorship in regard to each book ascribes it indeed to John the apostle ; but the earliest readers were not critical ones. And, as Mr. Tayler shews, the more scholarly Christians of Alexandria (under their Bishop Dionysius, 247—265) perceived the impossibility of ascribing them both to the same author, and concluded that the apostle John was the author of the Gospel, and another John (called the *Theologian* in the title) the author of the Apocalypse. The grounds of this judgment are patent to every scholar. The language and style of the Gospel are as much superior to those of the Apocalypse as its religious ideas. The one is the book that Christians could least spare from the New Testament ; the other is the book they can make the least practical religious use of. The one is worthy of an apostle ; the other, if believed to be his, would sadly lower our reverence for him.

But Mr. Tayler, with Bretschneider, reverses the decision of the Alexandrian critics and of the Church ever since, and assigns the Apocalypse, with its strange Jewish dreams of “things shortly to come to pass” (but which never did come to pass) to the beloved disciple of Jesus ; and the Gospel to an unknown writer of the middle of the second century. We ought to have strong reasons given for this seemingly arbitrary change of judgment. What are they ?

Before examining his internal arguments, it appears to me that Mr. Tayler has done very scant justice to the historical testimony of Eusebius (as well as Irenæus) in this matter. He says: "Within less than a century from the time of Dionysius (of Alexandria) we observe Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, the historian, betraying the *same alienation* and sharing the *same doubts* (i.e. respecting the Apocalypse). But it is remarkable that *neither Dionysius nor Eusebius* ventured beyond the expression of *hesitation and doubt*, resulting from a want of *mental sympathy*."\* Is this a sufficient account of the testimony of Eusebius? He is not expressing his own doubts except incidentally; he is directly stating *the facts* as to other men's beliefs and practice. He professes to record facts; and he says that (in point of fact) the Fourth Gospel had always and everywhere been acknowledged as the work of the apostle John, and that the Apocalypse had (in point of fact) been variously received as his and disputed. Eusebius may be thought ambiguous in his own opinion of the Apocalypse, as he says that "if it seem meet" it may be put among the undisputed books; and that though "some reject it, others reckon it among the books universally received."† He says distinctly that "there are concerning that book to this very day different opinions." But he says there is not, nor ever has been, any difference of opinion as to accepting the Fourth Gospel as the apostle John's. Eusebius, then, does go far beyond the expression of doubts about the Apocalypse. *He attests the Gospel*. It is as historian that he is chiefly important. His own opinion against the Apocalypse seems naturally to have followed his perception of the impossibility of ascribing both books to the same author. He expresses this hesitatingly; but unhesitatingly goes with the universal opinion as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

How is it then that the reverse decision comes into favour now? It seems somewhat invidious and arbitrary, without any new materials of judgment, to give to the apostle the discredit of that strange and wild book, the Apocalypse, and to an unknown person the credit (or shall I repeat, discredit) of romancing or philosophising (not to say forging)

\* P. 52.

† Lardner, IV. 234.

the life and gospel of Christ into a more spiritual form than that in which his personal disciples had left it.

Having twice read Mr. Tayler's book through, with all the care and candour I can command, I desire to do justice to his arguments in my act of disputing them. They are the following :

The first depends upon the idea we form of the apostle John himself. Christian antiquity has, with one consent, handed down the idea that he was the youngest and most apt of the personal disciples of Christ, that he was especially amiable and gentle, the best-loved disciple of his Lord, perhaps the most like him in character, and in all respects such a thoughtful Christian as the Fourth Gospel shews its author to have been. Mr. Tayler insists (and in one sense rightly) that "in citing the collective evidence of the New Testament on the character of the apostle John, we must, of course, exclude, in the first instance, such as might be furnished by the two books which are the subject of comparison ; since our purpose is to decide on the claims of each to a specific authorship, by testimony which is external to them both."\* This condition may be strictly just "in the first instance," though it seems hard. By its means Mr. Tayler makes out the character of John (who is not very prominent in the Gospel events) to have been that of the merest, dullest Jewish zealot, the *Boanerges* who would, not once only, but habitually, have called down fire from heaven upon reluctant hearers, but not a disciple who had any claim to lean on Jesus' breast, or to whom Jesus might with any special propriety have committed the sacred charge of his mother. Even the apocryphal story, by which some old Fathers endeavoured to glorify John's orthodoxy (that he ran out of a bath at Ephesus one day when the heretic Cerinthus entered, lest the building should fall upon him), is made to do service against John's better reputation as a disciple of Christ. But, accepting this hard condition under the strict rules of criticism, we must still claim to use the Fourth Gospel as *indirectly* bearing upon the character of John. We have to take it as written (under Mr. Tayler's theory) about the year 150 A.D., and as therefore vouching for the prevalence of the idea *at that time*, that

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\* P. 15.



John the apostle was not such a Jewish zealot as he is now represented, but was the character described incidentally in that Gospel, and did appreciate Christ spiritually as that writer does; that he was the disciple whom Jesus loved especially, and who lay on his breast at supper. In the middle of the second century, therefore, the apostle John was believed to have been not such a Jewish Christian as could have written the Apocalypse, but such a spiritual-minded Christian as could have written the Fourth Gospel. The reputed character of John is thus proved, not from his own testimony, but by that of united Christian antiquity, to have been what Mr. Tayler argues that it was not. Nor is it easy to understand how this Gospel, if not written till the middle of the second century, could so immediately and universally have been accepted as an original work of the apostle. This subject is amply discussed by Dr. Norton in his volumes on the *Genuineness of the Gospels*; a book well known to Mr. Tayler, who has republished that part of it which incidentally contrasts the more defective evidences of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch with what seemed to its author the conclusive evidence of the authenticity of the four Gospels.

And here I have to observe that few lovers of the Bible (free as they may be from Bible-worship) can go with Mr. Tayler in his calm conclusion, that the ascription of the Fourth Gospel to an unknown author in the middle of the second century makes no difference in its religious value. Most Christians feel, with Bunsen, that in losing it, they lose at least an important part of the historical Christ of their belief. Of course we must follow Truth wherever she may lead us, though it should be into a desert. But we do not willingly—unless her commands be absolute—leave the still waters and green pastures of the Gospel records. We do not, unless compelled by critical proof, give up the Christ of John's Gospel. Nor do we readily part with the loved disciple himself to regard him as a mere Boanerges and a dull Millenianist. We could give up the Apocalypse, but not so easily the Fourth Gospel and its author.

The First Epistle of John has more to do with this controversy than Mr. Tayler seems to think. He says he "can have little doubt that the author of the Epistle and of the

Gospel were one and the same person ;”\* and ascribes them both to the earlier part of the second century. We are to suppose, then, that the ingenious author of the Fourth Gospel wrote the Epistle also in order to give greater currency to the former. Yet Mr. Tayler does not consider himself as charging the author of the Gospel with forgery or imposture ; for (he reminds us) that Gospel does not expressly claim to be John’s, except in the last chapter, which he considers not genuine. But (not to urge that the last chapter is quite in the style of a supplement to the rest, and may be rationally accepted without the last verse and half), this Gospel itself elsewhere claims to be the work of an eye-witness (iii. 11, “We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen”) in very similar phraseology to the Epistle (i. 1—3 and iv. 14). The writer of the Gospel and of the Epistle professes to have seen with his own eyes and known of his own knowledge. If he was not an apostle, nor even a contemporary, how can we acquit him of deliberate fraud? The Epistle seems to me an attendant voucher for the Gospel, such as Matthew, Mark and Luke do not happen to possess. Yet we are to receive them and cast John aside.

But “the most formidable argument” (according to Mr. Tayler) “is, the precedent that was drawn from the apostle’s own practice, so contrary, apparently, to his reputed words,—in the celebrated Paschal controversy.”†

I enter with diffidence upon the Paschal or Quartodeciman controversy. As I understand it, its elements are these :

1. It assumes that the Fourth Gospel places the time of our Lord’s last passover a day earlier than it is in the other Gospels ; or else that it regards him as holding an ordinary supper with his disciples, and says nothing of his eating the passover at all.

2. It reminds us of the historical fact that, in the course of time, there arose a great controversy about the proper day for holding Easter, owing to the impossibility of reconciling the Jewish feast of the Passover (which was regulated by the *lunar* month) with the Christian desire to keep the resurrection-day on a Sunday. The problem was plainly

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\* P. 150.

† P. 98.

impossible, and the Jewish 14th day of Nisan was abandoned by the Western churches and adhered to by the Eastern.

3. It states that the Jewish and Asiatic churches, which still clung to the lunar method, claimed the authority of the apostle John in behalf of their practice, which (it is alleged) proves that they did not receive this Gospel as his.

But how do we put together the premises and the conclusion? The alleged celebration of the passover by our Lord a day earlier according to the Fourth Gospel than according to the Synoptists, is explained by harmonists by supposing that one class of Jews in our Lord's time reckoned the new moon from the time of its being actually seen, and another from its calculated change a day or two before. But what had this to do with the long subsequent question how to reconcile the lunar month with the occurrence of an Easter Sunday?

I must, however, confess myself unable to perceive the alleged contradiction between John and the Synoptists as to the day of the Last Supper; and some learned men have been in the same position. The passages alleged to prove the discrepancy are these:

1st. (John xiii. 1.) "Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end; and supper being ended," &c. Hence it is gravely insisted that the supper mentioned had been held a day at least before the passover. But do we not naturally take for granted that John is about to speak of this passover, as the other three evangelists had done? Does not every reader feel that the words just quoted would be a very clumsy statement of the fact that *this supper was held before the passover*? Are we forbidden to translate the passage (with Wakefield essentially) in the simpler style following: "Now when Jesus knew, before the passover, that his hour was come, &c. \* \* \* he loved them to the end"? It is plainly implied by the narrator, that the supper which he proceeds to speak of, was the passover. "Supper being ended," δέιπνον γενομένου, would also be more properly translated, *supper being come, or on the table, or in progress*; just as πρώτη γενομένης (xxi. 4), ημέρας γενομένης (Acts xii. 18 and xvi. 35),

συνῆς γενομένης (Acts xxi. 40), all denote *existing*, not *past* or *ended*.

2nd. In ch. xiii. 29, when Jesus said to Judas at the supper-table, "That thou doest, do quickly," the evangelist remarks that some present thought he meant him to buy something for the feast or give something to the poor. And from this conjectural remark of theirs it is again insisted that the passover feast could not have already begun. But why not, if we remember that the feast of unleavened bread lasted seven days after the eating of the passover lamb, and that the whole period was indifferently called "the passover" or "the days of unleavened bread"? There would have been no difficulty (as the objection must then imply) in buying anything till the Sabbath began.

3rd. The third text is xviii. 28, where we are told that the leaders of the Jews "went not themselves into the judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover." And here again it is gravely urged, with a hard literalness that would disgrace a bibliolater, that they could not have already eaten the passover lamb. But how if they feared defilement for seven days after it? I remember solving to my own mind, when quite a child, this palpable verbal difficulty by that simple explanation, which I since found in learned commentators. Having eaten the passover lamb, but having still to keep themselves ritually clean during the seven days of unleavened bread, they feared pollution by going into the Roman prætorium. It would spoil their eating of the passover (though crucifying an innocent man would not). Here, as before, eating the passover means keeping the festival to the end.

4th. Another argument is derived from the statement (xix. 31) that the day of our Lord's crucifixion was the *preparation-day*; which some take to mean the day before the passover, but which Mark (xv. 42) and Luke (xxiii. 54) clearly explain to mean *the day before the Sabbath*; and John himself (xix. 14 and 31 combined) shews to have been specifically the *preparation for the Sabbath of the passover week*, which Sabbath consequently was a "high day." I therefore pass by this Quartodeciman controversy as the weakest instead of the strongest part of the argument, with the remark, that if the alleged diversity were proved to

exist between the Fourth Gospel and the others, it has nothing to do with John's supposed authority in the Easter question, but only shews that, according to him, Jesus and his apostles had reckoned the 14th Nisan according to the Karaite, and not the Pharisaic rule. Either way they kept the lunar reckoning; in neither way the Sunday reckoning.

It is alleged by Mr. Tayler, that "Jesus in the Fourth Gospel from the very first reveals his high character and office by an unreserved disclosure of the Divine Word that was incarnate in him, and engaged in open discussion respecting his claims to authority with the Jews at Jerusalem and elsewhere."\* He also says: "The doctrine of the Logos, modifying the whole conception of the person and ministry of Christ, which pervades from beginning to end this remarkable book, could not, I think, have blended itself so intimately with the popular preaching of Christianity at a very early age."† On this statement (which is made as roundly and unhesitatingly as the orthodox statement that John's Gospel is based throughout on Christ's Deity), I venture to observe, that the one only allusion to the Logos doctrine is contained in the opening verses, and that the writer's own conception is summed up at the conclusion by the term *Christ*; that incarnate Logos and incarnation are terms unknown; that the frequent assertion of the Messiahship of Jesus is usually the comment of the evangelist rather than our Lord's own avowal; and that he is, in this Gospel as in the rest, most cautious in this respect till "his hour is come." I observe, too, that Mr. Tayler himself acknowledges‡ that "the doctrine of the Logos existed anterior to the apostolic age;" but he adds, "it was confined to the higher sphere of philosophical thought, and came into no direct contact with the popular mind." Suffice it to say that the Logos doctrine was long ago found in the Jewish Greek Scriptures *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, and that in the earliest age of Christianity the Targums systematically paraphrased the Old Testament title *Jehovah* into the *Word of Jehovah*. These uses of the phrase surely came into contact with the popular mind, whether Philo's Platonism did or not. I venture to think that the prevalence of the Logos doctrine in the Fourth Gospel is as much over-

\* P. 4.

† P. 88.

‡ P. 89.



stated as its prevalence in common Jewish thought in the apostolic age is understated; and that the proem to the Gospel, as well as the similar opening of the first Epistle, is perfectly in accordance with the avowed purpose of the Gospel to prove "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." The writer seems not to have been conscious of any new or different conception from the rest of the evangelists.

It seems to me that the difference between the contents of the Fourth Gospel and the rest is decidedly overstated by Mr. Tayler when he says that "it affects the whole conception of the person and teaching of Christ, and the fundamental distribution of the events of his public ministry."\* As to events, the first three differ on certain occasions (not of supreme importance) to a degree that is difficult or impossible to reconcile. John's, being understood to be supplementary, and therein fragmentary, has all the fewer points of actual collision with their narratives, though there is often much difficulty in putting his and theirs into *chronological sequence*. One marked difference is conspicuous between him and the rest, in his having placed the "cleansing of the temple" at the *first* passover, whereas all the others place it at the last. On this great stress is laid; yet one does not quite see how the variation proves or disproves the authorship. It certainly seems more appropriate to the last passover than to the first, if we regard it as attended with the popular excitement described by the Synoptists in connection with the public entry into Jerusalem. But John's description, be it observed, would allow us to regard the earlier incident (supposing it to have occurred twice) as a more quiet protest on our Lord's part, which it is perhaps difficult to imagine he should not have made, gently but firmly, even at his first passover. This is not, then, a clear case of opposition between the narratives. But, if it were, what then? We should of course say, one or the other has made a mistake about the date. But this does not prove that John the apostle was not the author of the Fourth Gospel, nor that it proceeds upon a different conception from the others.

John's additions to certain narratives common to the others and himself, seem to me highly characteristic of the

position generally assigned to him as consciously supplementing the Synoptic histories. Thus the miracle of feeding the 5000 is recorded by all the four, but by John (ch. vi.) apparently out of its proper chronological order. His narrative is otherwise perfectly accordant with the rest; but he adds the remarkable conversation of Jesus with the Jews and his disciples, arising out of the miracle (vi. 22—71), which conversation the others have omitted. The supplements made by John to the family history of Lazarus and his sisters are again eminently characteristic, and seem to me to bear such internal marks of genuineness as to defy the idea of their post-apostolical production. To Luke (x. 38—42) we owe the first part of this beautiful little episode of Bethany, where Martha is “cumbered with much serving,” while Mary sits at Jesus’ feet listening to his word. Matthew and Mark afterwards give the account of his being in a house at Bethany during the last passover week, where a woman (name not mentioned) pours precious ointment upon him. John also records this latter incident, and tells us that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, was the agent in it. And he supplies also the intervening history of the sickness and death of Lazarus and the restoring miracle, which brings us into far more intimate acquaintance with the characters of the two sisters. Regarded as the work of the apostle John, these supplements are perfectly natural and most interesting. All is stamped with the truth of nature. The restoring miracle itself is in the highest sense truly natural on Christ’s part, if we believe him ever to have wrought a miracle of love or mercy. And the further illustrations here afforded of the character of our Lord in his friendships, of the characters of some with whom he associated in his retirement from public conflict, of the character of the narrator himself, who has given the story in all its simplicity but with all earnestness, are among the treasures of moral and religious influence which are felt to belong peculiarly to the Fourth Gospel.

But what are these on the supposition that this Gospel is not John’s, nor even of contemporary date? that an unknown author, 120 years after the Saviour’s death, wrote it from a theological or philosophical point of view, giving an unhistorical picture of Christ, and framing even his events in accordance with a dogmatic *conception* which had

grown up since? We must be excused for thinking that the decision of this question vitally affects the spiritual value of the book. To those who accept it as John's, the Christ is nowhere more vividly historical, personal and real than in this Gospel. He is the same Christ as in the rest, but with deeper touches of personal character and making fuller disclosures of the Divine will. To them "the beloved disciple" is also real, and is one of the true saints of the heart, worthy to have shared Christ's nearer confidence and capable of imparting it to us. They cannot willingly or needlessly part with the loved apostle; nor will they, except under hardest critical compulsion not yet experienced, let Martha, Mary and Lazarus go into the realms of fiction, instinct as they are with Jewish and with Christian reality.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD HIGGINSON.

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### III.—THE RELIGION OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES. BY ONE OF THEMSELVES.

CHRISTIANITY, as seen in the life and character of St. Paul, is a spectacle as grand and inspiring as man has ever exhibited to his fellow-men. Living as we do in the midst of Christendom, it requires a strong effort of the imagination to throw ourselves back to the times of the apostle. Beholding from our vantage-ground the mighty stream of tendency rolling with an ever-increasing volume through the past centuries, we forget that only the first beginnings were visible to him. Half unconsciously we endow him, not with the eye of a faith which pierced through "the blankness of the dark," but with a species of clairvoyance, to which the future revealed itself as a visible panorama. But what, in truth, were the circumstances of the apostle? The Master whom he proclaimed as the Lord of heaven and earth, had perished upon the Cross as a malefactor. He himself was a prisoner in the palace of the Cæsars, and in continual expectation of a martyr's death. The

churches which he had called into existence were beset with perils from false teachers, with perils from their own internal divisions, and liable at any moment to be utterly swept away before some sudden wave of Imperial persecution. Does the faith of the apostle waver when he speaks of the future? Not for a moment. He bids the churches rejoice and give thanks, firmly convinced that they were the first fruits of a vast movement which should embrace the whole earth within its folds. He bids them offer up prayer for all men, because it is the will of God that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. Beyond all other graces, he would have them cultivate Faith, Hope and Charity, as men redeemed for ever from the powers of darkness. But this grand and all-inclusive faith, which, in spite of men's frantic efforts to make it an instrument for evil only, has passed on from country to country, like a broad river fertilizing whatsoever soil it touches, has shrivelled here in England to a narrow and impotent superstition. In British Protestantism, the religion of Exeter Hall and the middle classes, the grand lineaments of the apostolic faith would be indistinguishable after the minutest scrutiny. Just as the teaching of the apostle was remarkable for its broad and liberal character, its forgetfulness of all minor points of difference, and the absence of dogmatic formulas, Protestantism is distinguished by characteristics the reverse of these. It lives and moves and has its being in dogma; it hedges round the promises of Christ with monstrous conditions; it loves to erect every difference of opinion into an impassable barrier of separation. Such is English Protestantism in the abstract. To Protestantism in the concrete—that is, as it exists in this or that individual—it would be impossible to assign a definite character. In conversation, the remark is commonly made that so-and-so is a “thoroughly good Christian,” and the words are spoken and received as though their meaning was perfectly understood by every one. But the language is purely conventional, and no one expects the person so designated to manifest an extraordinary degree of sanctity, to be a student of theology, or in any way to be observably different from other people. The religion of the English laity is a mere jumble, a hopeless confusion. They themselves feel that it is so. They do not dare to handle it ever

so delicately, lest it should crumble into nothingness beneath the touch. Any attempts to point out contradictions which require explanation, any demands for information, are invariably silenced with the assertion, that "it is not for us to inquire into such matters." If people will only say nothing, but preserve grave faces and go to church regularly, religion will do very well as an ally of the parish constable and a clog to the propensities of the burglar and other criminals against society. Hence the terror and the clamour which arise when any one is bold enough to come forward and declare that he for his part does not believe in "everlasting punishment" or the absolute infallibility of the Pentateuch. "Destitute of faith, yet terrified at scepticism," is a description of English Protestantism as true as it is tersely and briefly expressed. But how has this undesirable result been attained? Have we not an Established Church, with archbishops, bishops, clergymen and curates, who people the country "like leaves of the forest when summer is green"? It would be impossible to find in any country, people who listen to innumerable sermons with such lamb-like docility as the English; who judge them by such considerate canons of criticism; who are so willing to believe that they carry away something precious from the dreariest discourses. Moreover, do not the booksellers' shops groan beneath accumulations of religious literature, which assuredly would never be produced without an extensive demand? These statements are true. It will be therefore by an examination of the kind of sermons which the clergy deliver, and the character of the popular religious literature, that we shall ascertain the component parts of British Christianity.

We desire to speak of the clergy with the respect due to a very respectable body of men. They have their defects both exasperating and absurd. That air of exclusive sanctity, as of men already partly beatified, which the younger members of the fraternity, the curates, diligently cultivate, and which we suppose must be the welling up of some secret spring of self-complacency at their exalted spiritual position, is both exceedingly ludicrous and provoking. But, spite of this and other faults of a far graver character (which we shall mention presently), we believe the clergy are doing a good work in the land. This is not the place to enter



into a defence of the Establishment ; but, notwithstanding its apparent anomalies, we believe that the clergy of the Establishment are a protection to the poor, a meeting-point, which while it raises them, softens also the arrogance of wealth and birth towards them ; that these offices the clergy are able to fulfil in virtue of the authority wherewith their connection with the State invests them, and which consequently could never be performed by any voluntary association. It is as ministers of the Gospel, and not as servants of the State, that the clergy are so lamentably deficient. In *that sacred capacity* they do (we grieve to say it) too frequently pursue a course of action, which is at once shocking to the laity and degrading to themselves. When the clergy flocked to Oxford to deprive Professor Jowett of his salary, and asserted that in so doing they were voting in favour of “ everlasting punishment,” they struck a blow at their own influence from which it has never recovered. While they patronize and encourage such a paper as the “ Record,”—while they lavish such epithets as Atheist, Infidel, Heretic, Socinian, and others, the meaning of which they themselves frequently are unacquainted with,\* on theologians whose single crime is that of disagreement with the opinions of their party in the Church,—so long as they reduce the apostolic faith to keeping watch and ward over certain doctrinal propositions, and, the moment these appear to be questioned or impugned, to urging on a well-meaning but ignorant public to the persecution of those who have offended,—so long will they deepen the conviction in the minds of all thoughtful men, that while they maintain strongly the sacredness of tithes, church-rates and State connection, they are wofully disregarding of the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and truth. Finally, if the Establishment is to be perpetuated, it can be only on the condition that the clergy lead the van, and cease to be the drags and dead-weights which check the march of intellectual and spiritual progress.

We are very far from intending to assert that there is no section of the Established clergy forming at this time a part of the vanguard of thought. There are, as every one knows,

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\* As an example of this, we cannot refrain from mentioning a fact which has just been brought to our notice. A lady of our acquaintance gave as her reason for not reading the writings of Mr. Maurice, that a clergyman, an intimate and trusted friend of the family, had informed her he was a *materialist*!

men among them eminent in all the walks of literature, as theologians, historians, philosophers, men of science, poets and novelists. There are others, unknown to fame, but men of earnest convictions and cultivated minds, who must be exercising a good and great power so far as their influence extends. But numberless parishes are not so happily provided for; and what we complain of in the mass of the clergy is, that they know nothing of the most eminent members of their own body. It is quite possible that a clergyman may abominate, or think he abominates, the opinions of Milman, Maurice, Jowett, Kingsley, Pusey, Newman and others, but it is nothing less than his duty to make himself acquainted with their writings. Unless he be a sort of private Pope (as indeed many of the clergy seem to think they are), in whom is laid up all the stores of wisdom and knowledge, he incurs a heavy responsibility in excluding from his congregation the visitation of any light save what can be afforded by his own particular candle.

Whatever new thoughts and speculations are agitating the mind of society, the clergyman should be eager to examine and test, recognizing these as the manifestations of the invisible forces with which he has to deal. Most of all is it his duty to keep his mind braced up and in full vigour if he be the clergyman of some poor and ignorant parish, for he is then, in all probability, the sole medium through which light can visit those to whom he ministers. The ideal clergyman of such a district would possess something of a Shakspearean insight to penetrate to the deep springs of love and admiration which exist quick and living somewhere even in the lowest natures. But, alas! the clergyman as he really is falls far below the idea. He is a man who seems at the moment of ordination to have been cast into a mould, whence he has emerged frigid and unmanageable, to remain the same for ever. He never reads any books but those with which he knows beforehand that he will agree. Doubts about religion are not to be mentioned in his presence, and consequently he lives on from year to year, unknowing of the thoughts of men. He generally regards what he calls "secular literature" with dislike and suspicion, entrenching himself behind "the simplicity of a Christian's faith," as standing in no need of these mundane assistances. From these habits of thought has been bodied

forth that remarkable product of modern times, the English sermon. It is a common remark, that no clergy but the Roman Catholic have much influence over the laity; but the remark is not so true as is generally supposed. The English clergy exercise a very great influence, but unhappily it is mostly in a direction exactly the reverse of that which they intend. The theological knowledge of the middle classes is derived almost wholly from their sermons, and there is no extant body of literature which has done so much in inducing them to believe that Christianity is a hard, arbitrary, unintelligible scheme of condemnation, the discussion of which either sends one to sleep through weariness, or provokes the heart to an indignant denial of its truth. We consider this subject to be so important—the faith of the nation is perishing so fast beneath the benumbing influence of these discourses—the nonsense is so monstrous which a clergyman will preach, after gravely invoking the blessing of the Holy Spirit upon his words, that no excuse is necessary for once more calling attention to it. The thing, we know, has been done times out of number, apparently with no results whatever. Still it is possible that a clergyman here and there has been induced, at every outburst of complaint, to consider the responsibilities of his position and reform his ways; and in the hope of a like meed of success, we return to it once more. Our criticisms will be confined to the sermons of the Established clergy, as we have not had sufficient experience of the preaching of Dissent to justify us in writing about it.

The varieties of the English sermon may be arranged under four heads,—the practical, the nonsensical, the speculative, and the doctrinal. They are all more or less nonsensical, but one particular kind of sermon possesses this attribute in such perfection, as to constitute a distinct variety. By the clergyman himself, this sermon would most probably be denominated “exegetical,” and at times a feeble striving in the direction of exegesis does become discernible in it. But of this more hereafter.

A “good, sound, practical discourse” (as it is called by church-going people) is always preached from a conventional stand-point whence most of the clergy overlook the universe, and from which they appear utterly unable to diverge either to the right hand or the left. From this

point of view, the infinite diversities and gradations of human character are divided into two classes,—the believer who is advancing securely and triumphantly to heaven, and the unbeliever who, with his eyes open, is rushing straight to perdition. Should any of our readers turn upon us at this point, and demand what that is which constitutes a believer, we must frankly confess our inability to inform them. When used by a gentleman in orders, the term (roughly speaking) may, we suppose, be taken to imply any one who entirely agrees with the theological opinions of the speaker ; for though, in theory, a clergyman would doubtless allow of a certain deviation from this private standard, he would, when pressed, find it exceedingly difficult to define the limit of divergence. But the question, as being a difficulty, has never, apparently, occurred to the clergy. They speak of “believers” and “unbelievers” just as they might speak of men and women. Like the logical principle of the excluded middle, in the speculations of Sir W. Hamilton, they seem to regard this classification as a piece of absolute truth, which is applicable to all times, peoples and states of society. It is self-evident, like a mathematical axiom ; a postulate which runs through all their conversation, and is the chief corner-stone of their preaching. Now whatever eloquence or ability a preacher may possess, the use of this ridiculous distinction at once incapacitates him for the office of a moral teacher. It may be applicable to the inhabitants of the moon, but it has no meaning when addressed to the denizens of this world. The moment that a congregation leave the church, they step into a world where the sceptic exhibits, as often as not, a nobler, more charitable, generous and courageous character, than he who believes implicitly in all the Thirty-nine Articles. In the affairs of this world, no rational person would think of applying such a test to the human beings about him ; and thus at the very outset we find the inner life of man partitioned off into departments. The “believer” becomes a person who gives you to understand that he considers himself “converted,” who attends church regularly, and proclaims his adhesion to a certain shibboleth ; the “unbeliever” is one who declines to do these things. The consequence is, that, except for purposes of persecution, the religion of English people influences the tenor of their daily life about as much as

their belief in astronomy or the propositions of Euclid. All through the week, they are, "if a man should speak truly, little better than one of the wicked," and merely put on their religion for a few hours during Sundays, together with their best clothes. So much for the practical sermon.

Whoever has heard the sermon nonsensical—and who is there that has not?—must have understood the feelings of Job, when he complained so bitterly that his friends had "plentifully declared the matter as it is." This is the favourite vice of the clergy. They are always plentifully declaring the matter as it is. They will take some passage of Scripture, the meaning of which is as clear as the sun at noon-day, and expound it at enormous length. There is nothing in the world which gives them so much pleasure as to darken counsel by words without knowledge. The parables, for example, being for the most part perfectly intelligible to the most ordinary apprehension, are the portions of Scripture which the clergy appear to experience the deepest gratification in "improving" and explaining. The method adopted is simple enough. The parable is first read as it stands in the Gospel; and then, in order to make it clearer, the preacher repeats the whole story over again in his own words. Thus we remember to have heard a gentleman "explaining" (as he called it) the parable of the Rich Man who had goods laid up for many years. "This man," he said, weighing his words with awful deliberation, "was a rich man, an opulent man, a man of wealth, and he found that his barns could not contain all his wealth; so he said within himself, 'I will pull down my small and insufficient barns, and build larger and more sufficient barns, and there will I bestow all my goods and my wealth. And I will say unto my soul, 'Soul, thou hast much property,'"—and so on, for half an hour and more, amplifying and embellishing after the manner of which the above is a brief specimen. At other times, the clergy may be heard entering upon inquiries which are utterly absurd and unimportant, and on which, supposing them to be otherwise, there is no hope of throwing any light. Thus we have known a clergyman discuss the important question as to what the apostles did with the one hundred and fifty-three fishes which were caught upon the right side of the boat. After much effort, he arrived at the sapient conclusion that they sold them,



and lived upon the proceeds at Jerusalem, where they could not fish. The fish which they found cooked when they came to land, the gentleman was of opinion, did not belong to the hundred and fifty-three, but had been obtained elsewhere. Another trait which belongs to the sermon nonsensical is, that it generally concludes with a florid description of the last day. The clergy may be said to absolutely revel in these descriptions. They have them all made ready to their hand, and have nothing to do but to extract them from the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse. According to the one which we heard most recently, it appears that the "true believer" will be crowned with a coronet of jewels by an angelic hand, while the Hallelujah chorus will swell louder and louder, and deeper and deeper, filling the halls of heaven with its ocean melody.

A sermon speculative is the result when a clergyman, with the fearlessness of complete ignorance, involves himself in the coils of some moral difficulty. The artificial distinction between believer and unbeliever—the doctrine of everlasting punishment, which, until it is definitely given up, cannot cease, whether loudly insisted upon or not, to throw its lurid light over the promises and hopes of the gospel—force these moral questions into a prominence that renders it impossible to ignore or evade them. But, unsatisfied with the difficulties that lie immediately before them, the clergy go out of their way to hunt for them. They *will* try to reconcile the account of the creation in Genesis with the discoveries of modern science; they will maintain the universality of the Deluge; no preceding failures avail to hinder them from preaching a sermon on the Trinity upon Trinity Sunday (when also they generally take as their text the spurious verse in the Epistle of St. John), or attempting to explain the parable of the Unjust Steward. Thus, for example, only a few weeks ago, we heard a clergyman attempting to get at the reason why so bad a man as Herod was permitted to decapitate such an eminent saint as St. John the Baptist. After a long discourse, he came to the conclusion that it was certainly permitted for some good purpose; and already, he added, we might perceive that St. John was receiving a recompence, in that he had a yearly service in our churches (we could not but wonder whether the speaker would have considered this particular

reward sufficient in his own case to counterbalance the inconvenience of decapitation ; moreover, as St. John would have got his service without being beheaded for it, it was unfair to weigh one against the other) ; whereas upon the future of Herod and his paramour we could not reflect without a shudder. This is an instance of the sermon speculative, and is a fair specimen of the clerical method of justifying the ways of God to men.

The doctrinal sermons flourish in their greatest vigour during the season of Lent, and are known as Lent Lectures. At that time, a sort of frenzy seizes upon the English clergy, and with one consent they expound what they call, with a fine play of the imagination, "the doctrines of the Church of England." Every one, we assume, who has attended the churches of the Established clergy is acquainted with that notorious sceptic who rejects the Messianic interpretation of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah ; every one, we fancy, must at some time or other have seen him paraded as the type and pattern of his species, his arguments and his errors derided and exposed, and himself finally dismissed with ignominy. To conjure up a phantom adversary for the sake of triumphing over him is much relished by the clergy when controversially inclined. The Lent Lectures are, as a rule, eminently controversial, and these spectre combats are then fought out with great courage. Roman Catholics and Dissenters are very roughly handled, and the Church of England held forth as the one receptacle of infallible truth. The method generally adopted is this. On one side of the way a deep pit is dug, and a Roman Catholic deposited therein, as a believer in the Real Presence, justification by works, or some other heretical opinion. On the other side, a Dissenter is similarly disposed of. The congregation is then called upon to see with what skill and subtlety the clergyman will steer the Church of England unharmed between Scylla and Charybdis. But, alas ! we never remember to have seen this successfully achieved. Either our unhappy Church is precipitated first into one pit and then into the other—is held to believe that man is both justified by faith alone and by works alone too, or no explanation at all is proffered. Thus we remember only last Easter to have heard a clergyman give the following luminous exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England regarding

the Lord's Supper. He had worked his way up painfully to this point, tumbling at every step into the pits he had prepared for others, and premising that to be regular communicants and hold right opinions regarding the sacred elements was considered by the Church essential to salvation, he proceeded to unfold these right opinions. The Roman Catholics, he said, believed in the Real Presence, and that was wrong. The Dissenters considered the Communion was merely a memorial feast, and that too was wrong. But the Church of England believed that our souls were refreshed by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies were by the bread and wine!

So long as the clergy regard the doctrines which they teach as abstract propositions merely, which by some process of reasoning are to be brought into logical coherency, they will continue to be involved in absurd and humiliating contradictions. It is not possible to reconcile logically the absolute foreknowledge of God and the free-will of man; but as facts we see that they do co-exist. We may, if we choose, assume them as postulates justified by the reason and the consciousness; but any attempt to *prove* them must inevitably fail. Again, it is not possible to draw the line between justification by faith and by works; but translate the doctrines into life, and the difficulty ceases. For we are like soldiers fighting in an unknown land. They know not how to extricate themselves, but they have entire faith in their captain. In that faith they do not quail before the dangers of their position; they are not disheartened by partial defeats; they oppose a firm front to the enemies who beset them; until, finally, in the truest sense of the words, they return triumphant through faith and the power which springs from faith. But to translate their doctrines into life is the one thing which the clergy will not or cannot do. The morality which they teach is an artificial morality, which cannot be brought to bear upon the experiences of daily life; the faith which they inculcate is not rooted and grounded in Christ, but in an opinion about Christ; and thus neither the one nor the other is of any service to men and women who have to do battle with hard facts and real difficulties. But appended to this body of dead doctrines and unreal morality are certain tremendous pains and penalties which will assuredly overtake all those who have

refused their adhesion to them, and are very likely to fall even upon those who have not done so ; for who can say for a certainty that he has had sufficient faith, or done a sufficient quantity of works, or that he has not in some way or other diverged from that narrow doctrinal plank which leads to heaven across the gulf of everlasting perdition ? Consequently, it is around these penalties that such religious convictions as still survive in England group themselves with a singular mixture of fear, belief and incredulity. The uncertainty which enwraps the future, the dark clouds wherewith theology has enveloped that God who is "Light and in whom there is no darkness at all," enable any powerful and eloquent preacher to awaken in his hearers, at least for a brief time, "a certain fearful looking-for of judgment and fiery indignation which shall consume the adversaries." For there are hardly any who listen to him that can feel assured they will not be found to have been adversaries ; out of a religion which is based upon opinion and fear, it is impossible to generate that trust which brings a man peace at the last. It is here, too, that we discover the feelings which have found expression in those numberless books known as interpretations of prophecy. A series of wild pictures rise before the eyes of a British Protestant at the mere mention of the second advent. A millennium of happiness, the reign of the Beast, the battle of Armageddon, and the final judgment, are mixed together in inextricable confusion. The popular interpreters of prophecy (and these produce the bulk of the popular theological literature) do their utmost to stimulate this morbid curiosity, or, perhaps it would be truer to say, are themselves the victims and exponents of it. At any rate, they appear to strive to outdo each other in the particularity and minuteness with which they profess to extract from the sacred writings the descriptions of these events. Physical laws are of course totally in abeyance, while yet the events themselves are supposed to take place under physical conditions. Having no conception whatever of the beautiful interdependence of the whole scheme of the universe, such a proceeding presents no difficulties to them ; indeed, to suppose that there was any difficulty would be in their eyes a profane limitation of the omnipotence of God. A marvellous familiarity is affected with the Divine purposes, and they present themselves, like

so many masters of the ceremonies, with a complete programme of the proceedings.

We will, by way of illustrating our remarks, quote some passages from two prophetic works, which, as they have gone through several editions, we conclude to be popular and in accordance with the general belief. They are not written by Dr. Cumming. A Mr. Cunningham writes as follows :

“At the voice of the archangel the dead saints rise from the dust ; the living saints in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, are changed, and both together are rapt up far above the clouds to meet the Lord in the air long before he is seen by the inhabitants of the earth. . . . . *At the very same time* that the saints are caught up to meet the Lord and the restoration of Judah commences, the whirlwind of wrath shall go forth against the Roman earth ; the political heaven (?) shall pass away as a scroll ; the war of Armageddon shall commence, and in its awful progress it shall make the world a wilderness. It may probably begin as an intestine war of the nations against themselves, tearing to pieces every kingdom and state, and establishing first a fierce democracy on the ruins of monarchical rule, ending at length in a military despotism. It is during these awful and bloody struggles that the Roman earth shall be moulded into that great confederacy which is to perish in battle against the Lamb and his celestial hosts,” &c.

A certain Rev. E. Winthrop has, if possible, even still better information on all these matters. He says,

“The trumpet of the archangel sounds ; the dead in Christ are raised from their graves ; the living saints who have a part in the first resurrection are caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air. The judgment of the saints, or the assigning to each his appropriate reward and portion in the kingdom, takes place. As this judgment is not for the satisfaction of God Himself, but to vindicate His doings in the eyes of others, this trial or judgment of the saints and rendering to each according to his works, must occupy, it would seem, a considerable portion of time, and *may* perhaps take up several years.”

The conclusion which Mr. Winthrop draws here from his premiss is not very satisfactory, and he himself appears to think he has stopped short for this once of absolute certainty, for he adds,

“We do not say positively that it will, but only that it *may*.



The wicked who were at first startled and terrified, seeing that all things now return for a season to somewhat the same condition as before, become more hardened than ever. But in a moment when they least expect it, and when those of the Jews who have returned to Jerusalem seem just on the point of destruction from their enemies, Messiah and his saints, marshalled in their respective ranks, each having his appropriate work assigned him, descend in visible glory. The great battle of Armageddon then takes place," &c.

Now in these passages, and, we may add safely, in all popular prophetic books, there is one characteristic which predominates throughout. They are not addressed to the heart and conscience; everything is of the earth, earthy, and tries to work upon the wonder and timidity of mankind by the attributes of extravagance and bigness. Evil is not a spiritual power, enthroned in the heart and will; it is a material thing embodied in the professors of certain hostile opinions, who are summarily put to death. The battle of Armageddon is not the victory of good over evil; it is merely a slaughter, like the battle of Waterloo, on an immense scale. The salvation promised to the believer in Christianity is not an emancipation from the lusts that war against the soul; it is simply a conveyance into a safe place while other people are being killed and tormented. "But surely," it may be said, "allowing that the sermons of the clergy are as dull and unmeaning, and the popular theological literature of the day as extravagant as you would have us suppose, there is the Bible itself to correct the evil tendencies of both; and if we may judge from the outcry which pursues any one who doubts the supreme authority of the Bible, the laity place a sufficiently high value upon its teaching." This is true in a certain way. The laity, or at least a large portion of them, are always ready to raise a clamour about the Bible—to persecute any one who doubts its veracity and inspiration, or rather, who questions the value of the vague, crude popular opinions about the Bible—to do anything, in short, for the Bible, except to read it and to study it. "The magnificent poetry of the prophetic writings"—"the beauty of the Psalms"—"the exquisite simplicity of the Gospel narratives"—such terms as these are freely bandied about in society, just as similar encomiums are lavished upon the writings of Shakes-

peare and Milton by people who know nothing whatever about them. But it is extremely rare to meet among the laity any one who has a profounder knowledge of the Scriptures than a general acquaintance with the texts which have become proverbial sayings, and such a superficial smattering of the historical portions as may have survived the Sunday teaching of childhood. When Mr. Bright gave the name of Adullamites to Lord Grosvenor's party in the House of Commons, the perplexity of the laity was extreme ; but the general idea was, that he was alluding to some story belonging to the Grecian mythology. There is of course a very large Bible in every well-ordered household, and probably the head of the family reads a chapter from it daily ; but this is done more as a means of getting a greater quantity of work out of the servants, and making them honest and respectful, than for any love or understanding of the Bible itself. For, just as a Hindoo considers that eternal salvation is the reward of reading the Mahabharata or the Ramayana, or a Mussulman believes that some immense advantage is to accrue to him from the mere repetition of verses out of the Koran, the Protestant laity seem to look upon the Bible as a sort of spiritual medicine, which acts by its own inherent power upon the mind of a passive recipient. Every one of course *professes* to rest all his belief upon Biblical authority ; but, as a matter of fact, the Christianity of the middle classes owes little or nothing to the teaching of the Bible. It is a structure which has grown up in the mind from the deposits of innumerable sermons and the rubbish contributed by the popular interpreters of prophecy.

We have written somewhat lightly, but assuredly not because we consider the subject a light one. On the contrary, we hold it to be one of the gravest import ; for there is, it appears to us, no law of human nature established by a wider induction or on a more irrefragable basis than this,—that the actions and the character of nations as well as individuals spring from the convictions which they entertain regarding the invisible world. In every great empire that has risen on the earth, we find that rulers and people were firmly convinced that a Divine Power was calling forth their energies, and knitting them together as a nation, for purposes of His own. As soon as this sense of a God-

given mission was extinguished, the feeling of a national union and duties towards each other grew rapidly more and more feeble, and the nation gravitated towards decay. Moreover, we find that in Monotheism, whether held as a philosophical tenet, or conceived under the form of a Being who issues decrees to men, there is no special vitality. It can only conduct a nation to a certain limit in the march of life ; then, as in India and among Mahometan nations, the natural infirmities of man re-assert themselves ; step by step the grossest forms of idolatry are established, or the nation sinks into prostration under an enervating fatalism. At this moment, throughout the world, only in those nations where, with whatever perversions and limitations, a righteous God is confessed to be the Ruler of the universe, are there any indications of progress, any intellectual development, any sense of public duties. That belief put a new spirit into the dead bones of the nations after the fall of the Roman empire. It conducted them out of the horrors and darkness of the grossest barbarism, into the light of a constantly increasing civilization. It has made us conquerors over the terrors of nature and the superstitions of our own minds. But now, for a vast number of Englishmen, the invisible world is no longer filled with the presence of a loving and righteous God who holds the universe in the hollow of His hand. The clouds have closed over that revelation, and the old terrors and superstitions are trooping back, slightly altered, perhaps, in form, but in their essence identical with those of the middle ages. When men and women go in crowds to ascertain by means of the mediums whether there be a heaven or a hell—"to have," as one hears people continually say, "their religious difficulties settled for them by the spirits"—what is this but the witchcraft of the middle ages assuming nineteenth-century airs, and adapting itself to our frivolity and dilettantism? When, as the Ritualistic clergy are continually proclaiming, men and women of all classes are thronging to their churches in search of absolution and remission from their sins, what is this but the old superstitious fear of an angry God? Incredible as it would be—nay, indeed, ludicrous—to suppose that the nation will admit the pretensions of the Ritualistic clergy, it is sad to think that a single Englishman should be found to submit to their yoke. It seems as

if no experience were sufficient to enlighten the blindness of men. A priestly rule over the thoughts and the conscience is no untried invention, fraught, it may be, with blessings of which we have no adequate conception. It has been tried; and could the huge sum of misery and desolation which that rule has brought upon the earth be displayed at a single glance, we should be struck dead with horror at the sight. The unnumbered victims who perished in the burning cities and ravaged valleys of Provence—the misery and anguish which have filled the dungeons of the Inquisition—the hideous massacres of St. Bartholomew—the battle-fields which deluged Europe with blood in the sixteenth century, warn us in a manner too terrible to be neglected of the consequences which attend these profane attempts to exalt man into the place of God. It may be that (even if they had the power) our modern priests would not see fit to light up again the fires of Smithfield; but certain it is that they would convert a nation of freemen into a nation of priest-ridden slaves. Just so far as their influence extended, the vigour of speculation and freedom of thought would be lessened and restrained, all originality and force of character would perish as if struck with a blight, and the many-sided national mind be trained to grow up in conformity with their miserable ecclesiastical pattern. But ritualists and spiritualists are alike few in number. The great bulk of the middle classes are content with a religion such as we have depicted. It lies, an useless deposit, “bedridden in the dormitory of the soul.” It is as if a man should plant dry sticks into the ground and hope to see them blossom and bear fruit. It has produced a mental blindness, such that its professors are unable to perceive any dissimilarity between their narrow habits of thought, which hate all differences of opinion, which despise the cultivation of the intellect as dangerous, if not positively wrong, and a faith of which charity is the chief corner-stone, and which requires us to *prove all things* in order to hold fast by that which is good.

We have thought it not out of place to direct attention to that religion which passes for Christianity among the middle classes, at this time when the incoming tide of democracy threatens to obliterate all the old political and social landmarks. Whatever is in store for England, this

at least may be safely predicted, that under the new régime the authority and influence which any one class exercises will rest not upon a traditional basis, but upon its own intrinsic energy and force. We do not say that such a revolution will be brought about all at once ; but the tendencies of things are bearing down unmistakably in that direction. Again, it is not less true that the energy which guides the destinies of a great nation aright must spring from broad principles of conduct clearly conceived and intensely believed in. What then, at this conjuncture of affairs, have we, the middle classes, to oppose to these new orders of men who have claimed and obtained their share in the government ? They have a strong sense of their own interest, a thorough appreciation of the advantages of unity, and an overwhelming numerical majority. What have we ? We, at least for the present, have the command of money ; but beyond that, nothing. We are, as compared with them, few in numbers, without unity of purpose or earnestness of conviction. The deepest faith of the middle classes rests upon a shallow and artificial basis, and this primary falsehood has eaten far into the fabric of their whole social system. We appeal to our readers if they are not able to count up upon their fingers those whom they know among the (so-called) educated classes who are educated in the true sense of the word, or who appear to have any higher purpose in life than to extract as much pleasure as possible out of it. We appeal to the experience of those who style themselves "men of the world," if profligacy of the most animal kind is not rife almost universally among the young men of this generation ; while that tradespeople should adulterate, should use false weights and measures, should, in a word, lead lives of habitual rascality, has become to be regarded almost as the inevitable consequences of free trade and unlimited competition. Here is the rottenness which will destroy the life of the state, the feebleness which will make us slaves to the despotism of numbers. And for this state of things, and for the evils which may spring from them, we boldly assert that the clergy, more than any other body of men, are responsible. They have the ear of the middle classes. It is they who have laid all their energies asleep, and from them must come the voice which awakes them. Their office is the noblest in the world. It is their



privilege to make men aware of an actual personal relation between themselves and God, to make them feel that all their powers of body and mind are sacred trusts to be used for His honour and glory. What knowledge could be more inspiring than this? The man in whom such a conviction was once fairly aroused would not pause to consider whether his abilities were large or small, his sphere of action a great or a humble one. He would do *his best* under any circumstances, because he would feel, as he had never felt before, the responsibilities and the powers which are his as a social being. But so long as the clergy entreat us to look each man after his own soul, to keep *that* at least out of harm's way, they cut at the root of social life, and substitute a principle of selfishness for Christ's law of self-sacrifice as the foundation of existence. So long as they maintain the distinction of "believer" and "unbeliever," they emphatically deny that God is the Governor of the world, and convert Him into the Protector and Guardian of an exceptional few. The man who believes will separate himself more and more from a godless world. If from inclination or necessity he takes a part in its affairs, he will, as a matter of course, guide his conduct according to the standard of the world, and not the counsels of perfection. The man who does not believe, yet thinks Christianity to be true, will get as much selfish pleasure out of his life as he can, but nothing more. For the nation as a living unity called into existence by the Divine fiat, and the sacredness of national duties, has no part in such a religion as this. And thus it is that here in England we have become callous and indifferent to facts like these. An appeal to the public opinion of the country means an appeal to her avarice and greed. Government is the struggle of one party against another, and the highest triumph of enlightened humanity is so to arrange matters that the selfishness of one party shall be sufficiently powerful to counteract that of the other. If these things are so, is it to be wondered at that voices should be raised declaring Christianity to be a dead thing which need no longer encumber the earth?

R. D. O.

## IV.—THE CREATION.—II.

IN a former article I discussed the account of the Creation given in Genesis i. 1—ii. 3. That story was found to contain some important and interesting features not generally known, but discoverable partly by a minute attention to the arrangement of its statements visible even in a translation, and partly by a careful reading of the original Hebrew.\* But it is impossible to stop at ch. ii. 3. From ii. 4 to the end of ch. iv. we have another account of the Creation, especially of Man, which we must also understand before we can know all that the Hebrews imagined or philosophized on the beginning of all things. This second account I propose now to examine; and, as before, the primary necessity is a correct translation, exhibiting not only the proper words, but the true syntactical relations.

ii. <sup>4</sup>THIS IS THE HISTORY OF THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH AT THEIR CREATION.

*On the day that Jahveh-God made Earth and Heaven,—<sup>5</sup> when no field-shrubs were yet in the earth, and no field-herbs were yet sprouting (because Jahveh-God had not sent rain upon the earth, and men there were none to till the ground), <sup>6</sup> and a mist went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground,—<sup>7</sup> then Jahveh-God formed the Man being dust from the ground, and blew into his nose the life-breath, and the man was gifted with animal life.*

*<sup>8</sup>And Jahveh-God planted a garden in Eden, towards the east, and placed there the man whom he had formed. <sup>9</sup>And Jahveh-God caused to sprout forth from the ground all trees charming to the sight and good for eating; and the Tree of Life in the middle of the garden, and the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil: <sup>10</sup> there being a River going forth from Eden to water the garden, and on issuing thence being divided and becoming four heads—<sup>11</sup> the name of the first being PISHÔN (this is that which encompasses the whole land of HAVÎLAN, where the gold is—<sup>12</sup> and the gold of that land is good—and where are the bdellium and the onyx-stone): <sup>13</sup> and the name of the second river being GÎHÔN (this is*

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\* Since writing that article, I have been agreeably surprised to find that Ewald, in an essay which I had never before read, and of which I did not know the contents (*Jahrb. der Bibl. Wissenschaft* for 1848), counted the eight acts of creation as I did, and treated the week as a later modification in the spirit of the Mosaic religion with its six working days and Sabbath.

that which encompasses the whole land of CÂSH) : <sup>14</sup> and the name of the third river being HIDEKEL [Tigris] (this is that which goes to the east of Assyria) : and the fourth river being PERATH [Euphrates]. <sup>15</sup> And Jahveh-God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden, to till it and to keep it. <sup>16</sup> And Jahveh-God prescribed for the man, saying : "Of all the trees of the garden thou wilt eat freely ; <sup>17</sup> but of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil—thou wilt not eat of it, for on the day of thy eating of it thou wilt surely die."

<sup>18</sup> And Jahveh-God said : "The man's being alone is not good. I will make help for him, like his counterpart." <sup>19</sup> And Jahveh-God formed from the ground all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the sky, and brought them to the man, to see what he would call them ; that whatever the man should call each animal, that might be its name. <sup>20</sup> And the man called names for all cattle, all birds of the sky, and all beasts of the field ; and for the man [i.e. for himself] he found no help like his counterpart.

<sup>21</sup> And Jahveh-God caused drowsiness to fall upon the man, so that he slept ; and he took one of his ribs, and closed up flesh in its place. <sup>22</sup> And Jahveh-God built the rib which he had taken from the man, into a Woman ; and he brought her to the man. <sup>23</sup> And the man said : "As this is, this time, bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh, this will be called WOMAN [Ishshah], because this has been taken from MAN [Ish]. <sup>24</sup> Therefore will a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to his wife, and they will become one flesh." <sup>25</sup> And they were both of them naked, the man and his wife, and felt no shame.

iii. <sup>1</sup> And the Serpent, being cunning, more than all the beasts of the field which Jahveh-God had made, <sup>2</sup> said to the woman : "Actually God has said, 'Ye will not eat of any of the trees of the garden !'" <sup>3</sup> And the woman said to the serpent : "Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we do eat ; <sup>4</sup> but of the fruit of the tree which is in the middle of the garden God said, 'Ye will not eat of it nor touch it, lest ye die.'" And the serpent said to the woman : "Indeed ye will not die ; <sup>5</sup> for God knows that on the day of your eating of it your eyes will be opened and ye will be, like God, knowing good and evil." <sup>6</sup> And the woman saw that the tree was good for eating, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was lovely to behold ; and she took of its fruit and ate ; and she gave some also to her husband who was with her, and he ate. <sup>7</sup> And the eyes of both of them were opened, and they knew that they were naked ; and they sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves girdles. <sup>8</sup> And they heard the sound of Jahveh-God walking in the garden at the breezy time of the day [the evening]. And the man and his wife hid themselves from

*Jahveh-God in the midst of the trees of the garden.* <sup>9</sup>*And Jahveh-God called to the man and said to him: "Where art thou?"* <sup>10</sup>*And he said: "Thy sound I heard in the garden, and feared, because I am naked; so I hid myself."* <sup>11</sup>*And he said: "Who told thee that thou art naked? hast thou eaten from the tree from which I commanded thee not to eat?"* <sup>12</sup>*And the man said: "The woman whom thou didst put with me, she gave me from the tree, and I ate."* <sup>13</sup>*And Jahveh-God said to the woman: "What hast thou done?" And the woman said: "It was the serpent that beguiled me, so that I ate."*

<sup>14</sup>*And Jahveh-God said to the serpent: "Because thou hast done this, thou art accursed out of communion with all the cattle and all the beasts of the field: on thy belly thou wilt go and eat dust all thy life-time; <sup>15</sup>and I shall put hatred between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed, so that he will attack thee on the head, and thou wilt attack him on the heel."*

<sup>16</sup>*To the woman he said: "I shall make thy labours and thy pregnancy very severe; with pain wilt thou bear children. Thy yearning will be to thy husband, yet he will rule over thee."*

<sup>17</sup>*And to the man he said: "Because thou didst listen to thy wife's voice and eat from the tree from which I commanded thee, saying, 'Thou wilt not eat of it:' accursed is the ground with reference to thee: with labour thou wilt eat it [= its produce] all thy life-time, <sup>18</sup>and it will produce for thee brambles and thistles, and thou wilt eat the herbs of the field. <sup>19</sup>By the sweat of thy face thou wilt eat bread until thou return to the ground; for from it thou wast taken. For dust thou art, and to dust thou wilt return."*

<sup>20</sup>*And the man called his wife's name HAVVAH [Eve], because she became mother of all living [Har].*

<sup>21</sup>*And Jahveh-God made for the man and for his wife shirts of skin, and clothed them.*

<sup>22</sup>*And Jahveh-God said: "Now that the man has come to know good and evil, like one of us, let him not now put forth his hand and take also from the Tree of Life and eat and live for ever."*

<sup>23</sup>*And Jahveh-God sent him out from the garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he had been taken; <sup>24</sup>he drove out the man, and settled at the east of the garden of Eden the Cherubim and the flame of the glancing sword, to keep the way to the Tree of Life.\**

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\* I need not here justify my translation of these chapters at so great length as was necessary in my former article on the first chapter. Some of the remarks there made, as that on the dependent clause or *Zustandsatz*, p. 9, apply here also, to vv. 5, 6, 10—14, 23, iii. 1.—The heading (ii. 4), "*This is the History of the Heaven and Earth at their Creation*," is proved by its language

On a superficial reading of these two chapters no very striking inconsistency between them and the first might perhaps be detected ; and if the book in which they occur came to us as the certified work of one single known writer, it would be our bounden duty not to think of separating until every possibility of harmonizing had been tried and had failed. But Genesis, like all the old Hebrew historical books, is not so ; it bears no author's name ; it is strictly anonymous ; and on even a slight examination is found to be a patchwork of stories, between some of which no connection whatever subsists ; some full and detailed, others bare and meagre ; many incompatible as to facts. I cannot fully substantiate all this, except in so far as these very chapters will do so ; and will only refer, as another easily tested instance of the fact, to the *three stories* told to account for the name of Isaac (derived from a verb meaning *to laugh*) in Gen. xvii. 17, xviii. 12 and xxi. 6. In the two first, the laughter takes place on the announcement of the future son ; in the last, on his birth ; and in the first it is Abraham, in the second and third Sarah, who laughs. However, notwithstanding this anonymousness and patchwork character, which might even entitle critics to shew a bolder front, and throw the burden of proof on the advocates of the unity of the book, they have generally respected the time-honoured tradition so far as to take no step without cautiously feeling their way. I have no intention of acting

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(תולדות) cf. v. 1, vi. 9, x. 1, xi. 10, 27 ; ברא used in ch. i., for which these chapters only use יצר and עשה) and style (*Heaven and Earth* instead of *Earth and Heaven*) to be written by the author of ch. i., to which it was probably originally prefixed ; since on all other occasions he does not suffix but prefix the title. The word כל (in ii. 5, iii. 1) in negative or interrogative sentences never means *all, every*, but *any* ; ignorance of which fact has produced most serious mistakes in the received version, e.g. Ps. ciii. 2, “forget not *all* [read *any* of] his benefits.”—The first man is correctly called “the man” in ii. 7, 8, 15, 16, 18, 22, 25, iii. 12, 22, 24, in the Authorized Version ; but in ii. 19, 20 (twice), 21, 23, iii. 8, 9, 17, 20, 21, the same word הָאָדָם is capriciously taken as a proper name, “Adam.” But the constant presence of the article entirely precludes its being a proper name ; and it must therefore be understood that to this writer the first man was strictly anonymous. In ii. 20 (second time), iii. 17, 21, the presence or absence of the article could only be indicated by the punctuation ; and here the punctuators have coolly disregarded the unanimous evidence of the text of all the other passages, and pointed it לְאָדָם instead of לְאָדָם. קוֹל (iii. 8) denotes not only *voice* but inarticulate *sound* also ; here evidently of the sound of the walking.



with less caution than others. I only insist, at starting, that a discrepancy between the first and the second account of Creation should, in a book of this nature, be received not with surprise or disbelief, but as a very probable result.

The inconsistency is somewhat veiled. The first chapter treats of the creation of all things, and ends with that of Man: the second speaks almost exclusively of that of Man, and might on a superficial perusal be regarded as a simple continuation of the former story, to which it adds the fact that the man was put into a garden, and there furnished with the means of life.

But looking more carefully into the stories, we find that the new story *does* mention, incidentally, the creation of other things, and in what order? Simultaneously with the creation of Earth and Heaven themselves, a Man is created, first of all earthly things. The vegetable world was not as yet, nor the rain; still less the animals. A place is prepared for him—the first habitable spot on earth, trees and rivers formed for his use, and then the animals for his companions; and then a woman to stand in a nearer relation to him than they. We have indeed here no full picture of the whole creation, as in the first story; the heavenly lights are not mentioned, and of the water we find no clear system to explain the origin of the water above (the rain), as well as of that beneath (the sea and the rivers). It is also evident that the second story speaks specially of the preparation of one region only for the abode of man; and it might be thought that whatever be the order of creation in Eden, in the world generally it might take place according to the first. But even then we should be forced to admit that the first writer knew nothing of that exceptional district, since his first men are left to feed on the vegetables previously created. And no possible concessions can annihilate the great differences—that in the first story man is created *last*, and in the second *first*; that in the first the animals are formed *before*, and in the second *after* man; and that in the first, man and woman are created *together*, as the genus “*Homo*,” whereas in the second, man is created *first*, and woman *last* of all earthly things.

But we concede far too much to those who try to maintain the unity of the book, if we suppose nothing short of the directest fact-testimony to be of any avail. We are not

standing in a criminal court, where the prisoner has the benefit of every doubt, where therefore the strongest probability against him is overbalanced by the smallest and least important fact in his favour. We are considering the literary character and the coincidence or divergence of thought between the writers of two separate pieces; and *in foro literarum* it is no criminal process, there is no prisoner, and consequently no one in a position to claim the prisoner's privilege. It is a civil process between two equals, who must be treated with perfect impartiality. This being the case, the question before us is not whether the truth of chapter ii. renders that of chapter i. *physically* impossible; but whether the evident animating principle of the one agrees or not with that of the other. If the stories have enough of life in them to enable us to judge their writers' principles, then it would be impossible honestly to treat them as possibly written by the same man, if all that we could urge were that they did not directly contradict one another in terms. Indeed, these animating principles ought, to any intelligent investigator, to pass for more powerful testimony than any that is derived from external things. As to external things, a writer who writes twice on the same subject may from various causes—new information, defects of memory, &c.—contradict himself. But as to the fundamental principle, the animating idea, the case is different: Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? When once we have apprehended this idea, we know the *man*, and can find him out wherever he hides, and reject any stranger who comes to us in his clothes. Let us not, therefore, either through the laziness which tempts us to shirk the full understanding of a moral or intellectual problem like this, and keeps us floating on the mere surface of things, or through despair of persuading others by anything but hard tangible figures, omit to look below the surface, where only the true gold is to be found.

In what respect does the spirit of the second story differ from that of the first? Let us start from one fact which is still on the domain of hard fact—the creation of Man. His creation is so dwelt on by both writers, and accompanied by such marks of distinction, as to make it evident that they both considered him to be the end for which everything else was formed. They shew this in opposite ways:

the first, by causing all other creation to precede, lest he should come upon the scene as a king without a kingdom; the second, by putting his creation first, and letting all other things be produced strictly *for him*, as he comes to want them: first the garden, with its trees to supply food, then the animals, and finally the woman. So far the stories, though incompatible as to fact, are identical in spirit. But consider more closely the creation of Man alone. In the first story he is created just as the plants, beasts and birds are created—last in the series, but still in the same series with them, and created like them not individually, but in the gross, and moreover male and female. Most readers probably imagine Gen i. 26—29 to speak of one single pair—an idea they unconsciously import into this passage from the other story. If they read chap. i. without any knowledge of the story in chap. ii., the idea would never occur to them, or if suggested would be combatted as contrary to the obvious meaning. Just as the writer told us, “God said: ‘Let the land put forth grass, herbs yielding seed, fruit-trees producing fruit which has its own seed within it, after its kind, upon the earth,’” and again, “God said: ‘Let the land put forth animal life after its kind, cattle and reptiles and land-animals, after their kind,’” so he reports, “God said: ‘We will make *Men* in our image, after our likeness, so that *they* will bear rule,’” &c. If therefore in the former instances the creation of a whole race is manifestly intended (who would, for instance, imagine the creation of a single blade of grass?), so it must be in the last. The word *Man*, indeed, in v. 26 (like all the preceding names of plants and animals), is in the singular; but all such names very constantly have a collective or plural signification. That this is the case here is proved by the following plural pronoun *they*, as well as by the blessing in v. 28, which assumes a much more rapid multiplication of the human race and filling of the earth than was possible to a single pair. In the second story, on the other hand, the human race is most distinctly deduced from one single pair. “The man” is here created “on the day that Jahveh-God made Earth and Heaven,” and is shewn by the whole following story to be one individual, though designated by the same word (Adam) which in i. 26 had a collective signification. That no other race of men besides the pair in

the garden are thought of by this writer, is certain (1) from the fact that *man* is created first, and then the garden for him ; so that if other men had been created, they must have had an equal claim to the use of the garden ; and (2) from the use of the most general term "the Man" (Adam) to designate the first man, even to the exclusion of any personal name ; no one who knew and felt the import of this, and was not blinded by the unfortunate and wide-spread error of the translators in treating "Adam" as a proper name, could have invented such a contradiction in terms as the hypothesis of Non-adamite man ; (3) by the designation of Havvah [Eve] as "Mother of *all living*." This writer, then, not satisfied with the announcement of the creation of a race in the gross, penetrates further back and derives the race from an original single pair. But even here he cannot stop : of this pair one must be prior to the other, and thus he derives the woman from the man, and makes the latter heir of creation.

Another difference between the two accounts of the creation of Man seems to me highly significant. In the first, God simply creates men, as he created the beasts and birds—out of what we are not told. Three facts alone are added to the bare assertion that he created men. (1.) He created them *in his image, after his likeness*, i.e. since no allusion whatever is detected to other than physical qualities, in that human form which was conceived as belonging to God also. (2.) He assigned to men a sovereignty over all other animals. (3.) He created men and women together. To this account of the creation of man the second story opposes the following notions : (1.) Man is not a simple essence, created by one process, but double, compounded of body and spirit. (2.) The man's body was formed from the dust of the earth, to which it naturally belongs, as is seen from its final decay and reception into the earth. (3.) The woman's body was formed *out of the man's* : a curious philosophic fable, adopted in order to explain the sexual desire in man as a natural longing for original completeness, and that in woman as the desire of one single member to re-occupy its proper place. (4.) The spirit was breathed into this body by God himself, and is thus shewn to be, by an almost Pantheistic conception, an emanation from the cen-

tral Spirit. (5.) This spiritual or godlike nature affects all the story that follows: the man is not (as in ch. i.) irresponsible ruler over all the earth, but is charged with certain duties (to till and to keep the garden) which make him even in Paradise a moral and responsible being. By a sinful act of his own, he curiously raises himself to a higher level of existence—that which alone this writer, differing from his predecessor, regards as the Divine likeness\*—depending on the knowledge of good and evil; but has to atone for this ill-gained dignity by removal into a land where nothing was to be enjoyed, nor even the bare means of life procured, without severe labour.

Now do not the two stories appear to breathe *opposite* spirits? The first is the physical or scientific, the second the psychological or religious, idea of creation. The first makes man lord of creation, yet only as the highest among beasts, not as having any spirit to ally him with God, nor as originally possessing or afterwards gaining any knowledge of good and evil. No moral principle is even hinted at as the object of Creation; and (what is the same thing) no moral or spiritual, but only a creative, energy is attributed to the Creator himself. The second story discriminates between the spiritual nature of the Creator and the material nature of the creatures. In man this distinction is most plainly seen, for he has *both* body and spirit—the former moulded from the earthly clay, the latter infused by the Divine spirit; and when man, though it be through sin, attains to the full appreciation of good and evil, he thereby becomes *like* God himself. But even before this final elevation of his nature, he is moral and responsible—being enjoined, not as in the other account simply to fulfil his natural carnal instincts of self-propagation and self-assertion, but to fulfil a *duty*, the keeping and cultivation of the land where he is placed. Here, therefore, man is conceived as far higher than in the older story. There his lordship was merely the superiority secured to him by higher physical powers and instincts: here it depends on a difference of kind between him and the other animals. This difference, moreover, fully justifies that which I previously

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\* Gen. iii. 22, compared with i. 26, 27.



pointed out—that the first writer considers him to be created, like the other animals, *en masse* ; the second assumes the individual to exist before the race. For moral obligations are contracted between individual and individual ; and the Creator must make these in the form of a personal contract between himself and the first man, from whom the obligation naturally passes to his descendants. That the second story refers to the creation of the whole human race, equally with the first, is shewn by the employment of the same word, the most general which the Hebrew tongue possesses, for Man—אָדָם *Adam*. But it is interesting to notice the early, though mistaken, interpretation of this word in the second, but not in the first, story as a *proper name*,\* resulting from the correct feeling that an individual man must be meant, and the natural dislike to have an anonymous hero to a story. And it is only another side of the same animating idea of this second writer, that he first introduces temptation and sin. Without the possibility of these there can be no virtue ; and the sad story of the Serpent's temptation and the man's and woman's fall, in chapter iii., is essential to the higher conception of human nature which he had formed. Quite independently, therefore, of their physical disagreement, the writers of these two accounts, taking utterly different views of the nature and purpose of man in the world, are morally so far apart as to render their identification absolutely impossible.

It is now interesting to note the difference of language, which of itself might have led to the same result. God is in the first story uniformly styled אֱלֹהִים *Elohim*, the most general Hebrew term for the Divine Being, applied to the heathen deities, and capable of a plural meaning, as well as to the one God of the Hebrews. In the second story he is described by his own true name יְהוָה *Jhwh* (generally, but by a notorious misunderstanding of the usual punctuation יְהוָה, written *Jehovah* ; the correct pronunciation is almost certainly that which I here venture to introduce, יְהוֹה

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\* In the genealogy in v. 1—5, which may be by the author of ch. i., Adam is indeed used without the article, and therefore as a quasi-proper name. But the nature of the passage fully justifies this use of the ordinary word Man : a genealogical table must have a name for each member ; and if the first man had none known to the writer, the latter could not well do otherwise than convert the only term by which he was known into a proper name by omitting the definite article.

*Jahveh*, or rather *Yahveh*).\* This *Jahveh* is a proper name (like *John*, *Charles*, or *Jupiter*) ; whereas *Elohim* is a common noun designating a class (like *man* or *woman*, or indeed like the word *god* itself). *Jahveh* was the special God of the Israelites, and so announces himself to them at the Exodus, when for the first time they became truly a nation.† But the writer of the second story, discarding historical propriety, or considering Israel to have existed in embryo in the first man, and the same God to have presided over him, uses this name from the very first. It is in accordance with his other views. As he records a personal relation between one individual man and the Divine power, this latter must also be treated clearly as a single Being, and the proper name *Jahveh* suggests this idea far more clearly than the class-designation *Elohim*. That in doing so he committed an innovation, which might possibly be misunderstood, may be inferred from the fact that he never uses *Jahveh* alone, but always adds to it the older name *Elohim*: *Jahveh-God*, or *God-Jahveh*. This appears to me a more natural explanation of the double name (which never occurs again after ch. iii.) than the assumption that a later editor, when putting the two stories together to form the beginning of the collection which we know as the Pentateuch, interpolated *Elohim* after *Jahveh*, to shew that the same Divine Being is intended in ch. ii. as in ch. i. One significant exception, however, to the use of *Jahveh* the second writer makes. The name *Jahveh* was that by which he was known and worshiped by his own people Israel: it was too sacred and too mystic to be used towards the heathen or allowed on their lips. So here the serpent, and the woman when speaking to the serpent, both use the name *Elohim* only.

But the difference of language extends to minor matters wherein no doctrinal prepossessions could influence the writer ; and these are therefore even more important as evidence of difference of authorship. The first writer, following a scientific bent, assigns animal-tenants to each of

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\* I have discussed this subject and explained the essential points of the argument, as far as they are intelligible without special knowledge of Hebrew, in a long note contained in the translation of Ewald's "History of Israel to the Death of Moses," recently edited by me, Longmans, 1867.

† Ex. vi. 2, 3, and also iii. 13, 14.

the three domains of the universe : fishes to the sea, birds to the air, and beasts to the earth. His fishes are produced out of the water, and his beasts out of the earth ; and his birds are probably intended to be understood to be similarly produced from the air, though his language is here ambiguous.\* But the second writer, who is rather a moral philosopher than a naturalist, forgets the fishes, and has both beasts and birds formed *out of the ground*. Again, the first writer mentions three orders of beasts—*cattle, reptiles and land-animals*. The second writer omits the reptiles, and calls the third order beasts *of the field* (שָׂדֶה *sadeh*), instead of the *land* (אֶרֶץ *arets*). In the vegetable world we find similar differences. The first writer scientifically divides the vegetable kingdom also into three orders : *grass, herbs and trees*, arranged according to size and development ; the grass being regarded as without seed, the herbs as having seed, and the trees as bearing not simple seed, but a fruit which has its own seed within it. The second writer observes no such careful distinction, but mentions *shrubs of the field* and *herbs of the field* ; and afterwards, when speaking of the garden, mentions *trees*. Here, again, he says *field* where the first says *earth*. Many other characteristics are observable, which shew the first writer to have chosen his words in a careful, and above all a scientific, spirit. Although, as I shewed in the former article, the three verbs ברא *bara* (to create), יצר *yatsar* (to form), and עשה *asah* (to make), are not intrinsically different in meaning, yet the first, being rarer and solemnner than the others, is reserved for the expression of the Divine action. So the first writer uses it (i. 1, 21, 27, ii. 3, 4), along with the more familiar *make* (עשה). Yet the second writer *never* uses ברא *to create* at all, but the other two words only. He also prevailingly uses שָׂדֶה *sadeh* (the field) and אֲדָמָה *adamah* (the ground) where the first writer has אֶרֶץ *arets* (the earth). The first writer displays real scientific caution in his mode of introducing the various elements for the first time. If, according to his conception, Heaven, Earth and Sea received their names direct from God immediately after their creation, the writer must not anticipate this designation. Hence he invents a term רָקִיעַ *rakia'* (firmament), by which

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\* See Gen. i. 20 in my translation, p. 4.

he describes the heaven until it is fully created and endowed with its proper name. Similarly, the general term water is employed until, by the separation of the waters above and those below the heaven, and of the latter from the land, the term Sea can be properly used. To the same consideration I attribute the use of the very peculiar word *תְּהוֹם* *flood, abyss* (v. 2), to denote the primeval waters. And a general term, *Luminaries* (v. 14—16), is similarly used instead of the specific ones, *Sun*, &c. It is hardly necessary to say that none of this care in the choice of language describing the physical creation is observed by the second writer.

The first writer, then, describes the creation with God as its centre, and Man as only one out of many creatures on its circumference; whereas the second takes Man as the centre of creation, and thinks of God only in his relation to man. The first, therefore, glorifies God even at the expense of man; the second elevates man towards the level of God. The first mentions no divine spirit, no mind, as breathed into man. The second brings God and man so near together as even to treat God in a somewhat familiar style, utterly opposed to the solemnity of the previous writer; and ascribes to him acts which human agents could have performed as well: he planted a garden and put the man in it; he walked in it in the evening; he made shirts of skin for the man and woman; he drove them out of the garden. On this subject the hints given by both writers as to the formation of Language are significant. According to the first, God gives names to the objects of his creation—Day, Night, Heaven, Earth, Sea. According to the second, Man as an intelligent being gives names to all animals and to woman.

It appears, then, that on whatever side you contemplate these writers, you find them entertaining different and generally opposite views. We should suppose that under these circumstances they can scarcely have been contemporaries. In a nation so small and united so closely by religion with all its peculiar rites, it is scarcely conceivable that such opposite views of Creation should be held at the same time by two writers both so excellent. But the question of date is very difficult. In order to approach it with sufficient caution, let us notice what other passages of the Old Testament speak of the Creation, and when they seem to refer to either of these two accounts.

The chief difficulty that here besets us is to find any distinct references to either. The Hebrews were very fond of referring to their own antiquity ; but the antiquity of the Hebrews as a nation begins only at the Exodus. Not till then had they been formally consecrated and bound by covenant to him whom they ever after regarded as their special God and Protector. Not till then had he specifically adopted them as his people, guided them, and performed miracles in their favour. Hence this is the time to which they always refer with exultation, and the references to older times (except indeed those of the great Patriarchs) are far from frequent. However, we do sometimes come across allusions to the creation of the world, out of which something like a system may be deduced. We may begin with the description of the beginning and of the end of the Flood, in Gen. vii. 10—12, viii. 2, 3 : “And after seven days the water of the Flood came over the land ; in the year of the 600th year of Noah’s life, in the second month, on the 17th day of the month—on this day all the springs of the great Abyss were broken open, and the windows of heaven were opened, and the rain came over the land for forty days and forty nights.” “And the springs of the Abyss and the windows of heaven were shut, and the rain from heaven was withheld.” This passage, however, cannot be treated as independent testimony, since it is manifestly by the author of Gen. i. ; it uses his favourite words אֱלֹהִים and תְּהוֹם, and follows his practice noticed above of using peculiar words for things not before known, in מַבּוּל ; and the entire conception of the opening in the firmament to let down the rain again is manifestly simply that of an undoing of what was done in i. 6, 7.

But let us note the following passages and then consider to what conclusion they lead us. (1.) Ps. xxiv. 1, 2 : Jah-veh’s is the earth and what fills it, the world and they that dwell therein ; for he based it upon seas, and upon rivers fixed it. (2.) Ps. xc. 1, 2 : Lord, dwelling-place hast thou been to us in all generations. Before mountains were born, or thou hast produced earth and world, from everlasting to everlasting thou wast God. (3.) Amos iv. 13 : For lo, he that formed mountains and created wind . . . and trod upon high places of earth, &c. (4.) Job xxvi. 7—11 : He that stretched out the North over a waste, hung earth over



nothingness, bound up water in his clouds, yet so that the cloud beneath it burst not, . . . drew a circular bound over the water for the limit of light in darkness, while the pillars of heaven are shocked and stand aghast at his rebuke, &c. (5.) Job xxxviii. 4—7: Where wast thou when I founded Earth? tell, if thou knowest knowledge! Who laid out its dimensions? for thou knowest? or who stretched a measuring-line over it? On what are its stones sunk down? or who let down its corner-stone? . . . and hedged in the sea with doors, when it came bursting forth from the womb? . . . Camest thou as far as the springs of the sea, and to the recesses of the Abyss hast thou taken thy walk? Were the gates of Death opened to thee, and seest thou the gates of gloom? Hast thou contemplated the breadth of earth? tell, if thou knowst it all! What is the way where Light dwells? and Darkness, what is its place? . . . Camest thou to the storehouses of snow, and seest thou the storehouses of hail, which I have reserved for time of trouble, for the day of contest and battle? What is the way where Light is distributed, where the east wind breaks forth over the earth? Who cut a channel for the rain, and a way for the thunder-dart, to pour rain on land where no man is, . . . to make the shoots of grass sprout? &c. (6.) Prov. viii. 22—30: Jahveh created me [Wisdom] at the beginning of his activity, long before his works; from of old was I anointed, from the first, from before the earth; when there were no floods, I was born, when there were no fountains heavy with water; before mountains had been let down into their place, before the hills, I was born; when he had not yet made earth or fields, or the mass of the soil of the world; when he fixed heaven, there was I, when he drew a circle over the surface of the deep; when he fastened clouds above, and when the springs of the deep grew firm; when he put his limit to the sea, so that water should not transgress his word; when he defined the foundations of the earth; then was I beside him, &c. (7.) Jer. x. 12, 13: He who made earth by his power, fixed the world by his wisdom, and by his intelligence spread out the heaven,—at the sound of his utterance there is a dashing of water in the heaven, and he raises vapours from the end of the earth, and makes lightnings for the rain, and sends forth wind from his storehouses. (8.) Is. xlii. 5: Thus said the God

Jahveh, who created the heaven and stretched it out, who spread out the earth and its offspring, who gave breath to the people upon it and spirit to those that walk on it. (9.) Is. xlv. 24: Thus said Jahveh who redeemed thee, who formed thee from the womb: I Jahveh, who made all, who alone stretched out the heaven, who spread out the earth, &c. (10.) Is. xlvi. 13: My hand founded earth, my right hand spread out heaven. (11.) Ps. cxxxvi. 5—9: Praise ye Jahveh . . . him who made the heaven by his intelligence (for his mercy is for ever), who spread out the earth over the water (for his mercy is for ever), who made great lights (for his mercy is for ever), the sun for sovereignty over the day (for his mercy is for ever), the moon and stars for sovereignty over the night (for his mercy is for ever). (12.) Ps. xxxiii. 6, 7: By Jahveh's word the heavens were made, and by the breath of his mouth all their hosts;—by him who gathered together like a heap the water of the sea, and put floods into storehouses. (13.) Ps. civ.: Jahveh, my God, thou art very great; in honour and majesty thou art clothed. He who covered himself with Light as a garment, who stretched out heaven like a tent-cover, who constructed in the water his upper chamber, who made clouds his chariot, who walked on wings of wind, who made winds his messengers, flaming fire his servants:—*he* founded Earth on its foundations so that it should not move for ever. With a flood as with a garment thou hadst covered it; over mountains stood the waters. From thy rebuke they fled, from the sound of thy thunder they were panic-stricken. Mountains rose, valleys sank to the place that thou hadst founded for them. Thou settest a boundary, so that they should not pass over, nor again cover the earth. . . . Thou who waterest mountains out of thy upper chambers, from the fruit of thy work the earth is satisfied. Thou who causest grass to grow up for the cattle, and plants for the service of man, to produce bread from the earth. . . . He made the moon for appointed feasts, the sun who knows his setting-place, &c.

The general conception of creation is much the same in all these passages. Water and earth were mingled in hopeless confusion; heaven existed not, much less the lights which were to be fixed in it. God then fixed the earth over the water, stretching it out to give it the necessary extent

and flatness, and letting it float like a round plate on the water. Round the circumference of this earth was the great water, the Deep or Abyss ; but the circle drawn by God at the meeting-place of earth and water prevented the water from overflowing and submerging the earth. Here the Sun rose and set, and here were the gates of death, where alone a descent to the nether world of Sheol was possible. It is indeed almost in every feature the Homeric cosmogony ; we have the circular earth, surrounded as on the shield of Achilles by the Ocean-river—the great deep whence the springs of all the rivers are fed, and where (beyond the Pillars of Hercules) Ulysses gained his entrance into Hades. The Hebrew cosmogony then makes God stretch out the heaven over the plate of earth, precisely like a circular dish-cover, resting either on the rim of earth or on the water beyond. Beyond the opaque and quasi-metallic cover of heaven there must be total darkness, since the sun and moon are fixed on its inner surface ; here therefore is the place of Darkness, and the limit of light in darkness of which Job speaks. Water for rain was taken up from the great deep, apparently beyond or outside of the horizon-circle where the heaven touched it, and stored up above the earth, tightly folded in clouds, and requiring a channel to be cut for it, an opening (window) in the heaven to be made, or a thunderbolt to break the cloud-bags, that it may fall upon the earth. As the earth floats upon the deep, perforations in the earth itself will bring water over the earth ; and such perforations produce springs, whence rivers flow. This idea seems to underlie the choice of the word which denotes a spring in all the Semitic languages, viz. *Ayin*, *an eye*. Greater inundations would be caused by the overflowing of the great deep at the outer edge of Earth ; hence the importance assigned to the circle which God traced, which the water might not overpass.

Other conceptions seem not to have been so generally held, but are insisted on with great force by some writers. Thus the idea of the heavy solid earth floating on water without moving or sinking is evidently regarded by those who adopted it as miraculous (Ps. xxiv. 2, Job xxvi. 7, Ps. cxxxvi. 5) ; and others could not be satisfied without assigning to it, and to the heaven also, solid props or pillars (Job xxvi. 11, Prov. viii. 28, 29, Ps. civ. 5) ; which

were no doubt at that mysterious outer circle, and recall the Pillars of Hercules, and the myth of Atlas, the animate pillar of heaven among the Greeks, also placed in the furthest west. Another notion which is prominent in some of the passages quoted, is that of the extreme antiquity of the Mountains. One of the oldest of the writings just quoted, Ps. xc., seems to speak of the birth of the mountains as the first act of creation: "before mountains were born" is the strongest expression that writer has to indicate the past eternity of God; and Amos mentions this foremost among the Divine acts. The same notion is found in the expression "the everlasting hills," or rather "hills of old," Gen. xlix. 26, and "mountains of perpetuity and hills of old," Hab. iii. 6. The mountains, as the greatest mass of earth, which may be imagined to have like a tree great roots of unknown depth and extent, were the strongest and firmest part of earth, themselves fixed most securely, and holding the rest in its place; and therefore they are treated by some writers as the *pillars* of earth. The idea that they were the *oldest* part of the earth might be deduced from their being the strongest and firmest; or from an entirely distinct circle of ideas connected with the separation of land and water, namely, from the notion (which we find repeated in the account of the Deluge) that if the earth had been under water, the tops of the mountains would emerge first, and thus be the earliest habitable land.

Let us now compare these pictures of creation with those in Gen. i. and ii. We may, in the first place, say without hesitation that we have found nothing that alludes in the most distant manner to any of the peculiar ideas of Gen. ii., or that adopts that chapter's order or purpose of creation. Most of the passages quoted agree more or less with Gen. i. The conception of the heaven or firmament as an hemispherical covering to the earth, of the water as relegated by the Divine word to its proper place, of waters stored up above the firmament, to be dropped thence in rain upon the earth,—all these are found to be part of the cosmogony of Gen. i. Yet even here we cannot be quite satisfied with the coincidence. Of Light, "as the first-created beam," we find slight trace. The water is not treated after the manner of Gen. i.; for there it was the insertion of the firmament that divided the water, and the water

which remained below the firmament was still above the earth; and of waters below the earth we heard nothing. And the waters which in Gen. i. were removed from the surface of the earth were not banished behind the circle drawn by God at the circumference of the earth, but formed into *seas*, which as we know run in among the lands, and form no outer Homeric Ocean-river. We can therefore only see a general resemblance between the passages we have quoted and the more deliberate account of the creation in Gen. i., and great difference in the working out of the details. Many details of a poetical and mythical character are added in these passages, of which Gen. i. gives us no hint. With the notion of the outer תְּהוֹם, the great deep, or Ocean-river, is connected the idea that there the Sun goes down into his chamber, there is the entrance to the abode of the dead, there the vapours climb up the firmament to be stored on high. None of these details are hinted at in Gen. i. Still less do we find in Genesis anything like the more special ideas we have noted above—of the mountains as the oldest because the most firm and massive parts of the earth; of the earth as miraculously upheld over the waters, or as provided with solid pillars to hold it in its place.

But let it be noted that all the passages which we are examining are more or less poetical. The passages from the Prophets, if prose, are prose of an elevated character, nearer to poetry than to ordinary prose. The first chapter of Genesis is plain prose. We should expect to find the poetical descriptions rich in fancy, and going far beyond the *belief* or the scientific theories of the age, such as a grave prose writer would give us. Thus we need not perhaps assert that they belong to a different age from Gen. i. But the comparison shews very forcibly the correctness of the position I assumed when comparing the first with the second chapter of Genesis, that the earlier account was essentially *scientific*. Note how fragmentary is all the information those many poetical writers give us about creation. They give us some hints about the earth, water and heaven; but what do they tell of the creation of light, of herbs, of luminaries, of animals and of man? Next to nothing; and nothing whatever which shews any clear notions about the order of creation. On the other hand, the scientific writer of Gen. i. adopts what he can of the poetic ideas on the



subject, but classifies the various forms of being, and assigns its proper place to each—supplementing more than contradicting the popular ideas. That he did not set up his as a rival scheme to the popular one is evident, partly from their many points of contact as to fact, partly from his adopting many of its peculiar words: *יָהוָה*, *עֶפֶר*, *בָּרָא*, *יָצַר*, *אוֹר* and *חֹשֶׁךְ*, &c.

The examined passages are arranged according to approximate (and of course largely conjectural) chronology. The three last, Psalms cxxxvi., xxxiii. and civ., are certainly among the very latest Psalms, probably belonging to a date somewhat lower than 400 B.C. Their relation to the first chapter of Genesis is obviously very different from that of the other passages. Psalms cxxxvi. and civ. are evidently *copies*, or rather metrical paraphrases, of Genesis. They not only preserve the general order of creation laid down in Genesis, but they mention acts far beyond what other passages do; and coincide in the very words, perhaps most strikingly so in the mention of the sun, moon and stars in the former psalm. To all the other passages the first chapter of Genesis might be either earlier, contemporary or later; but it must have existed when these psalms were written.

Thus we rest in the conclusion that the first chapter of Genesis was certainly written before 400 B.C.; but how much before, we have no adequate means of discovering. Inasmuch, however, as it reduces to a regular system, completes and modifies the vague poetical notions of the earlier writers, we can scarcely resist the inference that it belongs to a later and more scientific age than they; and as the period of the Babylonian Captivity (about 584—536 B.C.) and the interval between its termination and 400 B.C. are hardly to be thought of for this quiet scientific speculation, we may consider the date 600 or 650 B.C. as perhaps the most probable.

The consideration of passages to confirm or account for the second story of creation, in Gen. ii., must be reserved for a future article.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

## V.—JEWISH COINS AND HEBREW PALÆOGRAPHY.

*History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testament.* By Frederic W. Madden, M.R.S.L., Assistant in the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, and Honorary Secretary of the Numismatic Society of London. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1864.

THE history of the opinions of biblical critics and archaeologists respecting the age and genuineness of the Jewish coins is an instructive example of the slow process by which truth is finally evolved from the obscurity in which it was at first enveloped. Till the Samaritan Pentateuch was brought to Europe in the year 1634, through the exertions of Archbishop Usher, it was impossible to form any idea of the true relation of the coinage of the Jews to their history. Coins indeed, with Hebrew inscriptions in the modern character, were well known; and as this character was called Assyrian, and generally believed to have been introduced by Ezra at the return from the Captivity, their genuineness could not be disproved. The Rabbis carried up the antiquity of coined money to the very origin of their nation, reckoning Abram, Joshua, David and Mordecai among those who had exercised this art.\* But as soon as European scholars became familiar with the writing of the Samaritan Pentateuch, they could not fail to perceive that the characters were identical with those on one class of the coins, differing only as letters formed by the pen always differ from those cut on stone or stamped on metal. Walton was not misled by the rabbinical fictions just mentioned; but there were shekels in the square Hebrew character corresponding in type and legend with those inscribed with the Samaritan letters; and their genuineness had not then been called in question. Hence he came to the natural conclusion that all those inscribed with the Samaritan characters were older than the Captivity; all in the square Hebrew later than the return under Ezra.† The notion of the high

\* See the quotations in Walton's Prolegomena, p. 37: "Abramus, cujus numus vitulum et senem referebat; Josua, qui bovem et unicornem; Davides qui virgam et turrim; et Mardocheus, qui hinc saccum inde Reginam Esther atque seipsum in numis representabant." It is needless to say that these coins are imaginary.

† Proleg. p. 30.

antiquity of coined money among the Hebrews was kept up by the circumstance that the word שֶׁקֶל denotes a weight as well as a coin, and where it occurs in the Old Testament in connection with silver (as in Leviticus xxvii.) the coin was presumed to be meant. This high antiquity could never have been entertained had it been then known, that neither in Assyria, Phœnicia or Egypt, the great seats of ancient civilization, was coined money in use till many centuries later.\* Convenience would dictate the division of an ingot of the precious metals into portions more convenient in exchange and having a mark to ascertain the weight; and in this sense the Jews may have had, before the Captivity, a *currency*, though not a *coinage*. A mark might be added to attest the purity of the metal. This, however, is only conjecture.

The opinions of learned men continued to fluctuate as to the true character of the coins with inscriptions in the old Hebrew alphabet, till the latter half of the eighteenth century. Their genuineness was questioned by Basnage, Reland and Wise, and boldly denied by Schläger and Tychssen.† The latter included the whole class, whether they exhibited Samaritan or Hebrew characters, in a sweeping condemnation, and declares them all the work of impostors in modern times. He did not remain long without an answer. In 1781, Francis Perez Bayer, Canon of Valencia, published his Dissertation, “De Numis Hebræo-Samaritanis,” a work which shares with Bentley’s Dissertation on Phalaris, Porson’s Letters to Travis, and Todd’s Authorship of Eikon Basiliké, the honour of settling, finally and conclusively, a question on which opinion had been previously divided. Since its publication it has been universally admitted that the only genuine Jewish coins are those inscribed with the Samaritan character.‡ Once placed by Bayer on the right

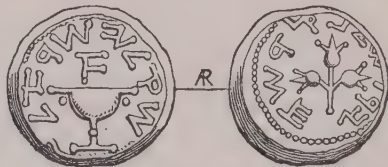
\* The earliest coinage known is the Lydian gold in the sixth century B.C., followed by the Greek silver. The late appearance of coined money in the ancient world is singular, but buyers and sellers had naturally more confidence in weight than in a stamp.

† Unächtheit der Jüdischen Münzen. Rostock, 1779.

‡ Unfortunately, the ingenuity of forgers has been directed to these coins, and the collector must look narrowly at a specimen offered him, before he can be sure that it is a genuine *shekel of Israel*. If it be in the square character he may be assured that it is spurious, though the dealer should tell him, as we have lately seen in an advertisement, that in this coin Judas received the price of his treachery.

track, numismatists have made rapid and sure progress. Many additional specimens have come to light, in consequence of the researches carried on in the Holy Land. Spain has produced no successor to Bayer; but Cavedoni in Italy, De Saulcy in France, Levy in Germany, various writers in our own Numismatic Journal, the *Revue Numismatique*, and Kitto's and Smith's Dictionaries, have contributed to give completeness and accuracy to this science. Aided by their labours, and by the rich collection of the British Museum, Mr. Madden has been able to produce the beautiful, accurate and exhaustive work before us.

The Jewish coins with old Hebrew (Samaritan) inscriptions being thus admitted as genuine, and no evidence existing of a coinage previously to the Captivity, the question arises, When was it introduced? The first specific mention of it occurs in Maccab. xv. 8, where, in a letter addressed by Antiochus, the son of Demetrius II., to the high-priest Simon, besides granting him other immunities, he says, *Καὶ ἐπέτρεψά σοι ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ σου*—"to strike a special coin for thy country." The relations of Judæa with Syria were at this time friendly; the father of Antiochus had remitted the taxes paid by the Jews; and, rejoicing in their emancipation and temporary independence, "the people of Israel" began to date their documents by the years of Simon the high-priest (Macc. xiii. 42). Simon was not slow to avail himself of the privilege granted him by Antiochus, and the series of Jewish coins begins with his first year.\*



The emblem on this coin is one repeated by Simon in successive years, with varying dates. On the obverse is a vessel with the legend, *שקל ישראל*, *Shekel of Israel*, with an *ס*

\* We have to acknowledge the liberality of Mr. Quaritch in allowing us the use of some of the woodcuts of Mr. Madden's work for the illustration of this paper.

(first year). On the reverse, ירושלם קדשה, *Jerusalem the Holy*, with a lily or hyacinth of three flower-buds. The epithet *holy* appears to have been early given to Jerusalem, and it has been supposed that the name *Kádutyς*\* was derived from the Hebrew *Kedoshah*. The emblems have been variously interpreted, the vessel as a representation of the pot of manna (Exod. xvi. 33), or of one of the sacred cups of the temple. The flower has been generally considered to represent Aaron's rod, which blossomed (Numb. xvii. 8), but the stem has no resemblance to a rod, nor the flower to an almond-blossom, and we prefer the explanation of Cave-doni, who refers to the prophecy of Hosea (xiv. 5), "I will be as the dew unto Israel, and he shall grow as the lily." The same type is continued, with variation for the year, to the fourth. The copper coins of the same year vary considerably in the symbols.



Here, instead of Shekel of Israel, we have שנת ארבע חצי, *Shenath arba chatzi*, "Fourth year—one half;" instead of the vase or cup, two branches or bundles of flowers, called by Jewish writers *lulab*, and between them a citron, called by the same writers *ethrog*. Instead of *Jerushalem Kedoshah*, we have on the reverse, לבואלת ציון, "For the redemption of Zion," and a palm-tree between two baskets of fruit.

These coins are anonymous, and it may be asked on what ground are they attributed to Simon Maccabæus? They have been assigned both to an earlier and a later period. M. de Sauley carries them back to the time of Alexander the Great; the Rev. Dr. Hales, the rector of Killesandra, author of a voluminous work on Scripture Chronology, to the time of David and Solomon. His opinion would not be shared by any one at the present day; that of M. de Sauley has more plausibility. According to Josephus,†

\* Herod. ii. 159, iii. 5.

† Antiq. Jud. xi. 3.



Alexander, while engaged in the siege of Tyre, had demanded aid and supplies of provision from Jaddua, the high-priest, and the tribute which the Jews had been accustomed to pay to the Persian kings ; Jaddua refused, alleging that he had sworn fealty to Darius. When Tyre and Gaza had been taken, Alexander, the narrative proceeds, marched towards Jerusalem with the intention of taking vengeance for the refusal. Jaddua, in great alarm, was comforted by a dream, in which he was advised to go and meet Alexander with a procession of the priests, and he accordingly advanced as far as Sapha, a hill near the city, and there awaited the arrival of the Macedonian army, arrayed in his sacerdotal robes, with his ephod and his tiara, on which was a plate of gold, bearing the name of Jehovah. The orientals and the Macedonians were alike surprised, to see Alexander prostrate himself before the sacred name and embrace the high-priest. Parmenio alone ventured to ask an explanation, and received for answer from Alexander, that before he set out on his expedition he had a vision, in which a figure, habited like the high-priest, had appeared to him, and promised him success in his enterprize against the Persians. They returned together to Jerusalem ; Alexander sacrificed in the temple, and the high-priest shewed him the prophecy of Daniel (viii. 6, 7), in which his overthrow of the Persian Empire is predicted. On the following day he granted to the Jews liberty to govern themselves by the laws of their forefathers, and exemption from tribute in the seventh year. The narrative bears strong marks of Jewish invention, and as neither Diodorus, Curtius, Arrian nor Plutarch, contain any notice of such an event, it has very generally been dismissed as pure fiction. Yet perhaps there may be in it an element of historical truth. The Jews had been favoured by the Persian kings, and while Alexander's ultimate success was doubtful, they may have been unwilling to commit themselves to his cause. He could not safely leave behind him, when he marched into Egypt, a place of such strength as Jerusalem. The experience of conquerors, both before and since his time, has shewn what an arduous and tedious operation its reduction by a siege must be. Tyre and Gaza had already cost him nine months, and every delay added to the difficulty of his enterprize. It was the interest of both parties that their relations should be

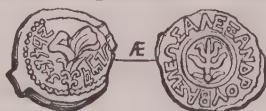
friendly, and it is quite credible, that having advanced with a hostile demonstration towards Jerusalem, he should be ready to accept its peaceful surrender.\* But in reference to the question, whether the anonymous shekels which we have described could have been issued by Jaddua, it is obvious to remark, that the right to coin money is *not* among the privileges granted by Alexander, and that this right was one of those most unwillingly conceded to dependent cities and kingdoms. The edict of Antiochus, conferring on Simon the privilege of coinage, must be considered as its commencement, and though the shekels we have described, being anonymous, cannot with certainty be ascribed to him, the reasonable presumption is, that as soon as the privilege was obtained it would be used. Simon held the office of High-priest for eight years; the highest number yet found on these coins is four, being probably reckoned from the edict of Antiochus, as it is not likely that the use of the right would be delayed for four years.

Simon was murdered B.C. 135, and was succeeded by his son John, commonly called Hyrcanus. The political condition of the Jews fluctuated with the power of the kings of Syria. On the death of Simon, Antiochus invaded Judæa, and compelled Hyrcanus to pay a heavy tribute. But when he was killed in the Parthian war (B.C. 128), Hyrcanus recovered his independence, and being strengthened by an alliance with the Romans, maintained himself in power for thirty years, destroyed the temple on Gerizim, and conquered Idumæa. His coins, which are all of copper, are abundant, but they bear no date, and when compared with the preceding series shew marks of the growing influence of the Greek element.



\* Justin, xi. 2, seems vaguely to allude to this among other acts of submission to Alexander. "Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur; ubi obvius cum infulis multos orientis reges habuit. Ex his alios in societatem recepit, aliis regnum ademit." The use of the *infula*, a branch of olive wreathed with wool, was a Roman practice in deprecation (Livy, xxiv. 30), which Justin transfers to the East.

Here, instead of the national appellation of *Israel* we have the cosmopolitan name of Jews, "Jehochunan High Priest and the Confederation of the Jews," **ח.כ.ר ה.י.ה.ו.ר.י.ם**.\* The legend is surrounded in the Greek fashion with a wreath, and instead of the *lulab* and the *ethrog* we have the cornucopiæ or poppy-head, borrowed from the coinage of Syria and Egypt. The coins of Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 105—78) shew still stronger marks of the Grecian element.



He assumes the title of King, and we have on one side of his coins **י.הו.נ.ת.ן ה.מ.ל.ך** *Jehonathan Hamelek*, on the other **Αλεξανδρου Βασιλεως**, with the addition of an anchor, a monetary emblem of the Seleucidæ, connected with the tradition of the origin of their race.† The coins of Antigonus, again, B.C. 40—37, exhibit on one side his Jewish name and titles in Hebrew letters, "Mattathias the High Priest," on the other **Βασιλεως Αντιγονου**. With Jannæus the Hebrew character disappears from the coins, and is not seen again till the first revolt.

Here several questions arise, connected with Hebrew palæography. In the interval between the time of Antigonus and that of Eleazar and Simon, were the Jews using the alphabet of the coins or that of our printed books, in their writings and inscriptions? When was the modern square character introduced among them, and how did it originate? Its origin occasioned no difficulty to the old school of biblical critics; Hebrew was the language of Paradise, and the Two Tables were conceived in the square Hebrew character. But the question is really a very difficult one, and has not yet been satisfactorily settled. Of its origin there can be no doubt. It has been traced by regular descent from the Phœnician‡ through various modifica-

\* **ח.כ.ר** is the word used Gen. xiv. 3 of the confederate kings who were "joined together" in the vale of Siddim.

† Justin, xv. 4. They were not willing that Alexander should monopolize the honour of a divine descent.

‡ The oldest example of the Phœnician character is on the lion-weights of Khorsabad, which, if we may rely on the interpreters of Assyrian writing, belong to the ninth century B.C.

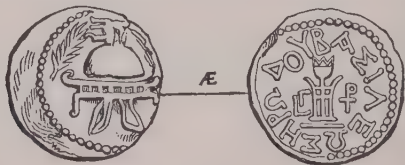
tions, always approximating to the modern form. But it is not till we reach the Palmyrene inscriptions, in the second or third century A.D., that we can pronounce their absolute identity. When we endeavour to fix the time of their introduction into common use in Judæa, we are embarrassed by the want of evidence. That they were familiar to our Saviour's contemporaries is usually assumed from his saying (Matt. v. 18), that till heaven and earth should pass away, one *iota* of the Law should not pass away without being fulfilled. Now if he spoke in a dialect of the Hebrew, we must suppose him to have said a *Iod*; and the *Iod*, as the smallest letter of the alphabet in the modern Hebrew, was likely to stand in a proverb as a type of what was insignificant, while the *Iod* of the coins is complex.\* The inference is plausible, but not quite certain. Our Lord often spoke in Aramæan, but did he never use Greek? Was the Gospel of Matthew originally written in Greek? If not, a translator may have substituted a corresponding expression, more intelligible to his Greek readers; for the *Iota* is the simplest letter of the Greek alphabet. Manuscript evidence is out of the question, and it is still doubtful whether any inscription in the square Hebrew character is as old as the time of Christ. On this subject an animated controversy has been carried on between two eminent French archæologists, both travellers and explorers in the Holy Land—M. de Sauley and M. de Vogué.† The present volume bears ample testimony to M. de Sauley's zeal in collecting Jewish coins; but he is apt to be misled by his fondness for making discoveries. In his first travels in the Holy Land he thought he had found the actual ruins of Sodom, where subsequent travellers have seen nothing but an accidental arrangement of natural blocks; he assigned the sculptured fronts of the tombs at Jerusalem to the days of the ancient kings, though their style clearly betrayed the imitation of Greek art. The subject of the present controversy is an inscription in the square Hebrew character over an excavation, traditionally called the Tomb of St. James, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Both are agreed that it is a memorial of a family of the name of Beni Hezir, and it is reasonable to suppose that

\* It is the first letter on the right in the reverse of the shekel, p. 246.

† Rev. Archéologique, 1864, p. 200 seq.; 1865, p. 136 seq.

the Hezir, from whom the persons named claimed descent, was a man of some note in his day. The name is found, 1 Chron. xxiv. 15, among the twenty-four descendants of Eleazar and Ithamar, among whom the office of high-priest was to be hereditary, according to the order of the branches fixed by lot. There is a partial concurrence in the names of the inscription with the names of the high-priests, and as the last in the list is Eleazar, M. de Saulcy concludes that the tomb was excavated to receive the mortal remains of the high-priest Eleazar, who died B.C. 255, and in whose pontificate the Septuagint translation was made.\* The identification is certainly ingenious; but it must be remembered that Hezir was a common Jewish name (Nehemiah x. 20), and that the subjects of the inscription are not called priests. M. de Vogué concludes from the style of the architecture, which is a degenerate Doric, that the tomb belongs to the age immediately preceding that of Christ. The question of the time when the square character began to be used by the Jews in Palestine must be left, therefore, for its solution to the Exploration Fund.

The coining of silver money in the East had been prohibited by Pompey, who made Judæa tributary, B.C. 63, except in the case of a few cities, of which Jerusalem was not one, and all the coinage from that time to the first revolt was of copper. The silver money spoken of in the New Testament was the Roman denarius; the stater, mentioned only in Matt. xvii. 27, was a tetradrachm, equivalent to the Jewish shekel, so that the tribute claimed of our Saviour being half a shekel, one stater sufficed both for him and for Peter. A new series begins with Herod the Great.



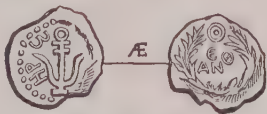
On the obverse is a bell-shaped vessel, or a helmet, on a stand; on the left a palm-branch. On the reverse, his name and title with a tripod; on the left, ΛΓ (L standing

\* Joseph. Ant. xii. 2.



for ΑΥΚΑΒΑΣ, year, the Roman letter being used in dates to avoid confusion with the Greek numerals) and Γ, three, of Herod's royalty, B.C. 38. On the right is a monogram having a curious resemblance to the Christian monogram. Its meaning here is not evident. All the principal members of his family have also left coins—Herod the Tetrarch or Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv.), Archelaus (Matt. ii. 22), Philip the Tetrarch (Luke iii. 1), Herod Agrippa I. (Acts xii.), Agrippa II. (Acts xxv. 13).

Herod Antipas built the town of Tiberias on the Lake of Gennesareth, and one of his coins, no doubt struck there, has ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑC on the reverse. Herod Archelaus, though called in the Gospels *King*, was really only Ethnarch, and takes only this title on his coins.



Under Philip a further departure from Jewish ideas and usages took place, and the head of Tiberius appears on a coin struck by a Jewish ruler, while on the reverse is seen probably the temple which Herod I. had built and dedicated to Augustus.



Herod Agrippa I., who "stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the church, killed James the brother of John with the sword, and because he saw that it pleased the Jews proceeded further to take Peter also," assiduously courted the Roman Emperors, and calls himself ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΜΕΓΑC ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙCΑΡ on his coins. His title of Great probably refers to the large increase of his power, gained by the favour of Caligula and Claudius, making his dominions nearly equal in extent to those of his grandfather, Herod the Great. The book of Acts records his pomp and his popularity, and, in accordance with Josephus, the sudden

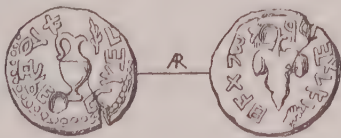
illness which terminated his life. Agrippa II. paid to Nero the compliment of calling Cæsarea Philippi *Neronias*. The city appears on one of his coins, typified by the turreted head of the goddess Cybele, after the fashion of the Greek coins of cities. He assumed the name of Marcus, which belonged to the Roman family of Agrippa, with which, however, he had no connection. The latest of his coins bears the head of Domitian, so that it appears he retained his nominal sovereignty, after the destruction of the city by Titus. He would fain have persuaded his countrymen to bear the Roman yoke in patience, and when the people were maddened by the exactions and tyranny of Gessius Florus, he appeared before the tumultuous crowd, accompanied by his sister Berenice, and delivered, according to Josephus, a long harangue, pointing out the hopelessness of a contest with the power of Rome, which had subdued the whole world even to the hitherto unknown Britons. He concluded by warning them that if they were determined on war, they must not expect him to join them. Accordingly he joined the Roman army, and retired ultimately to Rome, where he died.

From the time when Archelaus was deposed from his office of Ethnarch, with the exception of Agrippa's rule, Judæa, as distinct from Galilee, had been governed by a succession of Roman Procurators. They struck copper coins, some anonymous, others with the names of the ruling emperors, as Tiberius and his mother Julia, Claudius and Nero. In Nero's reign, the Jews, who had borne the yoke of former Procurators impatiently, and had raised partial insurrections, broke out into open revolt. A direct collision with the Roman power was avoided for a time by the romanizing policy of Agrippa, and the unwillingness of the Sanhedrim and the higher classes to engage in a war, of which the probable result was, that "the Romans would come and take away both their place and their nation." They invited Florus to occupy the Holy City with his troops. This was too much for the patience\* of the Jews, and though he succeeded in forcing his way to the citadel, he was really besieged there, and Cestius Gallus, who endeavoured to relieve him, suffered a severe defeat. The Zealots,

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\* *Usque ad Gessium Florum duravit patientia Judæorum* (Tac. Hist. v. 10), a remarkable expression, considering the hatred and contempt which the historian felt for the Jews.

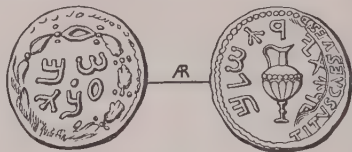
who would listen to no compromise with the Romans, gained a complete ascendancy, and their leaders, Simon (Bargiora), Eleazar and John of Giscala, assumed a temporary sovereignty in Jerusalem after the massacre of their principal opponents. This second "Redemption of Israel" was commemorated by coins, in which the legends, symbols and character of the Maccabæan coinage were reproduced. The silver coin here represented will shew how exact was the imitation.



[ The obverse reads *Eleazar Hakkohen*, Eleazar the High-priest, with a vase and a palm-branch. The reverse, *Shenath Achath Ligullath Isr[ael]*, Year one of the Redemption of Israel, with a bunch of grapes. Simon Bargiora, the head of a rival faction of the Zealots, struck coins also, closely resembling those of Eleazar, except that he does not claim the title of high-priest. This revival of the coinage of the former times of Israel's independence was well calculated to encourage the hopes of the patriotic party. But in order that it should produce this effect, we must suppose that the old coinage was still in circulation and the old character still familiar to the people. This is a strong presumption against the opinion that the square Hebrew had already supplanted it; for who would endeavour to work upon the popular mind by the use of an obsolete alphabet? Of John of Giscala, the leader of another of the factions, who were doing the work of the Romans within the walls, no coins have been found.

The conquerors of Jerusalem celebrated their bloody and hard-won victory by a variety of medals. Those of Vespasian and Titus, representing Judæa bound and weeping beneath a palm-tree, a Jew with his hands tied and stripped of his armour, and similar devices, are too familiar to need special illustration. The conquered nation continued to be oppressed and persecuted; what was called the *Fiscus Judaicus*, the payment to the Imperial treasury of the former tribute to the Temple, was exacted with great harsh-

ness during the reign of Domitian. A coin of Nerva, inscribed on the reverse *FISCI JUDAICI CALUMNIA SUBLATA*, while it commemorates its abolition, confesses its abuse.\* But the discontent of the Jewish people was too deeply seated to be removed by a slight act of grace. They watched the opportunity of the forces of the Empire being engaged in a Parthian war, A.D. 115, to rise in insurrection, and put their enemies to death wherever they could. These insulated movements had probably no definite object beyond revenge upon a hostile population; but the rebellion in Palestine, which began in A.D. 131, aimed at the recovery of Jerusalem and the re-establishment of Jewish independence. Such was the determination with which the Jews fought under the leadership of Barcocheb,† that it required the best troops and ablest generals of Hadrian to put down the insurrection after a severe struggle of two years. Here, again, the Jewish coinage comes in to illustrate the Jewish history. Mr. Madden's work contains representations of numerous coins, with archaic Hebrew characters and symbols, bearing the name of Simon, struck over those of Roman emperors subsequent to the time of Vespasian—Titus, Domitian and Trajan, but so imperfectly struck that the original legend can still be traced. Whether the leader's true name was Simon, or Barcocheb assumed it as an encouragement to his followers, which is not improbable; or whether he used the stamp of Simon Bargiora, preserved since the first revolt, there can be no doubt that these coins belong to the second. We give an example of one of them.



The obverse exhibits the name of Simon; the reverse, imperfectly struck, *Lacher[uth] Ierusalem*, The deliverance

\* The *Calumnia* here acknowledged answers to the *συκοφαντία* (false accusation) which Zacchæus (Luke xix. 8) confesses, we presume, as practised by his subordinates.

† "Son of a Star," an allusion to Numbers xxiv. 17, "There shall come a star out of Jacob."

of Jerusalem—while round the margin may be distinctly read TITVS CAESAR VESP. What a stern joy, what a luxury of revenge must Barcocheb's have been, when he placed the stamp of Jewish independence on the head of Titus—of Titus, who had destroyed the Holy City and razed the Temple to its foundations, had slaughtered its unresisting inhabitants or condemned them to the slow death of the mines, and carried the sacred vessels of the Temple in triumph to the Capitol! The success of Barcocheb was short-lived; the second revolt ended, like the first, in a bloody catastrophe, and, instead of Jerusalem being delivered, a Roman colony, bearing the name *Ælia Capitolina*, commemorated the victory of Hadrian and the triumph of Paganism.

The present age is distinguished by the sympathy which it feels for nations struggling to recover their independence, and we are disposed to claim a share in it for the Jews. They were certainly a "down-trodden nationality," and their national feeling was stronger than ordinary, because their religion was an element of strong repulsion between them and their polytheistic neighbours. It was increased by the obligation of simultaneous resort to the national sanctuary, by laws making them in every respect a peculiar people, by traditions of wonderful deliverances wrought for them in past ages, by prophecies of future glory and prosperity, surpassing all that their history recorded. The sympathy which is so freely accorded to Greeks, Poles or Italians, is denied to the Jews, partly because they are supposed to have committed a crime without a parallel—not a homicide, but a deicide—partly because their national depravity was also without a parallel. With regard to the first, the legal maxim may fairly be urged, that before sentence is passed and punishment is inflicted, the *corpus delicti*, the fact that the crime has been committed, must first be proved, and that here the proof fails. The general depravity of the nation in our Lord's time and during the first rebellion has been assumed on grounds none of which are satisfactory. The testimony of Josephus is alleged to prove that the whole nation was utterly corrupt; but he is by no means a veracious historian, and he had special reasons for depreciating those whose cause he had deserted. The crimes committed in the course of the struggle were of an atrocious kind, but it is



most unjust to impute to a whole nation the deeds done or instigated by the bold bad men whom revolutions or insurrections raise to power. The worst epidemics leave the great majority of a people in sound health. Could "salvation have been of the Jews," could they have been the means of the moral regeneration of mankind, if in their average moral quality they had not been far superior to the heathen? The gospel narrative brings prominently before us the least estimable part of our Lord's contemporaries—the self-righteous Pharisee, the sceptical Sadducee, the Herodian, a political religionist, the fickle populace of Jerusalem, a priest and a Levite without human sympathies. And these represent to us the Jewish people. But we doubt not that there were among them many a true Israelite, like Nathaniel—many a household like that of Lazarus and his sisters. A new light has lately broken upon us, from our increased knowledge of the Jewish traditional literature. When we find how closely the morality taught in their schools approached to that of the New Testament,\* we are obliged to confess, that in our zeal to exalt the Gospel we have done injustice to the teachers of the Law.

The outward position of the Jew among us has greatly improved. He is no longer subject to the brutal outrages and exactions of former times; Christians no longer spit upon his gaberdine. The Legislature, as usual in religious matters, "slowly wise and meanly just," has allowed him to steal into the House of Commons. His evil days are past; but his liability to evil tongues continues, if not in his own person, in that of his ancestors. We take no account of missionary sermons or speeches on missionary platforms, but we regret to read such a sentence as the following, in a work of so high a character as the Rev. C. Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*:† "There is another point of view which the heathen philosopher" (Tacitus) "could not seize, from which the Christian must regard the position of the Jews. Whether we consider their sin to have lain in their carnal interpretation of prophecy, or in

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\* See the remarkable article in the *Quarterly Review* for October last, p. 437. In reference to a late sermon of the Archbishop of York at Whitehall, it may be remarked, that there is no reason to doubt that the precepts of the Rabbi Hillel, for example, really preceded the preaching of Christ.

† VI. 567.

their rejection of truth and godliness in the person of Jesus Christ, they were judicially abandoned to their own passions and the punishment which naturally awaited them." We protest against either of these suppositions as constituting the Christian point of view. The notion that *judicial blindness*, involving a psychological miracle, has been inflicted on a people as the means of their destruction, is Jewish, or indeed heathen (*Quos Jupiter vult perdere, &c.*), rather than Christian. Such phrases are obsolete in philosophical history. By the *carnal* interpretation of prophecy, we suppose Mr. Merivale means the *literal*. But was it a sin on the part of the Jews, meriting extermination, to have been ignorant of the devices of "double senses," "types and anti-types," "adumbrations," "immediate and remote references," &c., to which Christian interpreters of prophecy have been driven, in order to justify what Mr. Merivale would call its spiritual, as opposed to its carnal, interpretation? He himself admits "that as apostles of national liberty the Zealots were contending for a noble principle." They contended also for what they believed to be the only true religion; and when we consider the intense power of these two principles, acting in unison, we need not seek in judicial blindness for the cause of the desperate energy with which they fought against the Romans. Their loss of independence was the gain of humanity, but we are not therefore justified in imputing to them a wilful resistance to the designs of Providence, which are not revealed beforehand.

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## VI.—THE EPISTLE OF JUDE AND THE PROPHECY AND ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.

*Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum.* Edidit A. Hilgenfeld. Leipzig. 1866.

*Mosis Prophetia et Assumptio.* Eine Quelle für das Neue Testament, zum ersten Male Deutsch herausgegeben, von Dr. Gustav Volkmar. Leipzig. 1867.

Now that questions relating to the authorship and constitution of the books of the New Testament are being every day

more earnestly discussed, the discovery of any new materials for their solution cannot but be welcomed with interest. Unhappily, such materials are very hard to find, though it is true that some of the great Continental libraries occasionally yield to indefatigable and painstaking research results of some importance. Such has already been the gratifying reward of the labours of M. A. M. Ceriani, the accomplished Curator of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, who has not long since commenced to restore and bring to light the literary treasures so carefully concealed by the Hapsburg-Jesuits.

Among the most interesting fruits of his investigation may be counted the recovery of a valuable fragment of the Itala version of the Gospel of Luke; but, still more, that of a portion of a MS. of the sixth century, which appears to have been brought from the monastery of Bobbio, near Pavia, founded by Columban in 613 A.D. It is, unfortunately, imperfect; but it contained originally a complete collection of the apocryphal books, under Old Testament names, in a Latin translation. The contents of the MS., however, seem not to have suited the ideas of the later priests; they were obsolete, if not dangerous; and accordingly the parchment leaves, which alone remained of value, were used to write sermons and litanies upon. The ancient characters, however, were not so completely erased but that they could be discerned by a practised eye; and Ceriani, after almost incredible labour, has succeeded in bringing to light the underlying writing.

The leaves preserved in Milan contain the fragments only of two apocryphal books. The largest part belongs to the so-called *Lepto-Genesis*, a rabbinical version of the first book of Moses. But to this there were attached eight leaves, with two columns on a page, of a Latin MS., in which Ceriani discovered the beginning of the "*Assumptio Mosis*." From the second to the eleventh century this was a highly-esteemed devotional book in the ancient church; only a few fragments of it, however, have been preserved to us in quotations by the Fathers,—together with the information that in its scope it bore a general resemblance to the Apocalypse of John. From the treasures of Columban's monastery, however, a considerable part of the book has come to light; fortunately it is the first and most important part,

namely, the Prophecy or Revelation of Moses, complete, except in a few passages which have become partially or entirely erased in rubbing off the later writing. But though one of these gaps, unluckily, occurs in a passage which is important for determining the exact date of the composition of the book, enough is still left to enable us to restore it with some amount of precision.

The most complete account hitherto given of this curious book, and its relation to the Epistle of Jude, appears to be that of Dr. Volkmar, of Zürich, whose researches we may now proceed to summarize.

The Epistle of Jude, together with the Second of Peter and the Second and Third of John, is not once referred to, even obscurely and indistinctly, by any of the apostolic Fathers of the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries.\* It does not appear to have been reckoned amongst the earliest collections of Christian writings used in the different churches. These collections, as we hear of them towards the close of the second century, generally contained, besides the four Gospels and the Acts and thirteen Epistles of Paul, only the First Epistle and the Revelation of John. But to these were appended other writings, esteemed "good for edification," which appeared to pass under apostolic names. Among these were a Second Epistle in the style of the First of John, and an Epistle of Jude. These two latter were included in the Muratorian canon (circa 190—200); while not a word is said about either the Epistles of Peter, or of James, or the Third Epistle of John. Yet even the canon of Muratori ventures to express a doubt as to the apostolic authorship of the Epistle of Jude; and remarks, that though the church receives the two Epistles of John and the Epistle of Jude, "it may be, as was the case with the Wisdom of Solomon, that they were written by Solomon's friends." The ancient Syrian church rejected it; Eusebius found it scarcely recognized and classed it among the *antilegomena*. And it was only owing to Augustine's influence that it was received into the canon of the Western Church.†

An examination of the contents of the Epistle seems to

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\* Westcott. Article "Canon," in Smith's Dict. of the Bible.

† Reuss, Histoire du Canon des Ecritures Saintes. Strasbourg, 1863.  
Credner, Geschichte des Canons. Berlin, 1861.

confirm these doubts and hesitations. Where within the limits of the apostolic age shall we find the teachers of error who were corrupting "the faith once (how long ago?) delivered to the saints"? They were such as denied the only ruler God and the Lord Jesus Christ (v. 4), and yet they wished to pass as Christians. They attended the love-feasts, but walked after their own lusts. Can this be meant to refer to some of the Gnostics, who rejected the Jehovah of the Old Testament in favour of a higher God, and denied the Son of Man of the Gospels in order to establish a higher Christ, and at the same time plunged into the wildest sensuality and lasciviousness? These followers of Carpocratian and Basilides despised the "Lordship" of Jehovah, and thus spake evil of the *δόξας* (Elohim?), who were only blind tools of a mere God of matter, in contrast to the loftier Æons of the pure spirit-world. And yet "Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee" (v. 9). If, then, Michael the archangel did not dare to speak a blasphemous word against a super-terrestrial being, and that, too, the fallen angel, the devil, how much less ought men to venture, like these Gnostics, to speak evil of any superior being, much less the pure and holy God!

But who has vouchsafed to us a report of this dispute about the body of Moses? Origen\* tells us that it was contained in a little book known as the *Assumptio Mosis*; and he finds no cause of offence in the use by "the brother of an apostle" of such a *βιβλιδάριον*. But in the next century Didymus Alexandrinus (360 A.D.) relates that many "raised objections against the Epistle of Jude, and against the *Assumptio Mosis* itself, *because of the passage where the archangel speaks to an angel*." (Ecumenius (c. 990 A.D.) quotes from the *Assumptio Mosis*, that "when Moses died, Michael wished to bury him worthily. To this, however, the devil would not consent, but he raised an accusation against him as the murderer of the Egyptian. Hence it was not granted to him to meet with a burial according to law." And Evodius, a contemporary of Augustine, describing the book as "apocryphal, and wanting the authority of

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\* De Princip. iii. 2, 1.



the Scriptures," says that "when Moses was going up on to the mountain to die, it came to pass that one part of his body was committed to the earth, the other was entrusted to the conduct and companionship of an angel."

From other notices of the lost book, we gather that it remained in use in the Latin Church at least till the sixth century, and in the Greek till the eleventh. And though unhappily the passage quoted in the Epistle of Jude is not among the fragments recently discovered by Ceriani, nevertheless quite sufficient remains to identify the work from which it is known to have been taken, with that just restored to us by the labours of the indefatigable Curator at Milan.

We proceed, then, to a brief account of this curious book.

The first portion contains a prophecy represented to have been delivered by Moses to Joshua, when he laid upon him the charge of conducting the children of Israel into the Promised Land.

"Promise to do all these things that are laid upon thee, according to thine industry, as is without blame. Therefore saith the Lord of the world these things; for He hath created the world for his people's sake, and hath only made this beginning of creation, that from the commencement of the world He might reveal himself, that the Gentiles might be convicted, and with their reasonings might reasonably convict one another. Therefore hath He purposed and sought out me, who have been made ready from the beginning of the world, to be the Mediator of his covenant.\* And now I reveal it to thee, because the time of the years of my life is ended, and I go away into the sleep of my fathers. But do thou take this writing to ensure the preservation of the books I shall commit to thee; which thou shalt arrange and embalm and lay up in earthen vessels, in a place which He has made ready from the beginning of the creation of the world, that his name may be called there,—until the day of repentance, with respect thereto that the Lord may look upon them in the consummation of the end of the days" (i. 35—ii. 37).

The history of the Jewish nation is then described in apocryphal style. The prophet passes lightly over the Judges and Kings, and hastens on to the Exile, the duration of which he reckons, apparently with some reference to the book of Daniel, at 77 years. At length

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\* Cf. Galat. iii. 19.

"God shall put it into the heart of the king to have pity on them, and he shall send them away into their land and country. Then shall some parts of the tribes go up, and shall come unto their appointed place, and shall build a wall round the place restoring it. But the two tribes shall remain in the faith committed to them, sad and sighing because they shall not be able to bring sacrifices to the God of their fathers. And the ten tribes shall increase, and shall come down to their sons in the time of the tribes," i. e. the time of all twelve tribes, the restoration of Israel (vi. 3—27).

The prophet then passes on rapidly to the time of the Maccabees, who are described as "going a whoring after other gods, and not following the truth," inasmuch as they sought help from an idolatrous state; and then he proceeds:

"And certain men shall stain the altar with the gifts which they shall lay on it to the Lord, who are not priests, but slaves born of slaves (John Hyrcanus). . . . Then shall rise over them kings as priests, and they shall call themselves priests of the Most High, committing impiety from the holy place. And after these shall come a wanton king (Herod), who shall not be of the race of priests, a man daring and worthless, and he shall judge them as they shall deserve. He shall rend in pieces their leaders with the sword, and shall bury their bodies in unknown places, so that no one may know where they are. He shall slay the old, and the young too shall he not spare. Then shall there rise bitter fear of him among them in that land, and he shall hold judgment against them, as did the Egyptians against them, and for thirty-four years (37—4 B.C.) shall he punish them. And he shall bring forth children who shall come after him (Archelaus, Philip, Antipas), until enemies shall come against their portions, and the mighty king of the West (i. e. the armies of the Roman emperor), who shall besiege them, and carry them captive, and part of their house shall he burn with fire, and some shall he crucify round their settlement (colonia)" (vi. 47—viii. 24).

Thus far all is plain, but the passage which follows is so corrupt as almost to defy any efforts at restoration. Unhappily it contains one of the most important indications for determining the time of composition of the book. The gist of it, however, appears to be this. From Tiberius to the time at which the writer stands, there are four "seasons" (*ῥαί*). The prophet has already described single reigns under the denomination "years" (*ἔτη*), and periods of seven years he has called "times" (*καιροί*). The four seasons,

then, according to Volkmar, denote something new,—the four epochs of government from the time of the first “mighty king of the West.” But each of these four epochs or seasons contains, at any rate towards the last, three “beginnings,” or fresh reigns. Thus there was first a spring of subjection of Judaism through the Julian dynasty, Tiberius, Caius Caligula, Claudius, Nero,—which, with the exception of the brief storm under Caligula, was tolerably mild. Then a shorter, but tempestuous, period of the three usurpers, Galba, Otho and Vitellius. Next the autumn storm which destroyed the temple under the terrible Flavii, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. And finally a long winter, including the reigns of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian. Near the end of this dreary season of depression, before Hadrian’s government has passed away (138 A.D.), stands our author; and looking forward he sees a new spring, the absolute New Year of the advent of the God of Israel and the full restoration of His people.\*

The end of all the cruelty and wantonness of the heathen, the near approach of the judgment of vengeance, will be announced by a persecution of Israel:

“Quickly will come upon them vengeance and wrath, such as there has not been among them from the beginning of the world up to that time, wherein He will excite against them the king of the kings of the earth and a force of great power, who shall *hang upon a cross them that confess the circumcision*; for them that deny it will he torture, and will hand them over bound to be led into captivity. And their wives shall be delivered over to the Gentiles for their gods. . . . For some among them shall be punished with torture and fire and sword, and some shall be compelled to carry their idols, unclean as they are, like those who possess them. And by those who torture them will they be compelled to enter their secret place, and will be forced with goads to blaspheme the word (Adonai) contemptuously, and lastly after this, the law-rolls which they have upon their altar” (ix. 40—x. 30).

This remarkable passage Hilgenfeld is obliged to pass

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\* Thus far Volkmar: he has adhered with great accuracy to the existing fragments of the text, which has been entirely reconstructed (with variations) by Hilgenfeld and Gutschmid, who bring down the composition of the book no later than the commencement of the reign of Claudius. Hilgenfeld finds in the expulsion of the Jews from Rome (Acts xviii 2) the meaning of the fourth season of affliction which should precede the end. Ewald so manipulates the passage as to make it refer to the outbreak of Judas the Gaulonite.

over in silence; he can by no means accommodate it to the exigencies of his theory, which places the date of the composition of the book immediately after the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius. But the facts of that persecution, if persecution it is to be called, are totally inadequate to the description here given. One of its most striking features is the "crucifixion of them that confess the circumcision." This punishment for this offence was inflicted *once only*, viz. after the insurrection of Barcochab, 135 A.D. This was the last attempt on the part of the Jews to recover their ancient national independence, and restore the theocracy under the government of a Messiah. It was put down after a most terrible struggle which lasted three years\* (132—135 A.D.). Circumcision, the symbol of Jewish rebellion, was then prohibited under pain of death; and this prohibition lasted till the death of Hadrian, 138 A.D., after which event it was withdrawn. Penalties the most severe were attached to the open reading or teaching of the law. A contemporary, quoted by Graetz,† says, "Why art thou tortured? Because I wove the festival garland. Why art thou crucified? Because I ate unleavened bread at the Passover. Why art thou condemned to death by fire and sword? Because I read in the law, or caused my children to be circumcised." Rabbi Chanania was burnt with special torture for reading the law, and his daughters were sent to Rome to be given as the reward of shame.

But not only did those "that confessed the circumcision" meet with no mercy at the hands of the conquerors; "those who denied it" were not much more successful in escaping "torture and captivity." There arose among some of the leading Rabbis an earnest discussion whether they might not allow themselves and the laity a temporary release from the obligations of the law. A sort of council assembled at Lydda in 135 A.D. The majority resolved to grant a dispensation from all religious laws, except only those concerning the worship of idols, adultery and murder.‡

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\* During which Dion Cassius, the most trustworthy authority, says that more than 580,000 fell by the sword, not including those who perished by famine, disease and fire.

† Apud Volkmar. *Geschichte des Judenthums*, Vol. IV. 183.

‡ Graetz, 135.

Many avoided death by laying aside all the usual signs of Judaism. When two disciples of the celebrated R. Joshua exchanged their Jewish robes for a peasant's dress, they defended themselves with the words, "Why should we commit suicide in resisting the imperial laws?" R. Joshua himself belonged to the class of those who hoped to effect more by prudent moderation and subjection than by reckless self-sacrifice. He once found R. Chanania reading the law, and said, "Seest thou not that heaven itself is favourable to the Roman rule? The temple is destroyed: the pious are massacred: and yet it stands. How darest thou resist its edicts?" Accordingly R. Joshua stood in high favour at the court of the governor of Judea, and when he died persons of the highest rank followed his bier:—"we shall be like princes, if we change," says our author.

But this doctrine that men could remain just without fulfilling the law, naturally created, even under circumstances so peculiar and distressing, some considerable opposition. Accordingly there arose a stricter party, at whose head stood R. Akiba, concerning whom, likewise, our author appears not to be silent.

"Then when he (i.e. the emperor) publishes edicts, behold there shall arise a man of the tribe of Levi, whose name shall be TAXO, who, having seven sons, shall speak to them praying,—‘Lo, a second time is vengeance come upon this people, cruel, unclean, in their disgrace without mercy, and it exceeds the beginning. For what nation is there, or what land, or what people impious against the Lord, who, having done many deeds of wickedness, have suffered such woes as have fallen to our lot? Now, therefore, my sons, hearken to me. For ye see and know that never did our fathers nor their forefathers tempt God in transgressing His commands.\* For ye know that this is our strength. Now we will do this. Let us fast three days, and on the fourth let us go into the cave which is in the field; and *let us die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of lords, the God of our fathers. For if we do this and die, our blood shall be avenged by the Lord*’" (x. 31—xi. 24).

Who, then, is the "man of the tribe of Levi whose name shall be TAXO"? Hilgenfeld is obliged to give up the riddle as insoluble; after arbitrarily altering TAXO to

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\* E. g. concerning circumcision, the reading of the law, the keeping of the sabbath.



TXE (τξε), he declares it hopeless. But Volkmar has, with apparently greater success, applied to it the interpretation, by means of which he believes himself to have deciphered the mysterious number of the Beast in the Apocalypse. Accordingly, he distributes the number thus: t a x o represent the numbers 300, 1, 60, 70, respectively—total, 431. But split the whole into parts again, and we may write it thus:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccc} \text{ב} & \text{א} & & \text{ע} & \text{ק} & & \text{ו} & \text{ב} & \text{ר} \\ 1, & 2, & 100, & 70 & & 50, & 6, & 2, & 200 = 431, \end{array}$$

Rabbon Akiba, the great master Akiba.\*

Now, not only was Akiba the most illustrious teacher of his time, a man of profound learning and high authority, but he was looked up to by the whole race of Israel as a second, and even a greater, Moses. A simple shepherd, he dared to fall in love with his master's daughter. But Calba Sheva, a rich Jew of Jerusalem, would have nothing to do with so poor a suitor. Affection, however, prevailed over the fear of a father's anger, and the lovers were secretly married. Akiba quitted his master's service, and for twelve years devoted himself to the study of the law under R. Eleazar and R. Joshua. He returned (so say the Rabbinical traditions) with 12,000 disciples. But he failed to soften the anger of his former master, who had disinherited his daughter. He went back, and for twelve more years pursued his studies with untiring zeal. He then returned again, this time accompanied by 24,000 disciples. His constancy and perseverance, and possibly his fame, appear to have overcome the resentment of his father-in-law, who at length relented, and bestowed upon his daughter's husband enough to enable him to live as became so celebrated a teacher. A thousand volumes could not contain the wonderful things which he said and did. "If Shaphan," says one tradition, "had not arisen at his time (that of Hezekiah), if Ezra had not arisen at his time, and Akiba at his, the law of Israel had been forgotten; the word which was spoken at the

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\* Into the critical difficulties, first that a Hebrew instead of a Greek name is sought, and next that, in this case, as in the interpretation of the number of the Beast (נרון קסר = 666), a Yodh is wanting, so that קסר ought to be written קיסר, and עקבא should be עקיבא, Volkmar enters at some length. See the very curious and interesting interpretation he gives of the number 153, John xxi. 11. And compare his Commentary on the Apocalypse.

right time outweighs all words." He could give a reason for the use of the most insignificant letter of the law ; and it was boldly averred that God revealed to him more than He did to Moses.\*

Akiba warmly welcomed and supported the attempt of Barcochab. He was called "the Standard-bearer of the Star of Israel." He was consequently involved in the miserable fate which overtook all the promoters of the revolt. He was arrested while openly teaching the law according to his custom. When brought before Turnus Rufus for examination, he suddenly remembered it was the hour of prayer. Forgetful of his Roman judge, and careless of his life, he fell on his knees and calmly performed his ordinary devotions. Rufus, who was aware of the authority ascribed to Akiba, proceeded against him with unsparing severity, and took care to have his prison closely watched. But his disciples, and those teachers of the law who still remained, feeling themselves bereaved and helpless without him, disguised themselves as peasants, hung about the place where he was confined, and by means of a cunningly-devised system of question and answer, succeeded in obtaining from him his decision on various important but still doubtful points. When the hour for execution arrived, he was first tortured ; but under the torture he repeated the Shemah prayer ("Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God," &c.), and said, since his torturer, amazed at his glad countenance, wondered whether he were a sorcerer, "That am I not ; but I rejoice that the opportunity is afforded me to serve my God with my life too, since hitherto I have been able to serve Him only with my strength and my might." At length he breathed out his soul with the last word of the Shemah, which contains within itself the essence of Judaism—Echad—one (God).\*

But Akiba was not the only martyr who sealed with his death his fidelity to the law. One ancient authority speaks of ten who bled for the study of the law. But of *seven* only have the names come down to us ; among these was R. Chanina, son of Teradion, who endured death with the same constancy as Akiba. In spite of the warning of R. Joshua, he continued openly to teach the law. At length he was

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\* Milman, History of the Jews, Vol. II.

† Graetz, 194.

brought before the Roman tribunal. He was asked why he had resisted the imperial edicts. "Because God has commanded me." ("Let us die," says our author, "rather than transgress the commands of God.")

The last of the martyr Rabbis was R. Juda-ben-Baba. Such was his saintly character, that his contemporaries esteemed him sinless. He was afraid that through the execution of the most distinguished teachers of the law, the tradition would completely perish, if the surviving scholars remained without the necessary initiation which would qualify them as teachers. He accordingly invited the last *seven disciples of Akiba* (the "seven sons of the man of the tribe of Levi") to be ordained. To such a proceeding the severest penalties were attached. "Whoever dared to consecrate disciples was liable to death. Even communities were made responsible for it. The town where an ordination took place might be destroyed."\* That they might not endanger any town, R. Juda betook himself with the seven disciples into a narrow ravine between the towns of Ussha and Shefaram ("into a cave which is in the field"), laid his hands upon them in consecration, and then authorized them to be independent teachers of the law and judges. A troop of Roman soldiers, however, possibly put upon the track by treachery, surprised them in the very act. R. Juda had scarcely time to urge the newly-consecrated disciples to take to flight; they would not abandon him in his need. At length, at his repeated solicitations, they fled. The soldiers found only the old man, who, without resistance, surrendered himself to die; whereon all the three hundred men pierced him with their lances.† The seven surviving disciples of Akiba sought refuge in Nisibis and Nahardea, in Mesopotamia.

Such are some of the facts to which Volkmar appeals in support of his interpretation of our author's mystery. Ewald shares his conviction that *taxo* signifies a real and well-known name. Moreover, he is likewise assured that the name is neither that of the Messiah nor of any forerunner of the Messiah. It denotes the leader of the movement of the time, the head of those who will be faithful to the law even unto death. And whom does Ewald fix upon to answer

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\* Synhedrin, xiii. 6.

† Ibid. xiv.; Graetz, 195.

this description?—the father of Judas the Gaulonite. “If we only knew his name,” we should discover the meaning of 431. But in no feature does the prophet’s description seem to suit the first rising against the census of Quirinius. “Taxo” does not call his disciples to arms, but bids them quietly fulfil the law in secret. Moreover, as Langen has observed, the warrior Judas could scarcely be called a Levite; that points clearly to a man of the law.

Hilgenfeld likewise fails to give any satisfactory explanation of this passage, which, from its plenitude of detail, seems to rest upon a clear and well-known historical basis. He refers, however, to the events of Maccabean history and Mattathias’ zeal for the law. True, he was of priestly descent, and he had five sons, whom he excited to revolt against the wantonness of the king. But, as Volkmar observes, five is not seven; and Mattathias and his sons, who *were ready to break the law to save it* (1 Macc. ii. 40—48), by no means resemble “Taxo” and his “sons,” *who will die for the law rather than break it*. And, indeed, as we have noticed above, the whole policy of the Maccabees was repugnant to our author’s zealous enthusiasm for the law. So far had they been unfaithful to the ideal of faithfulness unto death, that they had even made alliance in their defence with Gentiles.

The rest of the prophecy (xi. 25—xii. 35) describes the immediate advent of the kingdom of God:

“Then will His kingdom appear in the whole of His creation. Then will the devil have an end, and mourning shall be taken away with him. Then shall be filled (i.e. accomplished) the hands of the angel,\* who stands in the highest place, who shall forthwith avenge them of their enemies. Then shall the Heavenly One rise from the seat of His kingdom, and shall come forth from His holy habitation with indignation and wrath on account of His children; and the earth shall tremble, even to its ends shall it be shaken, and the high mountains shall be made low and shall be shaken, and the valleys shall sink. The sun shall give no light,† and the horns of the moon shall turn themselves into darkness, and shall be broken; and the whole earth shall be turned into blood, and the circle of the stars shall be disturbed.

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\* Apparently Moses, who (xv. 9) is called a great angel of God; but cf. Dan. xii. 1.

† Cf. Is. xiii. 10; Joel iii. 15; Matt. xxiv. 29; Esr. Proph. vi. 24, &c.

And the sea shall sink into the abyss, and the springs of waters shall fail, and the rivers shall be greatly afraid. For there shall rise the most high God, the Eternal, the only One, and He shall come openly, that He may avenge the nations, and destroy all their idols.

“Then shalt thou be happy, Israel, and thou shalt mount upon the neck and wings of the eagle, and they shall have their fulfilment. And God *will exalt thee, and make thee to abide among the stars of heaven*, in the place of their habitation, *and thou shalt look down from above, and shalt see thine enemies on the earth, and shalt recognize them*; thou shalt rejoice and give thanks, and confess to thy Creator.

“Now, do thou, Joshua, son of Nun, keep these words, and this book. For from the time of my being received up until His coming there shall be 250 times which shall come to pass. And this shall be the course of them, which they shall run until they be ended. Now I shall go to the sleep of my fathers. As for thee, O Joshua, son of Nun, strengthen thyself; God hath chosen thee to be my successor of this same covenant.”

But Joshua falls at Moses' feet; he rends his garments; he bewails Moses' departure:

“What place will receive thee up, or what will be the monument of thy burial, or who will dare to transfer thy body thence, as of a man, from place to place? For to all who die, according to their age there is a burial in the ground. But thy tomb—from the rising of the sun even to the going down thereof, and from the south even to the ends of the north,—the whole world is thy tomb, O Lord! And who shall nourish this people? or who is there who will have pity upon them? And who shall be their leader in the way, or who shall pray for them? How shall I lead this people as a father his only son, or as his daughter who is a virgin?” . . . (xiii. 26—xiv. 10).

But Moses encourages him:

“Joshua, do not despise thyself, but shew thyself tranquil, and attend to my words. All the nations which are in the world has God created: and He has foreseen us, both us and them, from the beginning of the creation of the world, even to the end of the age. And nothing has been neglected by Him even to the smallest, but He has foreseen and foredetermined everything with them. For God has predisposed everything that should happen on this earth, and lo, it is being brought to pass. The Most High hath appointed me to pray for them and for their sins, and to intercede for them. For not through my strength or my weak-



ness, but through His mercy and long-suffering have these things happened to me. For I tell thee, Joshua, not on account of the piety of this people shalt thou utterly destroy the nations. All the firmament of heaven and the world were made and approved by God, and are under the ring of His right hand. They, therefore, that do and fulfil the commandments of God increase and accomplish a good course. For if they sin and neglect His commandments, they shall lack the good things which are foretold, and they shall be punished by the Gentiles with many torments. For that He should entirely destroy and abandon them, is impossible. For God hath gone forth, who hath foreseen all the ages, and His covenant is established" . . . . (xv. 38—xvi. 48).

Here the MS. suddenly breaks off. The missing leaves doubtless contained the dispute over the body of Moses referred to by the author of the Epistle of Jude; the moral of which was, possibly, something of this kind: though one portion as of the lawgiver, so of the law itself (e.g. all the laws relating to the temple-sacrifice, &c.), is fallen into the grave, nevertheless, another portion remains immortal, and is saved by the protecting spirit of monotheism for the starry heaven of God, where the whole of Israel, since it is driven from the earth, shall have the habitation of its triumph.

In reviewing the leading features of this curious book, we are struck at once with the entire absence of any reference to a personal Messiah. The prophetic utterance of Moses is completed; but when the end of the world is described, and the angel's work is accomplished, God, and not the Messiah, is the sole and immediate agent of the restoration and exaltation of Israel. He himself will come forth openly to take vengeance on the nations and destroy their idols. Moreover, the home of Israel for the future is to be no longer on the earth, with Jerusalem as the seat of empire, but in the firmament of heaven among the stars of God. In the arrangements of the Advent, all mention of a Messiah and a judgment is omitted; and this, although the critics are mostly agreed that our author was acquainted with the Apocalypse possibly, but certainly with the book of Enoch and the 4th of Ezra, where the local details are so minutely recounted as to leave no room for doubt as to the meaning.

Whence comes, then, this silence about a Messiah? We

may safely say that it proves decisively that the author of the prophecy of Moses was not a Christian. A Christian Apocalypse without a Messiah would be absurd and impossible. But the expectation of a coming Messiah was common, though in different ways, to both Jews and Christians. Either, then, the book must have been written *before* the hope of a *personal* Messiah was clearly defined, or *after that hope had died away*. Now, under the first supposition, the evidence of the book itself is sufficiently clear that it could not have been composed until at any rate after the reign of Herod. But if the book of Enoch is to be trusted as a competent and genuine witness to the state of Jewish opinion in the generation immediately preceding that of Jesus, the Messianic idea had reached a considerably advanced stage of development when he first commenced to preach. And the outbreaks of Jewish fanaticism from time to time during the first century, abundantly shew that the hope of a coming Messiah was still ardently cherished. If, then, the Jews entertained this belief, and we know that for a considerable time they did, our author, inasmuch as he could not have lived before it arose, must have written when it had died away naturally or had been violently destroyed. Now this second alternative—the annihilation of their dream of the earthly sovereignty of a Messiah and the supremacy among the nations of the Chosen People—was at length brought about, *but not till after the fall of Barcochab*, who had been accepted and welcomed by his contemporaries as the fulfilment of the promise to Israel. If this be so, then the author's silence about a Messianic kingdom upon earth, whose seat should be at Jerusalem, is also explained. Jerusalem was completely destroyed, razed to the ground. No Jew might approach it. Above its gates a swine was placed. It was made a Roman colony. It had passed out of possession of Israel for ever; it should never more be theirs. And, accordingly, the writer, going back to the history of their first settlement in the Promised Land, calls their ancient city a "*colonia*,"\* as if to recognize that it was only something temporary, and had not been given them in perpetuity for ever; they might be recalled from it. For them,

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\* Is there not also a side reference to the fact that Jerusalem was really—and for the first time—called a "*colonia*" after Barcochab's fall, A.D. 135?

however, God has provided otherwise. "It is impossible that He should utterly destroy and abandon them; His covenant is established." If there be no place for them on earth, they shall be raised to heaven, and there among the stars of God shall find an abode from which they may look down in triumph upon the nations wrangling below.

Nor could the temple have so entirely dropped out of remembrance in this Jewish picture of the nation's destiny, had it been still the centre of the national religious life when the picture was drawn. The "man of the tribe of Levi" exhorts his "sons" to be ready "to die for the law;" why is nothing said of the temple, and the worship to the regulation of which so large a part of the law was devoted? This would surely have been impossible, had not the temple and its service perished long ago, and the hope of its splendid restoration likewise faded away, so that its place in Jewish reverence had been filled by the law.

These indications, gathered from a general and independent survey of the book, combine to suggest its Jewish authorship and its late date.\* Moreover, they also confirm the origin assigned to it by Volkmar, viz. that it was written in behalf of the celebrated R. Akiba, after the fall of Barcochab and the entire destruction of all the nation's hopes of possible future restoration, but before the death of Hadrian and the withdrawal of his severe edicts against the Jews,—consequently about the year 137 A.D. But if this be so, the date of the Epistle of Jude, which quotes the book, is transposed to the second century, and its claim to be a work of the apostolic age simply vanishes. But who has set up this claim on its behalf? Not necessarily the Epistle itself: Volkmar has with great acuteness and probability set upon a new basis its pretension to be the work of a "servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James."

As the writer simply announces himself as the "brother of James," it is evident that the James in question was well known. Most critics seem agreed that the head or bishop

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\* But we cannot think that Volkmar is justified in adducing this book, which at this late date is absolutely destitute of all Messianic representations, in support of his pet theory, viz. that the whole system of Messianic doctrine first formed and constituted itself round the person of Jesus; so that the whole of the Apocalyptic literature is post-Christian, and bases itself on the Apocalypse of John.

of the Jewish-Christian church at Jerusalem, the brother of Jesus, is intended. We know that he had a brother named Jude. But if Jude, the writer of the Epistle, was really the brother of this James, he was also the brother of Jesus; and one might at least have expected this superior relationship, rather than the other, to be fixed upon, as entitling the author's letter to be respectfully received. Is the Epistle, then, put forth in Jude's name that it might shelter itself under apostolic authority? Not necessarily. Jude may have been a "brother," not after the flesh, but after the spirit. Sometimes a bishop spoke of his predecessors in the same church, or his colleagues in other churches, as his "kinsmen;"\* and possibly the title of a bishop of the church at Jerusalem was "brother of James," the first bishop. Moreover, we find that the term, "servant of Jesus Christ," though in the first century it denoted an apostle, in the second century was used of a bishop.† Now, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, under Adrian's edict, 135 A.D., the bishop of the Jewish-Christian church—and he was the last bishop of this, the parent community—was named Jude.‡

If this happy surmise be correct, the Epistle is nothing but what it professes to be, and the mistake of the church is at least excusable. The case is certainly somewhat different with regard to the second Epistle of Peter, which appears to have been based on the Epistle of Jude. Its date is shifted still later on, possibly into the second half of the second century,—a supposition which is partly strengthened by the entire silence about it of the writers of the first half.§

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

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\* *συγγενεῖς*. Euseb. Ecc. Hist. v. 24, 6. Cf. Paul's use of the term "brother," 1 Cor. i. 1, and 2 Cor. i. 1.

† Euseb. Ecc. Hist. vi. 11, 5.

‡ Ibid. iv. 4, 5.

§ Westcott, art. Canon, Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.

## VII.—THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE AND THE RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTY.

Two great questions stand for immediate consideration—the condition of the people of Ireland and the condition of the children of England. A great present terror has compelled us to face the first; a dim foreboding warns us to consider the second. We are in the midst, indeed, of a singular awakening of the public mind on the question of Education. But still more remarkable is the *change* that has come over the public mind on this question. If, three or four years ago, it had been told us that the great advocates of Voluntaryism would join the great advocates of State-Churchism in asking for a system of compulsory education, supported in some form by public money, the speaker would have been everywhere laughed at, if he had been anywhere listened to. But we live in rapid times; and our transformations are as rapid as our lives; and no one seems long amazed to see Mr. Disraeli come out as an advocate of Democracy, or to hear Mr. Miall and Mr. Baines declare for compulsion. But “let the dead bury their dead.”

But if the advance of the public mind has been great on the subject of compulsion as against voluntaryism, no less significant is its advance on the still more important subject of secular as against denominational, or rather dogmatic, teaching. And yet this is the change that does not as yet seem to be adequately comprehended; for it is still believed by the advocates of the old system that the public are anxious to have denominationalism retained as the recognized characteristic of a national system of education. How long it will take to undeceive them, it is hard to say; but that they *will* have to be undeceived is clear. The truth is, the public are sick and tired of the so-called “religious difficulty,” and of the obstructions so persistently thrown in the way of a good, healthy and unsectarian system, by the fuss made about creeds, chapters, parsons and prayers.

It is remarkable, by the way, that this fact seemed to be hidden from the eyes of the majority of those who spoke at the late Conference held at Manchester; though it is very doubtful whether it was hidden from those who listened. It seemed to be taken for granted all through, except by



two or three outspoken men, that the old system of clerical interference, and the mixing up of dogmatic with secular teaching in State-supported schools, is to go on. That this surprising misapprehension did exist from the first is plain from the fact, that, in the order of business printed before the Conference met, the last point put down for consideration was, whether secular schools should be admitted at all ; it being understood that even this was only an act of grace, that secular schools might just be named.

We pass on at once, however, to state the propositions we wish to illustrate and defend as the basis for a just and really comprehensive system of national education. They are five in number : 1st, that, with certain provisions for local management, the establishment of good schools in towns and rural districts should be compulsory ; 2nd, that, with certain restrictions and carefully considered exceptions, the attendance of all children at such schools should be compulsory ; 3rd, that such schools, being established or supported by public money, ought to be used for purely public purposes ; 4th, that though denominational schools may be received and assisted, they should not be accepted as the type of school desired by the public and the State ; and, 5th, that dogmatic or doctrinal teaching should not enter into a just and healthy system of national, and especially of compulsory, education. The first two points need not be considered at any length. We only name them here to lay a ground for what is to come after. For the whole argument depends on the supposition that we are advocating a national system of compulsory education. The case would be very materially, though not entirely, altered if we were only advocating an extension of the present system of giving aid to schools optionally established and optionally attended. Two points will have to be considered in connection with this matter of compulsion : 1st, the *need* of compulsion ; and, 2nd, the *right* of compulsion. As to the first of these, nearly all who are best entitled to speak on the matter bear testimony that it is almost impossible to get even good schools attended, in spite of canvassing, free admission and almost bribing. A good deal of this must be put down to indifference, something to downright stupidity, not a little to intemperance ; but it is useless to attempt to hide the fact (for this is the great difficulty) that the

keeping of children from school is mainly owing to the fact that parents either need or desire to have the few shillings their children can bring home by work or by that hanging about the street which is a compound of work, beggary and theft. Figures we need not quote; we may take it for granted, that if anything like a general system of education is to be greatly successful, some system of compulsion, with a fair margin for exceptions, must be adopted to get the children to school, however numerous and however good the schools may be. But the need of compulsion has reference also to the *providing* of schools. And here, again, the need is abundantly confessed; for it is not only a question as to the number of schools in existence, but it is much more a question as to their *quality* or kind; and what we want is, that each town or district shall be compelled to provide *good* schools that in time shall starve out or alter the character of the bad schools. And it is not too much to say that the need of compulsion here is as evident as the need of compulsion in enforcing attendance; for if the poor are stupid, the rich are not always wise; if the many are selfish, the few are not always self-denying; and, both in our large towns and in our rural districts, there is abundant room and abundant need for the putting on of that screw without which the greedy, the careless and the unpatriotic can never be reached. For this is the great virtue of a general rate, that it is a big net which catches the shy fishes and brings the stingy souls to land.

But the second point, the *right* of compulsion, is not so clear; and it will not be clear for a long time to Englishmen. For the very word has an ugly sound; and yet we often submit to compulsion, and often even reverence it, because we see that it is the only condition on which social and political life is possible amongst men. The right of compulsion in the matter of erecting and maintaining schools is, and will be, much more evident than the right of compulsion in the matter of enforcing *attendance*; for already, in many ways, localities are compelled to tax themselves for general purposes—as, for instance, to relieve and maintain the poor; and surely if we can justly be compelled to provide relief and a workhouse, we have little room to object when asked to provide those better things, education and a school-house. The other point, the right of compulsion in the matter of attendance, we are not quite so clear about;

we only know it will require a much more careful handling, that we may arrive at a just, discreet and practically useful decision. We shall have to consider, for instance, what exceptions there shall be : that is to say, what shall justify non-attendance ; at what age children shall commence to attend, and at what age they shall be allowed to leave school ; what the parents shall pay, whether a fixed charge for all or a graduated scale according to ability. But these are all points of detail, and may safely be left for future arrangement. The two essential points are, that the Government shall say to each district, You must not let these children grow up utterly ignorant and neglected ; and that each district shall say to the parents, You must not, and, in case you are obstinate, you shall not, injure your children, your neighbourhood and your country, by keeping your children in ignorance, and turning them out upon society, sometimes to make open war upon it by crime, and sometimes to burden it by idleness or incapacity. This involves, we know, a doctrine which needs to be applied with caution, but the doctrine is sound enough if it be carefully and justly applied ; for beyond a certain point a man's right to do what he likes with his own ceases. But already, as a matter of fact, compulsory education is in force ; for, in factories and mills, children under a certain age have to spend a portion of their time at school, and it is hard to say why the law that is good for masters in the mill should not be good for parents in the home. But, on this head, it may be useful to quote the words of our great master on the subject of Liberty, J. Stuart Mill. We are not, indeed, sure that he would apply his doctrine as we propose to apply it, but we may adopt his words : " Whenever there is a definite damage, or a definite risk of damage, either to an individual or to the public, the case is taken out of the province of liberty, and placed in that of morality or law." He also distinctly says, that " if society lets any considerable number of its members grow up mere children, incapable of being acted on by rational consideration of distant motives, society has itself to blame for the consequences." We hold that these statements cover the whole case, and that if these doctrines be true, the State has an undoubted right to protect itself and to protect the rights of children by providing for their compulsory education.

We pass on now to the third proposition, that such

schools as are established and supported by public money ought to be used for purely public and in nowise for sectarian or denominational purposes. Now we venture to say that this proposition would be universally acknowledged as a truism that needed no argument, that scarcely needed stating, but for the fact that we are committed to a system which is interwoven with the whole legislation of the country on the subject of education. We are, in truth, steeped to the lips in denominationalism, and are struggling in the coils of the so-called "religious difficulty;" and the reason for this is, that education has been left to the enterprise of individuals or the zeal of the denominations. In this way it has come to pass, that when the question of giving aid to schools was debated, it was the church and chapel people who had the most to say on the matter; and any proposal to encourage education for purely secular purposes was met with absurd cries of horror and ridiculous imputations of impiety. And yet, in the absence of all this, what is more logical, reasonable or just than that what is established or supported from a public fund should be devoted to a public purpose? But what public purpose is answered by that part of the work of a denominational school which consists in the learning of a catechism or the listening to little dogmatic sermons from a clergyman? That is a private affair, and should be left to itself, and not intruded into the proper business of the school. The reply is, that there is a "conscience-clause." But what is this "conscience-clause"? It is an ingenious contrivance for doing nothing. It permits a parent to object in writing to the dogmatic part of the teaching of the school, and, if a sharp eye is kept on the master, the objection may protect his child. But what right has any Government to give to any State-aided school-manager the power to say, "If you do not want your child to learn these things, you must beg him off"? On the contrary, it is the school-manager who ought to ask *consent*, and not the parent who ought to be put to the trouble and annoyance of *objecting*. But, beyond this, we maintain that the subject of theology has no business in a State or rate aided school at all. This is, indeed, so plain, that whenever the present system of giving Government aid is revised and extended, or when local rates are levied for the establishment and support of schools, the whole system

will have to be altered ; and public schools will be schools to which parents of all opinions can send their children, with the comfortable feeling that nothing will be taught but what belongs to the true business of a public day-school.

Sectarian or private religious opinions, if taught at all, should be taught before or after regular school hours, and only to those who are specially sent for the purpose. That a provision of this kind would practically defeat the objects of those who now keep school for denominational purposes, we are quite ready to admit ; for it is certain that the number of scholars who would be sent for the special instruction would be small indeed. But this only proves that what is called "religious instruction" is now only endured because there is at present no help for it. But the ground we take is this,—that the business of the State is to attend to secular affairs, and that if it interferes in the matter of education, it should be to secure definite secular ends. We do not mean by this that denominational schools may not properly be aided by Government : we only say that where such aid is given, it should be required that all matters of doctrine and divinity be kept out of the regular school hours ; but especially that, having regard to this proposed system of a national compulsory education, the schools to be *hereafter* established by public funds should be schools from which the denominational or dogmatic element must be kept *entirely* out ; that such schools, in fact, should be established and supported by the public, not to manufacture little Church-people or little Dissenters, or little orthodox theologians, but to make the children mentally healthy, and to fit them for the great business of life in a world where, above all things, we need bright eyes and disciplined, instructed minds.

The Bishop of Oxford, in a speech lately delivered, shewed that he, with his usual shrewdness, saw this clearly enough. He said that he objected to compulsory rating for educational purposes, because compulsory rating meant the giving to the ratepayers the right to decide what the education shall be. This the Bishop of Oxford objects to. He is for keeping education in the hands of the clergy, and he is afraid, he says, that the British ratepayer would take the question of education out of their hands, that he would make a clean sweep of many things that have no business



in a day-school at all, and say to the creed-makers, "The public school is no place for you." The Archbishop of Canterbury, at the same meeting, expressed the same fear, and said that he would oppose any attempt to separate day-school education from the teaching of the creeds and the instructions of the clergyman. But it is too late in the day now to say these things; for it is plain that where State or rate aid is given for educational purposes, it must ultimately come to the drawing of a clear line between the public purposes of a school and the private views of denominations and individuals. It will, of course, be always possible for individuals or societies to establish schools of another kind; and if they can make them better schools than those supported by public money, they will and they ought to starve the others out. But what is clear is this, that if we are to have schools supported by public funds, either paid by Government out of a general fund or by local rates, the schools thus supported must have nothing whatever to do with theology or religious teaching of any kind: they must, in fact, be schools for the sole purpose of training children for the practical business of life, all else being left to parents, ministers and others, who must make or find their own opportunities for teaching what they think necessary.

This leads us on now to the fourth proposition, that though denominational schools may be assisted and received, they should not be accepted as the type of school desired by the public and the State. At present the schools of the country are, for the most part, in the hands of the denominations: many thanks to them for doing the work the State neglected! To these denominational schools the State already offers aid, giving grants according to attendance. But this is a compromise and a matter of policy; for it is really not the business of the State to pay money for the teaching of religious opinions. But the State very wisely said, "What are we to do, then? Here are the children needing education, and here are schools already provided: why not use up the power we have, and do the best we can with what already exists? It is true that we seem to be supporting denominational teaching, but what we really support is the secular part of the teaching of denominational schools, the rest being permitted simply because we cannot help ourselves." But it was always plain, and it

was never plainer than now, that denominational schools are not the model schools of the future ; and that, in particular, they are not the model schools to be established and supported by public funds.

And here, once more, there would be no need to assert this, if it were not for the fact that we are bound hand and foot by a system that depends for its existence upon policy instead of principle. And it is singular to observe how completely this regard for policy has closed the eyes of some excellent friends of education to what is so obviously just. Thus, for example, we find Mr. Le Mare concluding his speech, as Chairman of the Manchester Conference Committee, by emphatically declaring that the coming Bill would have nothing to do with secular schools. There is something so amazing in this, that we hardly know whether to take such utterances as mere instances of a misreading of the signs of the times, or as indicating determined adherence to sectarian aims. We give these earnest friends of education the benefit of the doubt, and conclude that they simply do not see where we are, and do not perceive that the type of school to be hereafter established as a State or rate supported school is the secular rather than the sectarian.

We come now to the last proposition, which brings us to the very heart of the whole question,—that dogmatic or doctrinal teaching should not enter into a just and healthy system of national, and especially of compulsory, education *at all*. And for this we give three reasons :—1, that at the early age when children should be at school, they are not able to understand the Bible read at random, or to comprehend the language, much less the sense, of the dogmas which are usually taught as the sum and substance of religion ; 2, that the first business of life is to prepare children to live well here ; 3, that it is in nowise the duty of the State, or of the schoolmaster assisted by the State, to provide for the spread of dogmatic peculiarities.

The first of these three reasons is, or ought to be, obvious enough ; for it is plainly absurd to attempt to make children comprehend the dogmas that puzzle and muddle the heads of great divines ; and it is clear, for instance, that children should learn in arithmetic, and not in divinity, their rule-of-three. But the thing called religious teaching, as defined

and regulated by the Government, is the reading of a piece of Bible. It does not matter *what* is read, so long as it is something from the book, the bare reading of any portion of which is supposed to work somehow like a charm. Sometimes the chapter may be glaringly inappropriate, often quite unintelligible, and occasionally positively unfit to be read aloud to children, but this matters not: the charm will work whatever the words may be. To this regulation "exhibition" of a chapter, a scrap of catechism or a little dogmatic sermon, having no relation to life, and especially to the life of children, is often added. And what is the result of it all? Simply this, that inspectors all over the country tell us that nothing is easier than to go into these schools, and prove that not one child in ten has any real knowledge of the Bible they almost get to hate, or of the dogmas they never try to love. It is a mercy, perhaps, that the children do *not* remember more of what they sometimes hear; but what a shocking waste of time and power it is, to bring in this needless obstruction to a true education and to the true work of a school! We need not wonder at the reports we hear as to the answers the examiners get from puzzled children on these matters. As, for instance, the little dialogue between the examiner who was thinking of geography, and the little boy who was thinking of divinity:

"Where were you born?"

"Please, Sir, in sin."

Or this:

"Who was David?"

"The son of Jesse."

"Who was Jesse?"

"The flower of Dumblane."

Later school reports give us new but not better instances of the absurdity of teaching lads and girls the catechism and the creeds than those already well known. As, for instance, the version of "the Belief" written by a lad in a national school at the request of the examiner:

"I belive in God the all mighty maker of Heaven and in Jesus Christ the only son of God who was conseved by the holy Gost born of the vuirgen Marry soffed under panshed plited was Squest fied ded and beded he desended into heel the third day he rose again from the ded he descended into Heaven and setted

hat the right hand of God the father all might maker of Heaven and earth the see and all that in them is and rested upon the Seventh day and Howard it."

Or this, written by a boy described as "intelligent," in answer to the question,

"What did your godfathers and godmothers then for you?"

"They did promis and voal three things in my name, first that I should pernounce of the devel and all his walks, pumps, and valities of this wicked wold, and all the sinful larsts of the flesh, &c."

Now these scholars had been learning and repeating the Catechism for four or five years, and this was the result! We do not say the questions and answers they had learnt were not true; we only say they were not understood, and that by children they *could not* be understood. The whole thing, repeated by rote, parrot-like, had simply muddled their poor little brains. And this is only what we might expect: for it is absurd to suppose that young children, crammed before their time with this sort of thing, can get any good out of it. And even as regards the perpetual and indiscriminate use of the Bible itself, who does not know that children are often made to hate it? And what wonder, when, as is sometimes the case, it is made an instrument of torture, a chapter being considered a kind of fine or penalty, to learn which is the punishment meted out for an offence! The Bible, in the hands of a good mother or a thoughtful father, is a priceless aid in the education of children, but what it is in the hands of a "hide-bound pedant," or even of the ordinary good routine schoolmaster, let results declare. What have little English children to do, at present, with Leviticus, and the wars of the Jews, and the kings of Israel and Judah? Would it not be better,—would there not be more religion in it,—if they were put to learn something about themselves, their fellow-creatures, their duty, or their country? For this *is* the great work of the day-school,—to fit children for the work of this life, and not to waste their time and strength, and muddle their heads, by any premature and utterly useless attempts to teach them scraps of divinity. It is little time they can give, and but little strength they have to spare, and every moment of the one and every particle of the other are needed for the proper work of the school.

But the indiscriminate reading of the Bible in schools may be positively injurious, as well as practically useless, especially if the suggestion of a clerical writer on this subject is carried out, that the Bible should be read *through* once a year! Let any one consider what that means, when, in order to read the Bible through, we have to go through the books of Numbers and Leviticus. But, apart from what is positively unfit for public reading to children, there is an immense deal in the Bible that must ever be a dead letter to the young, the reading of which would not only be a waste but a weariness, and a bringing of the Bible into contempt. So that to regard this reading of the Bible as making all the difference between a secular and a religious school, is both a superstition and an absurdity;—a superstition because it makes religion to consist in a mere form, and an absurdity because no real effect for good is produced; and it is a piece of tyranny to which not even a *poor* man should be exposed, that he shall be compelled to subject his child to share in a superstition and an absurdity, or pay the penalty by keeping his child in ignorance at home—that his child shall not have the piece of bread, unless he takes with it the regulation pill.

If the teacher strove to make his scholars ashamed of lying and swearing and cheating and selfishness, this, they say, would be mere “godless morality;” but if he got up and read about pigeons, and he-goats, and the blood of bulls, and heifers, and Gog and Magog, and Mesopotamia, *that*, forsooth, would be religion! Our own opinion is, that there would be a great deal more religion in teaching the child something about itself; and that the really religious teaching would be, not the bit of magical reading, but the spoken word of life. For this reason, then, that children while at school cannot get any good out of catechisms, creeds and the indiscriminate public reading of the Bible, we hold that nothing of the kind should enter into a scheme of national education. But, beyond this, there is a real grievance in this indefinite Bible reading. It should not be in the power of a teacher in a public school to intrude his private dogmatic views upon his scholars; but he will always have this power, and parents will always be subject to this wrong and injustice, so long as he is not only allowed but compelled to read the Bible. In the hands of judicious, just



and generous men, this regulation might do no harm ; but it is a dangerous, and is often a pernicious, weapon by which damage is done to the consciences and the feelings of both parents and children ; therefore should it be kept out altogether, and the work of the school be confined to practical affairs.

The second reason is, that the first great business of life is to prepare children to *live* well. Whatever world there is to come, or whatever world we shall come to, after this, it is pretty clear that God meant us to *begin* with this. He has placed us *here* ; and our duty to God, our duty to ourselves, and our duty to others, require that we should make it our first business to live well here. There is of course a great truth in the saying that we ought to be prepared for another world ; but surely the best way of preparing for another world is to be faithful in this ; therefore we would say as little as possible to children about death and the judgment, and heaven and hell. And yet read the books that are sometimes written for children—full of everything that is unnatural and diseased. Or listen to the absurd or sometimes the horrible little sermons preached to children in our schools. Hear how they are called upon to prepare for death almost before the poor little things have begun to live, and to be in agonies about pardon before they have begun to sin. It is this that perpetuates the errors and superstitions of the past ; it is this that makes it such uphill work to teach the people to think healthily and freely on matters *really* pertaining to religion. Now, children need very little of this kind of thing. What they need is, to be shewn as speedily as possible what they are, where they are, and what they have to do. That is our programme of a true day-school education ; all else is waste of power and waste of time ; an impertinence, an injustice, and an intrusion. Teach them *what* they are ; tell them, therefore, something about the laws of health, of which they are at present disgracefully ignorant ; something about the body, its perils and its possibilities ; the mind, the conscience, the heart, and that living principle, “the life o’ the building.” Teach them *where* they are ; tell them, therefore, something about the world they live in, the country they call their own, the laws that govern us here, the great and good men who won our liberties and kept and keep afloat this ark of the Lord

in the world ; train them, therefore, to think it as religious a thing to be told of the kings of England as of the kings of Israel and Judah ; and let the names of Milton and Cromwell and Shakspeare be as devoutly mentioned as the names of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob ; and if we tell them of the Hebrew Moses who did well for Israel, let us not forget the Saxon Alfred who did well for England : so shall we make the Lord God something more than a local Deity, and so shall we practically declare that He is not far from every one of *us*. Teach them also what they have to do ; tell them, therefore, something of the ordinary duties of life ; something of the laws of trade, of which they are taught next to nothing now ; something of the duties of masters and servants, the nature of politics, the conditions of citizenship, and the duties of the rulers and the ruled. I say these are the things that *ought* to make up the business of every-day school teaching, and that *must* make up the work of every publicly-supported school. The priest, with his sacramental or theological tackle, must be kept outside ; the Bible itself, as a drudge book, or task book, or regulation, magical reading book, must cease to be enforced ; and nothing must be allowed to uselessly exhaust any portion of the time or the little strength that can by the children be given to this first great business of life—the learning how to *live* ; on which point I am thankful that I can quote the words of no less an authority than Mr. Ruskin, who has said of children, “ Make them men first, and religious men afterwards, and all will be sound ; but a knave’s religion is always the rottenest thing about him.”

The last reason is, that it is in nowise the duty of the State, or of the schoolmaster assisted by the State, to provide for the spread of dogmatic peculiarities. This has been so abundantly argued that we shall leave this part of the subject where it stands, simply naming it here in its place. It may not yet be self-evident, but it will be, and must be clear before long, that a system of *national* education, established and regulated by the State, or otherwise supported by public money, must ultimately be a system of secular education. For a time, as a matter of policy or necessity, schools of the old kind may be received, and the Bible regulation may be enforced or allowed ; but in the end it will be seen that it is not only illogical but unjust to admit

into public schools anything that interferes with the primary and only work of a school—the education of children for secular affairs. All we ask for is, that things which differ may be kept apart. The creeds and the catechism may be the truest things in the world, and the best things to teach, but let them be taught in proper places and at proper times ; and the proper place is not the State or rate supported school, and the proper time is not when the children should be learning to master their spelling-books or write their names.

And now what is the great principle which underlies all that we have here advanced ? For there *is* a principle at stake here, little as it may at present be seen. It is not a paltry controversy about details ; it is not a squabble about methods. These ripples may disturb the surface, but there is a deep current beneath. Our cause is the cause of the complete emancipation of the human mind from the bondage of old-world superstitions of priest and creed. We are on the eve of one more struggle between the old order and the new. That old order received *full* utterance a year or two ago, when the Pope, before all the world, cursed those who denied that the right and duty of educating the children resided with the church and the priest ; and it finds a lingering utterance in the so-called “religious difficulty” here. But it is *not* a “religious difficulty ;” it is a Pope’s difficulty, a priest’s difficulty, a chapel difficulty, a church difficulty ; and it is not doubtful what the end of *that* will be.

The great principle at stake, then, goes deeper down than this bare question of education. For we are not only entering upon a new phase of the question of *education*, we are also entering upon a new phase of the question of *religion* ; and these are bound up the one with the other. What was once called religion (an affair of creed-making and creed-believing, of forms, and sacraments, and priests, and rituals) is all gliding away ; while the real religion, the religion of natural piety—the religion of being good and of doing good—the religion of love to God and love to man, is coming forth to the resurrection, let us hope, of everlasting life. And this is what lies at the heart of this movement. “The chief priests and rulers” may not see it—or they may not be willing to own it ; and only a voice as of one crying in the wilderness may proclaim it ; but there is the deep current that is carrying all this mighty movement on, and though

the men of the old order may not know it, they *feel* it ; and we may safely predict a tremendous struggle ere the old order can be changed for the new. But the change *will* come ; and the priest with his saving charm, and the preacher with his saving creed, will give place in our schools—aye, and in our churches—to the teacher with his declarations concerning those great laws of life, for want of the knowledge of which the people all around us perish. Then, indeed, in the truest sense, religion *will* be taught in our schools ; not as a form or as the magical reading of magical words, but as a reality for all life ; for the schoolmaster, magnifying his office, will himself be truest priest amongst his scholars ; and he will teach them truth, obedience, unselfishness, charity, purity, and love to the dear God who loves us, and love to one another for the great Father's sake. And in that day *he* will be accounted best to have taught religion, not who has done any regulation work of mechanical routine, but who has filled young minds with bright thoughts, and fired their young hearts with noble ardours, and given them a desire to live for pure and generous ends. Then will men know what religion really *is* ; and they will find God, not in thunder-clouds of terror or seated on a "great white throne," but in the beautiful laws and beneficent order of this lower world, in all the duties of our common way, where He ever breathes the whisper of His will. Then we shall hear no more of the need of patchwork, makeshift "conscience-clauses ;" but, with this simple teaching of the religion of human nature, *all* will be satisfied because none will be aggrieved ; for all will be grateful that their children are taught their practical duty here to God and man.

We plead, then, for a national system of secular education. We are for listening to no cry that asks us to consider the cost of it ; heartily agreeing with those who say, "We have heard enough of the cost of education, tell us something now of the cost of *ignorance*." Every penny we spend in this direction will be so much money put into the bank of nature, and will bring in a large return—"All its gains," says Ruskin, "are at *compound* interest." There are those, indeed, who doubt and fear ; who tell us we are dreamers, and that, do what we will, we shall not alter human nature or uplift or improve it. But this we count a kind of social infidelity—the only infidelity that does us real harm, for it

degrades our nature, and clips the wings of hope, and flings dust in the eyes of the explorer, and threatens to break the heart of the prophet who speaks of better days to come.

Come, then, we would say to all religious teachers, let us cry truce *here*, and at the door of the school-house let us shut up our catechism, and forget that we have a creed; and, whether we can train these children into little church or chapel people or not, let us, at all events, make them decent, disciplined, educated womanly women and manly men. And it may be that the good God will not think so badly of us after all, if, for the present, we cease to contend about Heaven, and only seek to make His poor forsaken children fit for earth.

JOHN PAGE HOPPS.

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#### VIII.—CONFORMITY FROM A NONCONFORMIST POINT OF VIEW.

*The Annotated Book of Common Prayer; being an Historical, Ritual and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England.* Edited by the Rev. J. H. Blunt, M.A., F.S.A. London: Rivingtons. 1866.

*A Collection of the Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Ecclesiastical Cases relating to Doctrine and Discipline, &c.* Edited by Hon. G. C. Brodric and Rev. W. H. Fremantle. London: Murray. 1865.

*Essays and Reviews.* London: Parker. 1860.

A STORY is told of a clergyman who, not long ago, taking up a number of a Review in which appeared an article entitled, "The Freest Church in Christendom," laid it down again somewhat in disgust on discovering that the Church so designated was not the English Establishment, but the National Church of Holland. The fact that no Nonconformist minister would either entertain the expectation or feel the surprise, is not without significance. An Independent minister would assert that the Church of England had barred its claim to be considered free by its connection with



the State ; an Unitarian minister would look upon its creeds and articles as nothing better than gilded chains ; and a Methodist minister, so it was sound in the faith, would care very little whether it was free or not. What is the meaning of this ? How is it that the liberty of the Church of England is estimated so much more highly by those who stand within than by those who remain without her pale ? How is it that recent changes in the law of subscription, which have been accepted as so great a relief to the consciences of clergymen, and are supposed to give "room and verge enough" to theological speculation, have been quite unable to influence conformity, even if they have done anything to check secession ? Men who were uneasy within the Church, abide there with more restful hearts ; but aliens from the fold shew no sign of increased willingness to assume burthens which those who bear them declare to be so light. Except in so far as it tends to hold together in a firmer bond the elements which already co-exist in the Church, the new law of subscription exerts no "comprehending" force.

The criticism upon Conformity and the defence of Nonconformity have commonly been characterized by a bitterness which is eminently inconsistent with the judicial frame of mind. On the one hand, a disputant who believes that an Established Church is in itself an offence against the divine order of things, and an invasion of the rightful liberties of the subject, is hardly likely to examine with calm impartiality the basis of principle upon which such a Church is founded. And, on the other, the debate between Conformist and Nonconformist has a constant tendency to degenerate into a reciprocal criticism of personal motive, which still more surely, if possible, leads away from the just discrimination of the moral questions involved. So long as the Nonconformist is content with recording the reasons why he does not enter the Church, and the Conformist with stating his justification for not leaving it, there is a chance that each may receive valuable information from the other, and a fresh truth be elicited by the comparison of the divergent views. But when the Conformist raises the cry of schism, and the Nonconformist that of base compliance, the discussion of great principles sinks at once into a mean and angry exchange of personalities. Neither can be called upon

to impugn or justify the other's motives. It ought to be enough for each to vindicate his own position.

Our object in the following pages is to examine, from a Nonconformist point of view, the obligations of Conformity to the Church of England. We have no intention of discussing the *locus standi* within the Church of any men or body of men; of bringing High-churchmen to the standard of the Articles, or Evangelicals to that of the Services, or Broad-churchmen to that of the Creeds. The end which we have in view is not controversial at all. We have personally not only no objection to the theory of a National Church, but an ardent desire for the formation of a Church which shall be national, not in name alone, but in fact and in true comprehension; and, for the sake of fellowship in such a Church, would willingly make concessions as to matters of government and organization. Our Nonconformity has always been of the unwilling sort, and we look forward with eager expectation to the time when, without injury to conscientious conviction, it will be possible to exchange it for Conformity. And we desire now to look at the Formularies of the Church of England in such a light as we should be compelled to do were we asking for ordination. What is the legal and moral obligation of subscription? What is involved in the habitual use of the Liturgy? To what doctrinal propositions should we be pledged by the Creeds? That we may avoid the risk of unnecessary controversy, we shall endeavour to answer these questions in the briefest and driest manner consistent with clearness and accuracy. And perhaps in exactly defining our own position in regard to these things, we may succeed in, at least in part, conveying to men of liberal theological views within the Church, what it is that startles and perplexes us in their contented Conformity.

The theological obligations, whether legal or moral, which rest upon a clergyman of the Church of England, arise from three sources: 1st, his subscription to the Articles; 2nd, his general use of the Liturgy; and, 3rd, his recital of the Creeds.

In the first place, the stringency of subscription has of late years been relaxed. The form now used is as follows: "I, A. B., do solemnly make the following declaration: I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the

Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God ; and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments, I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by rightful authority." In comparison with the form of subscription previously imposed, this may well seem like a loosening of bonds ; and yet to one whose limbs are innocent of fetters, it is painfully suggestive of restraint. Much may be said in favour of a Form of Prayer, and against committing the entire course and control of public devotion to the discretion of the minister ; but it would be a grave thing for a Nonconformist minister to abandon every possibility of free speech in the service of God, and to promise in this respect an entire and rigid obedience to constituted authority. High-churchmen who faithfully keep this pledge stand almost aghast at what they think to be the licence of the Dissenting minister ; as, on the other side, Dissenters see in Anglican strictness something almost like slavery to the Prayer-book. But, in the next place, who is to declare what is "the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland" as "set forth" in Articles, Prayer-book and Ordination Service? Who is to reduce to a harmonious whole the jarring elements therein compressed, and then to affirm with confidence that the result is agreeable to the Word of God? Did the formularies assume some such shape as the Westminster Confession, and present themselves as a series of propositions expressing a logically consistent theory, the task would be comparatively easy. A thoughtful and scrupulous candidate for orders would then have little difficulty in giving a plain answer, affirmative or negative, to the demand made upon him. But, as it is, is he to take Dr. Pusey or Dr. McNeile, Mr. Maurice or Dean Stanley, as his exponent of the doctrine of the Church? Or is it enough that his opinions (which must be supposed to be in his own view agreeable to the Word of God) run in the main with those professed by any one of the great parties tolerated within the Church of England? This perhaps may be taken as the usual solution of the difficulty. Only, if it be so—if the Evangelical neglect to try to harmonize with his own the Anglican view of things, or the Liberal Churchman decline to generalize upon "the

doctrine of the Church"—the real meaning of the act of subscription is hardly in accordance with its terms.

To pass from the precise terms of subscription to its general obligation: of what kind is that obligation, and how far does it extend? A now familiar theory alleges that the true obligation of subscription is legal; that as the meaning of the formularies is settled in courts, the constitution and jurisdiction of which are defined by the State, subscription is a compact into which a man enters with the State, rather than an obligation which he takes upon his own conscience; or, at all events, to use the words of Mr. H. B. Wilson, "the strictly legal obligation is the measure of the moral one."\* To a certain extent, we think, this must be admitted. A person in doubt as to the precise meaning of the terms of a compact, may lawfully consult the party with whom the compact has been made, and cannot be held to be bound beyond the intention of that party. Or, to put the case in another shape, the obligation of an oath may be defined by inquiry into the *animus imponentis*, which here the *imponens*, the State, speaking through the courts of law, is ready to declare. Such declarations have been made, not unfrequently, of late years; and as the tendency of lawyers, in opposition to that of divines, is to stretch and loosen the strictness of formularies, the decisions of the courts have been usually in the direction of comprehension. Such has certainly been the result of the Gorham case, of the ineffectual prosecution of Essays and Reviews, and indirectly of the attempt to withhold Dr. Colenso's episcopal income. What may be the issue, in quite a different region of doctrine and practice, of the now pending cases of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, and *Flamank v. Simpson*, we will not undertake to predict. But it must be admitted that, in the causes already decided, the judgment of the courts has actually effected a change in the obligation of subscription, while it is quite possible that further changes may be effected by the same means.

But unless we have mistaken the meaning of those who adopt this theory, they seem to assert, that not only is that to be taken as lawful which the courts distinctly allow, but also that which they have not definitely forbidden, no matter how inconsistent it may appear to be with the terms of

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\* Essays and Reviews, p. 181.

subscription. So far as the first clause of the above statement goes, we are entirely with them. If by any exercise of legal ingenuity it is decided, e.g. that the statement of the second Article, that Christ suffered "to reconcile his Father to us," means the same thing as Paul's declaration, that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself," we are quite willing to admit that the latter, and not the former, is the true doctrine of the Church of England, the Article notwithstanding. But we cannot allow that whatever is not forbidden by the courts is, *ipso facto*, lawful. The case may never have been raised: a prosecutor may have been wanting: legal difficulties, as in the case of the Bishop of Natal, may have interposed an effectual hindrance: there may have been an obvious miscarriage of justice. Surely, it is not meant that a clergyman, regardless of the subscription which he has made, may say and do what he will, until some one chooses to take upon himself the invidious office of prosecution, and to submit the matter to the tedious and expensive arbitrament of the ecclesiastical courts! We cannot but hold that, although the courts can always extend or contract the moral obligation of subscription, that moral obligation remains intact, and must be estimated *in foro conscientie*, in regard to all matters upon which the courts have not distinctly spoken. Because, for instance, there is, so far as we know, no legal decision as to the obligation of believing in the miraculous conception of Christ, a clergyman is not at liberty to teach that he was born, like other men, in wedlock. In that case he must be referred back to the moral obligation which he incurs in assenting to the second Article, and in habitually using the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed. The ecclesiastical courts may at any time relieve him of that obligation, but till they interpose for his relief, it is still binding. The legal is not the measure of the moral obligation, because as a matter of fact they have never been brought side by side.

But, again, a distinction has been drawn between believing and teaching, and it is held that what a clergyman may not publicly teach is not necessarily the same thing as he may not privately believe. Mr. Wilson, in the Essay already referred to,\* says, "As far as opinion privately entertained is concerned, the liberty of the English clergyman appears already

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\* Essays and Reviews, p. 180.



to be complete. For no ecclesiastical person can be obliged to answer interrogations as to his opinions, nor be troubled for that which he has not actually expressed, nor be made responsible for inferences which other people may draw from his expressions." No doubt this is so, if we admit the theory of the coincident extent of the legal and the moral obligations. It is self-evident that the law cannot take cognizance of thoughts and opinions, but only of words and actions. But how fares the distinction between believing and teaching, when we revert to the actual terms of subscription? There, no mention is made of teaching at all: the words used are "assent" and "believe;" words which, however their force may be modified or explained away, must be held to refer directly to the state of the clergyman's own mind, and only indirectly to his intellectual relation to those whom he is appointed to teach. There may be a distinction between merely assenting to the Articles and the Prayer-book, and accepting them "heartily and *ex animo*;" from a certain theological point of view we can discern a difference between declaring a personal belief in "the doctrine of the Church therein set forth," and merely stating a conviction that that doctrine is "agreeable to the Word of God." But in both cases the mark, so to speak, at which subscription aims is precisely the individual belief of the subscriber. It appears to us to be a mere playing with the meaning of words, to assert that there can be no real infringement of the compact implied in subscription except by overt acts. Surely in no other department of life would it be contended that legal and moral obligations are co-extensive, and that only such actions are to be condemned by the conscience as can be brought within the purview of the law.

Another view, not greatly dissimilar to the last, regards the Articles as Articles of Peace, not to be contradicted; which the subscriber accepts, not as the full and authoritative expression of his own belief, but as a kind of theological fence, which is to restrain his speculative wanderings, and against which, in regard of others' scruples and the general unity of the Church, he promises not to remonstrate or rebel. The word "assent" now used in the form of subscription, as well as the words "allow" and "acknowledge" which formerly appeared there, seem to lend some force to this theory, the principal effect of which is to

change the form of the enactment from the positive to the negative, making it define, not what the subscriber shall believe, but what he shall not impugn. But then subscription, either in this view or in that first discussed, becomes a restriction upon speech of the worst possible kind. A clergyman may believe what he likes, if only he abstains from teaching it. He may privately cherish doubts as to any fundamental doctrine of the Church, provided he does not allow those doubts to come to the surface of his public ministry. If, by narrowing the circle of his instructions, he escapes the fatal necessity of saying what he absolutely does not believe, he can never evade the difficulty of saying less than he believes. It would be futile to ask what must be the effect of such a state of things, were it universal or even general, upon the progress of theological science; for, in the view of too many, theology is necessarily, and by the very conditions of its existence, incapable of progress. But how is it consistent with the maintenance of that candour and openness of mind which are the first requisites of successful theological teaching? Still more, how is it consistent with the solemn and precise obligations to instruct the people, and to drive away all erroneous doctrine, accepted by every priest at the time of his ordination?

So much, then, for the *force* of the obligation involved in subscribing the Articles, as it appears to an outside observer. What of its *scope*? This has been to a certain extent modified by recent decisions in the ecclesiastical courts; but hardly, we think, to so great an extent as the vague and general talk of men seems to assume. For it must be recollected that these decisions have the necessary legal character of precision and definiteness; they cover a fixed and limited ground, and can only be stretched beyond it by fresh declarations made by the same authority. And it is not difficult to sum up in few words what the Court of Final Appeal has done to enlarge the liberties of English clergymen. It may be admitted in general terms, that the result of the prosecutions of Essays and Reviews was the discovery that the 16th century had not prophetically anticipated the controversies of the 19th; that in regard to debates rising around the inspiration and authority of Scripture, the formularies of the Church give no clear deliverance; and that upon such questions a clergyman enjoys a far greater latitude of possible opinion than a minister of many other

churches, where, though articles of faith are unknown, they are replaced by an unwritten law of orthodoxy admitting of no deviation. Oddly enough, the one thing a clergyman may not say of a book of the Old and New Testament is, that it is not canonical; which, so far as we know, no one much cares either to affirm or to deny. But while rejoicing in this liberty, and feeling themselves placed by it in a position of scientific enlargement towards the current controversies of the day, clergymen seem to us to overlook the fact, that the doctrinal obligations of subscription have been very slightly relaxed. The practical effect of the Gorham case was to allow the admissibility of an evangelical interpretation of the Baptismal service, and so to release clergymen from the necessity of accepting the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in its high sacramental sense. But, on the other hand, in the case of Rev. D. I. Heath, a divergence from the doctrine of the Atonement contained in the Articles was promptly suppressed by the deprivation of the offender. In regard to the doctrinal offences imputed to them, Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson were condemned in the Court of Arches, though in the Court of Final Appeal they escaped, as it were, "by the skin of their teeth." But it will hardly be contended that the doctrinal liberties of clergymen have been greatly extended by the fact that one or two sentences on Propitiation and Justification have been suffered to pass without entailing penal consequences upon Dr. Williams, or that Mr. Wilson has not been punished for expressing a hope of the final restoration of all men. The Articles will still be the standard by which the admissibility of all future utterances upon Propitiation or Justification must be measured, and the clergyman who ventures to translate Mr. Wilson's "hope" into a dogmatic statement of belief, will find that he has no precedent in his favour. And the instances which we have already quoted exhaust the case. These are the only modifications, or interpretations, in the direction of doctrinal freedom which the Articles have received. In all other respects the letter of the formularies is still binding, and with it the unscientific and traditional theology of the 16th century.

The obligations imposed by the use of the Liturgy are of quite another kind, and are, as we conceive them, incapable of any legal interpretation and definition. An act of worship and an act of subscription belong to absolutely different

regions of human life, and cannot be measured by the same standards. It is perfectly true that in connection with an order of divine service prescribed by constituted authority, overt acts may be committed which can be brought within the compass of legal criticism : a clergyman may refuse to read the Athanasian Creed, or he may omit the prayer for the Church Militant, or he may administer the elements to a rail-full of communicants at once ; and it is possible that, a prosecutor being found, he might be tried and convicted on any one of these charges. But so long as he follows the directions of the Rubric, he is beyond reach of the law. If he duly reads the words set down for him, at the appointed place and time, he is absolutely unassailable. Yet will it be contended that his obligations in connection with the services of the Church lie no deeper than the mere utterance of his lips ? We are accustomed to think, in all that relates to private devotion, that transparent candour and rigid truthfulness are indispensable requisites of an acceptable approach to God, and that words addressed to Omniscience to which the inward thought and desire do not at least endeavour to correspond, are at once the gravest impiety and the idlest folly. How is the relation altered when the prayer is public ? In one respect the obligation to such an approach to an absolute truthfulness as under the circumstances is possible, is increased by the presence of the congregation ; for they accept the minister as the leader of their prayer, not as a mere automatic mouthpiece, but because they believe that his heart goes with theirs, and every response which they give is a pledge of common beliefs and hopes and trusts. It may be said that any wilful attempt to stand in a false intellectual relation to God is rendered impossible by the very absurdity of the attempt ; but this is not so in regard to the position of the minister towards the congregation. They are justified in the belief that the man who in the highest function of his life, at the most solemn moment of that function, deliberately uses a certain form of words, accepts those words in a natural and unforced sense as the fit expression of his faith. In a word, whoever conducts public prayer, according to a form devised by himself or imposed upon him from without, enters into an immediate relation to God, and of the moral duties involved in that relation only his own conscience can be the judge.

For this reason we must confess that the procedure in the Gorham case, so far as it rested upon the interpretation of the Baptismal Service, appears to us to have been essentially immoral and irreligious. That Mr. Gorham's opinions as to Regeneration should have been legally brought to the test of the Articles, was perfectly consistent with the manner in which the Articles were imposed upon the Church, and with the relation in which he and other beneficed clergymen stand to them. Whether Articles of Religion or Articles of Peace, whether containing what a clergyman must believe or what he must not contradict, they afford a standard of doctrine which is always applicable and can only be legally applied. But the arguments in that celebrated case are largely taken up with interpreting the precise sense of the maxim, *Lex orandi est lex credendi*, and defining the extent to which a clergyman is doctrinally bound by the terms of his public devotions. Among the principles laid down in the judgment, Messrs. Brodrick and Fremantle, in their Collection of Privy Council Judgments in Ecclesiastical Cases, enumerate the following :

“Devotional expressions (in the Services) involving assertions must not, as of course, be taken to have an absolute and unconditional sense. The meaning must be ascertained by a careful consideration of the nature of the subject and the true doctrine applicable to it.

“The whole Catechism requires a qualified or charitable construction. The Services abound with expressions which must be taken in a charitable or qualified sense, and cannot with any appearance of reason be taken as proofs of doctrine.”\*

We have no hesitation in admitting that the principles here laid down are, if such terms may be used at all in such a connection, just and humane, and that it would be an outrage to interpret the implications of devotion with the same rigid exactness as the formal assertions of the creeds. But does it not reveal a strange conception of what is involved in common worship, that its precise shade of doctrinal meaning should be recognized as capable of definition by any human court,—that a clergyman should go to the Privy Council to tell him what sense he may or may not put upon words which he is to use in presence of God and

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\* Brodrick and Fremantle, p. 64.



the congregation? Might not Mr. Gorham have made his appeal to the fact that he habitually used the Baptismal Service unmutilated, and in a sense satisfactory to his own conscience, as an incontrovertible proof that his views were in accordance with it? That his published opinions should undergo legal comparison with the terms of that Service, surely implied that he might have used it under circumstances of conscious and wilful dissent from its plain meaning. So now we must honestly confess that the position of the Evangelical clergy who, relying upon the Gorham judgment, continue to use that Service as a matter of course, appears to us to be something worse than untenable. When the priest says, "We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit," believing all the while that the regenerating process may or may not take place at a later period of life, but certainly has not taken place at the moment of baptism, it is idle to invoke the dictum of the Privy Council to cover a false statement directly made to God. The fundamental moral principle that God requireth truth in the inward parts, is not to be set aside by an appeal to Cæsar.

Our argument therefore is, that in the use of the Liturgy a clergyman passes out of the region of legal into that of moral and religious obligation. It may not be possible that he should adopt, with full and precise conviction, every phrase and every petition; a form of prayer must be to some small extent a compromise; but it remains true, in the general sense, that *lex orandi est lex credendi*. What a man believes, determines the Person to whom, the conditions under which, and the object for which, he prays. It strikes at the very root of true devotion to think of accommodations of phrase, of economies of meaning, of mental suppressions and evasions, in connection with prayer. And worship, as an act directly concerned with God, must, we think, be taken by itself, and not appeal to anything outside itself, for interpretation or definition. It is just as little admissible for an Evangelical clergyman to explain his view of the Baptismal Service in a sermon, and to justify his use of it by the explanation, as it is to appeal to the decision of the courts. He is not to use language to God which can be plainly taken in only one sense, and then to expound to the

people that all the while he meant it in another. If we take upon ourselves to speak in that awful Presence at all, it can only be in the simplest, the most transparent, the most truthful phrase. There, if anywhere, the spoken word must be the precise counterpart of the inward conviction.

The case of the Baptismal Service is only one out of several. We pass over the absolution contained in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, as it may fairly be contended that a clergyman is not bound to use that office by all bed-sides, but may substitute for it such a method of exhortation and consolation as in each case he may think expedient. But take the Communion Office. It confessedly does not come up to the sacramental requirements of these latter days; and Ritualists look longingly back to the form of service contained in the first book of Edward VI., as more distinctly expressive of their faith. But is it possible that men, all whose principles and predilections are in favour of spiritual as opposed to sacramental religion, can look upon this service as giving an unforced expression to their belief? So in regard to Orders, which though not enumerated by the Church of England among sacraments, are yet looked upon in a quasi-sacramental light. When Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne, not long ago, delivered himself in the Times of his protest against the Bishop of Salisbury's Charge, he declared in the strongest terms the belief of ordinary Englishmen, that a clergyman is not a being set apart with supernatural powers to perform supernatural functions, but a man as other men are. Yet even in the Articles we find the sacerdotal idea that "the unworthiness of the minister hinders not the effect of the Sacrament," which needs only to be coupled with its correlative, that only a duly ordained priest can administer the Sacraments at all, to involve the fundamental point for which the Bishop of Salisbury, or even the Bishop of Rome, contends. And nothing can be plainer than the words of the Form of Ordaining Priests which accompany the imposition of hands—"Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." In those who believe that Episcopacy is divinely ordained for the government of the Church, that the Holy Spirit can

be communicated by imposition of hands, that a man can not only forgive sins but under some circumstances communicate the power to another,—participation in this rite, as ordaining bishop or ordained priest, is perfectly natural and justifiable. All we desire now to note is, that participation in the rite shuts us up to these conclusions. A man ought not to accept his place in the ministry of the Church on sacerdotal terms and proclaim his entire emancipation from sacerdotal ideas.

The Book of Common Prayer is beyond all doubt the most effectual safeguard of the doctrinal character of the Church of England. It is impossible to speak too strongly of the hold which it has upon the affections both of ministers and people; a hold which its own majesty and pathos, no less than the associations which every year cluster more thickly round it, abundantly explain. It is a great thing to have a form of prayer which at once answers to the universal religious desires of the heart, and is free from any tinge of party feeling or passing controversy; the words of which are protected by ancient honour from harsh or irreverent criticism, and themselves are apt to fix a perpetually deeper root in the memory; which comes down by direct descent from the primitive liturgies of the Church, and now gives a voice to piety wherever round the world the English tongue is spoken. Then, as we have already pointed out, it is in the Common Prayer that the officiating minister gives pledges of his faith to the people; his subscription of the Articles may be a compact with the State, or even with the Church at large; but in the prayers which he leads from day to day, and in the echoing response, he and his hearers put themselves upon one level of belief, and call upon God in the strength of the same hope and trust. We cannot wonder that, of all proposals of Church reform, that for a revision of the Prayer-book excites the greatest apprehension; and that men of the most opposite parties are alike unwilling to disturb a single stone of this ancient fabric, or even to pluck a spray of the ivy which has rooted itself in its crevices. But it should not be forgotten that one who having been fed from childhood upon the spiritual food of the Prayer-book, takes up in riper years modes of worship already full of holy and tender recollections, stands in a very different position towards it from another who,

for the first time, approaches it from the Nonconformist point of view, inquiring how far this or that petition is expressed in terms which answer to the deliberate conviction, and whether it be possible to turn the current of fresh devotion into an old and well-worn channel. An unrevised Prayer-book may help to prolong the peace of the Church, but it will never enlarge its comprehension. The time will surely come, though perhaps not yet, when a renewed and scientific theology, more harmonious in itself, and more in accordance with the laws of natural life than that which now prevails in the Church of England, will require a new Book of Common Prayer for its full expression. And till that time arrives, strange as it may seem to say so, the Prayer-book, which is the strength and the joy of Churchmen, will be the difficulty of Nonconformists.

We turn, in the third place, to the Creeds. These are the centre-points of Church doctrine, both as being expressly included in the eighth Article, and as forming an integral part of daily worship. It is, however, in the latter relation that we now desire to look at them. For whatever is true of the moral obligation to a sincere and natural acceptance of the phraseology of public worship, applies here with especial cogency. There is no need to inquire how far dogmatic propositions are indirectly involved in forms of devotion, for here devotion assumes the form of a series of dogmatic propositions. Upon every occasion of public worship, priest and congregation solemnly join in the recitation of these confessions of faith. Nor are the confessions so used in daily service thrown into the form of a declaration of the Church's mind, which it is expedient to state in full congregation; they are a distinct enunciation of personal belief made to God by minister and people, each, as it were, taking the other to witness. No expression of belief can be made under circumstances of greater gravity; in no way can those who repeat it be more fully pledged to a clear and absolute persuasion of the truth of each succeeding proposition. Here, surely, anything less confident than undoubting faith must pause and take counsel. Whatever unexpected measure of freedom is in store for the Nonconformist minister who undertakes the obligations of a clergyman, he must at least learn to keep his theological speculations within the limits of the Creeds. He cannot

complain of a stipulation which lies so manifestly upon the face of the compact.

It may be fairly admitted that the case of the Athanasian is not quite that of the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds. The former is appointed to be read only on certain high festivals of the Church. It assumes less directly and unmistakably the form of a personal declaration of belief. It is more or less possible for a clergyman to avoid the necessity of actually reading it. Whatever these concessions may be worth, we willingly make them. And it may be said, that in making them we have removed the main element of difficulty; that the Nicene Creed expresses the belief of all orthodox Christians, and that the Apostles' Creed is well fitted to be the dogmatic basis upon which all Christians whatever could unite. It may be altogether vain to urge the case of the Unitarians: they are far too few and not nearly noisy enough to gain even a serious hearing for their claim; and almost every suggested settlement of ecclesiastical difficulties is content to regard them as beyond reach of possible comprehension. But if Unitarianism, in the shape of an organized church, does not greatly increase in influence, there is a strong current, even within the Church of England, and especially in minds affected by the philosophical and scientific thought of the day, in the direction of Theistic belief; and the claims of Christ to worship, as distinct from affectionate reverence, will, we believe, be far more strongly questioned before many years are passed, than they now are. Yet can all thinkers, who still maintain an honest position on the orthodox side, throw their conception of Divine existence into precisely the mould of the Nicene Trinity? In what sense are Nonconformists to understand the "one Catholic and Apostolic Church," and the "one baptism for the remission of sins"? And if the Apostles' Creed is less explicit as to the nature of God and Christ, it contains other elements which make it equally unfit to be the confession of the all-embracing Church of the Future. It ties up faith to precisely the least credible part of the Gospel story, in the words, "conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," and thus associates the cardinal truth of the union of God and man in Christ, with a material conception which at once conceals and lowers it. It preserves, in the



doctrine of Christ's descent into hell, a legend which all true criticism must acknowledge to have its root, not in the canonical, but in the apocryphal Gospels. In boldly asserting "the resurrection of the body," it weakens the defences of the doctrine of human immortality, by limiting it to one, and that not the most scientifically probable, of many possible hypotheses. It would indeed be strange if a symbol which, while expressing the strong and simple faith of the first Christian centuries, bears upon its surface the evident scars of their controversies and their heresies too, could adequately embody the faith of a questioning, speculating, doubting age like this, which every generation, while adding to the perplexing richness of scientific fact and theory, has removed to a greater distance from the fountain-head of Christian doctrine. But the truth is, that the moment we abandon the brief indefiniteness of such a creed as alone we are able to trace in the New Testament, "I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ," we are entangled in possibilities of evasion and insincerity and double meaning.

We cannot, then, avoid the conclusion, that whatever new intellectual and spiritual forces have been generated of late years within the Church, her doctrinal position is practically unchanged. Her theory of the nature of God is still that of the Council of Nicæa. She still approves and enjoins worship of each person of the Trinity. Her doctrine of an Atonement, recently re-affirmed by the courts of law, is, that Christ was "crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us." She has a real doctrine of Sacraments, and a priestly office which can be conferred only by imposition of hands. She still believes in the eternity of future punishment, and only faintly tolerates a hope that the whole height and depth of this horror may not be consonant with the final will of God. The relaxation of the stringency of her formularies, upon which so much stress has been laid, refers only to matters which had not yet been controverted at the time when the present settlement was made; and legal decisions, now pending, may very well end in restraining fresh innovation. For with every desire on the part of lay judges to stretch the cords and to widen the stakes as far as they may, the principle to which they are held is that of exact interpretation of the letter of the statute, alike in its statements and its omissions. And it needs no great

acuteness to see that the liberty left by Thirty-nine Articles, and three Creeds, and an elaborate Service-book, cannot be very great.

We have, we hope, kept our promise of looking at this question from the outside. We are conscious of no desire to lessen the comprehensiveness of the Church of England, by demonstrating the untenableness of the position which any party, or any single clergyman, occupies within her fold. There are indeed cases (so much at least we may say without violation of Christian charity) in which it is not easy to reconcile a man's expressed opinions with the moral obligations which to us seem to be involved in his ecclesiastical position; but at the same time it not unfrequently happens that such are precisely the cases in which it is least possible to feel a suspicion of insincerity; and we are content that every man should be guided by his personal sense of right. It is impossible to put one conscience in the place of another; and in discussing the question of Conformity from the Nonconformist point of view, we expressly desire not to discuss it from an opposite point, of which we are not equally qualified to judge. We have a clear and decisive opinion as to the worth of the pleas which are held to justify Conformity under circumstances of doctrinal disaffection:—the advisability of retaining elements of liberality within the Church; the power of practical usefulness which might be sacrificed; the impossibility of finding a more congenial house of faith:—but we deliberately pass all these questions by. They are not matters which affect the decision of one who, believing in the possibility and desirableness of a National Church, and anxious to find himself in communion with it, examines the claims and requirements of the Church of England to see whether he can honestly and happily enter her gates. In what has gone before, we have stated what appear to us to be the necessities of Conformity; as to his personal relation to those necessities, each man must judge for himself.

To conclude: we admit in the fullest and most cordial manner the great advantage possessed by the Church of England in its power of final doctrinal appeal to a lay court; and we believe that such measure of ecclesiastical freedom as she might gain by separation from the State would be dearly purchased by a more than equivalent loss of religious

liberty. If the Bishop of Natal had been a Methodist of any kind, his Conference would have summarily expelled him long ago. If he had been a Baptist or an Independent, he would have been put under a social and religious ban infinitely more effectual than the excommunication of his Metropolitan, even though tacitly endorsed by the whole Pan-Anglican Synod. No written law carefully administered by competent magistrates can be as oppressive as the law of orthodox opinion applied by clerical or episcopal judges. At the same time, the fact that the State is always wiser and more liberal than the Church, and that religious bodies which make a boast of their freedom are at this time more successful in enforcing theological uniformity than a communion which is bound by Articles and Creeds and Acts of Parliament, ought not to blind us to the principles which lie at the basis of a true religious liberty. It is not a question as to whether this method or that—a defined code or an undefined opinion—is more efficacious in restraining theological speculation; but whether it is a desirable thing to attempt to restrain theological speculation at all: whether we wish to link the faith of every age in one by a dogmatic formula, or are content to leave them to the same inspiration of God: whether the truly uniting force of a Christian church is the profession of a common belief or the consciousness of a common aspiration. If the Church is to be fenced about by creeds and articles, by all means let them be interpreted by lay courts, rather than by clerical synods; but what of the unfenced Church, in which the necessity for such interpretation wholly passes away? One thing at least is certain, that in the present flux and change of theological opinion, when it is every day less easy to predict what will be the next inroad made by new knowledge upon old beliefs, and in what shape Religion will find her final reconciliation with Science, those who may be so happily situated as to be able to speak freely out of a free mind, and to do Christ's work without galling ecclesiastical restrictions, will hesitate ere they exchange the wilderness of their isolation, barren and lonely though it be, for any deep and fertile fields, where, if they stand in happier intercourse with men, they must give up something of their uncontrolled communion with God.

CHARLES BEARD.

# THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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## I.—LESSING AS THEOLOGIAN: A STUDY.

LESSING was born in the dawn of modern European mental life. At the end of the seventeenth century, faint streaks of light appeared above the horizon, announcing the coming day. During the first half of the eighteenth century the light grew stronger, and the tops of the mountains were tinged; during the second half, all along the plains and valleys the birth of a new day was proclaimed.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century sprang from two distinct wants of our nature. These were, first, the necessity of religious satisfaction, and, secondly, the necessity of mental satisfaction. The men of religious feeling and the men of mental light were alike dissatisfied with the old church and creed, and asked for reformation. The great Reformation of the eighteenth century was the offspring of the same two necessities. Neither religious nor thoughtful men could find any rest in the cold, dead, and then unmeaning, theology and theological philosophy of the orthodox Protestant Church. The religious heart and the thoughtful head alike demanded a new and living faith.

The men of feeling looked away from the creeds into their hearts and their Bibles. In the Bible they saw a mirror which reflected the aspirations and emotions of their own souls. The reflecting mirror became to them a divine sanction for all that it reflected. Others of them obtained a divine testimony to their emotions in a more direct manner. They spoke with God, and He with them by His Spirit. They enjoyed the privilege of a living, inward voice, and stood in no such great need of the outward letter. At length some of them came to think lightly of the Bible, while to

all of them the creeds were little worth. This whole class of men were the so-called Pietists—Spener, Francke, Zinzendorf, being of the number. The Pietists did invaluable service in leading religious men to put a higher value upon life than belief, to study the Bible apart from the creeds, and to listen to the teaching of the voice within them.

The men of intellect looked away from the creeds and the Bible too. As a class, they looked elsewhere for truth to satisfy them, while some of them believed that what they would find would agree with and support both the creeds and the Bible; and others of them, secretly or avowedly, that it would clash with both. To the first section belonged Leibnitz, Wolf and the Wolfians; to the second, the so-called *illuminati*, the Deists and the Atheists. The whole class were dissatisfied with the old, and believed in the power of the intellect to discover something better. Everything was examined, therefore, by the intellect, and nothing allowed to pass that did not satisfy its requirements. The age of criticism had come. Philosophy was examined anew, and with a freedom which had been unknown since the days of the great Greek philosophers. The sacred science itself, theology proper, God and His relation to the world, was called to the bar of reason. By and by, the Bible, and then Christianity itself, were subjected to criticism. The truths of the intellect were set over against the truths of the Bible, and the religions of heathen nations over against Christianity. Nor did criticism stop here. Religion in general, morals, social relations—in short, everything—was called upon to shew a certificate of intellectual soundness.

This age of *illumination* was a wonderful age. The good that it achieved was immense. It was a blast of the breath of life. An immeasurably, but not wholly, beneficial age, therefore; for the breath of life should come as the soft, still air of evening, and not as the uprooting hurricane. Voltaire and Rousseau, Edelmann and Bahrdt, quickened a new intellectual life, but from the very first they lacked depth and accuracy, and in the end truth and earnestness. And worst of all, the whole school lost all sense of humility, all conception of how little was yet known compared with what remained to be discovered. The great woe pronounced against a fancied possession of all truth was fulfilled in the case of the illuminists: they grew "restful, indolent, proud."



During the great part of Lessing's life, this school ruled in the intellectual world. There can be no doubt as to its great influence upon him. Yet early in his life he began to see that it must give place to something better. The *illuminati* were generally men of intellect merely, and sadly deficient in depth of feeling. Lessing was a man of a warm and enthusiastic nature, as well as of a clear intellect. He had sympathy to a certain extent with the Pietists, as well as with the Rationalists. He wrote a word on behalf of the defamed *Herrnhüter*, and commenced a translation of Law's *Serious Call*. Besides, the shallowness, the one-sidedness, the intolerance and the inaccuracy of the school, were to him unpardonable offences. At one time Voltaire received his unbounded admiration, but as he grew older no one did more to shew to the world the great Frenchman's weaknesses than he did; and one of the noblest fruits of his labours was the freedom of the German mind from its slavish subjugation to the mind of France. Gradually Lessing's position became more and more isolated. This was the natural result of his great mental pre-eminence. Superior to all his contemporaries, Kant and Goethe not having yet raised themselves into equal eminence by their great works, he turned for fellowship to the great men of the past. He drew out "the dead dog" Spinoza; he studied "the great man, who, if I had my will, should not have written a line in vain"—Leibnitz. In these philosophers he found not only nobler thought, but, what was more to him, a grander style of thinking, than he could find in his contemporaries. He broke, therefore, with his own generation, and joined hands with the great men of the past, as he would have done with a Kant and a Fichte had he lived. He was of another type and race than Voltaire and Bahrdt: his kindred were Spinoza and Leibnitz, Kant and Goethe.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, born at Camenz in Upper Lusatia, January 22, 1729, was the son of Johann Gottfried Lessing, Pastor Primarius at Camenz, an orthodox, pious Lutheran. From his father Gotthold inherited a strong, warm temperament, and received from the same good man an early and orthodox religious education. From his first teacher, Heinitz, he caught, while still a little boy, enthusiasm for the heroic virtues of the heathen, and conceived his first love of the theatre. When twelve and a half years old he

entered the high-school at Meissen, where he remained but five years, instead of six, the usual term; the rector of the school testifying that he was as a horse which required double fodder, and that the school could be of no more use to him. In this school his love of the heathen classics was aroused and nurtured. Here he acquired his great liking for comedy, devouring Plautus and Terence, and venturing himself to make "sketches of fools." A Latin essay, written on his entrance of this school, is prophetic of his future career. It ends, "Therefore we will not condemn the Jews, although they condemned Christ; for God himself says, Judge not, that ye be not judged. We will not condemn the Mohammedans; amongst them also there are upright men."

On the 20th of September, 1746, he matriculated in the Leipsic University as student of theology. At first he studied hard and attended his lectures tolerably well, but soon underwent a great change. He studied still, but any subject rather than theology, and attended scarcely any lectures. He afterwards described the change in a letter to his mother. He tells her that his eyes had been opened. He learnt that books would make him learned, but would never make him a man. He forsook his study; threw himself among men. But people stared at him, despised him; his body was so ungainly, his manners so uncultivated. He learnt riding, dancing, fencing, to bring his frame into discipline. He succeeded, and took his place in society. His studies were changed. Serious books were laid aside, lighter, and perhaps more useful, ones were taken up. Comedies were of great service to him. He learnt to know himself, and ridiculed no one more than himself. Among Lessing's new acquaintances were Mylius, the editor of the *Freigeist*, a man of loose thought and loose life; Christian Felix Weisse, a lover of the theatre. For Mylius he wrote some of his smaller poems; with Weisse he read English and French dramas, zealously frequented the theatre, and wrote his earliest comedies. He had thus entered the career of literature and the drama which he was so long to follow. It was a great grief to the good pastor at Camenz, whose ambition was to see his son a learned and pious minister of his church, to hear that he was neglecting his proper studies and frequenting the society of free-thinkers and actors. Gott-

hold was summoned home. After three months' stay under the paternal roof, he returned to Leipsic, not with the purpose of studying theology, but medicine, the utmost that he would yield to the urgent entreaties of his parents that he should devote himself to a definite profession. As soon as he was in Leipsic again, he fell immediately into his old habits and his old studies. Having left Leipsic for Berlin, he devoted himself to literature and the drama. His father wrote sharp reproofs. The son replied that he had conviction in his religion and morality in his life, that time would shew whether he is the better Christian who has the principles of the Christian religion in his memory and often on his tongue without understanding them—who goes to church and performs all ceremonies because they are customary, or he who has at one time *prudently* doubted and attained, or at least is endeavouring to attain, to conviction by the process of inquiry.

No doubt there was room for Pastor Lessing to fear for his son. He could not see what we can. He could not see that his son must prove all things before he could grasp the good. He could not see that at that very time Gott-hold's character was on the eve of a second change; that he was, if unconsciously to himself, becoming a more earnest and thoughtful man. To us this change is matter of history. Comedy was giving place in Lessing's affections to tragedy; the earnest books that he had thrown aside for lighter ones were taken up again; the literatures of ancient and modern nations more and more attracted his attention, inspiring him with their great spirit; the sublime, the beautiful and the true, were daily gaining greater lordship over his whole being; to live in their light, humbly and patiently to discover their features and their laws, was with him a growing passion; his moral nature, his fine critical intellect, his sound, manly, human heart, were all being nobly schooled and trained. It is true he did not give up his free-thinking friends, nor his love for the theatre. Yet he daily grew beyond the influence of such men as Mylius, and converted the theatre into an instrument for improving the mind of his country.

During the rest of his university life, if such it can be called, Lessing was occupied with numerous studies, especially the European languages and literatures, and with very

various literary labours, all proofs of his prodigious industry and learning. Amongst them were productions that shew how great already was his interest and how large his research in theological matters. In 1752, he took his degree in the University of Wittenberg. From 1752 to 1755, he was in Berlin, engaged as heretofore in the most varied literary labours, either making learned research, translating books from various languages, or producing articles or books of his own. From 1756 to 1758, we find him in his old university town, Leipsic, leading the same literary life, save that he reads with ever greater relish and writes with ever less. From 1758 to 1760, he is in Berlin again, with merely a change of place and no essential difference as to life. But in 1760 a great change of life is made. He becomes Secretary to General von Tauenzien, then stationed at Breslau, and for the purpose of making his fortune. He holds his office till 1765, but does not make his fortune; and no wonder, for all the money that he has left after purchasing an "excellent library," he squanders in the most reckless card-playing. Yet though his residence at Breslau did not make his fortune, it helped to make his fame. For here he produced his *Minna von Barnhelm* and his great work the *Laokoon*; and here greatly increased his theological and philosophical learning, reading Church history, the Fathers and Spinoza. From 1765 to 1770, he spent his time between Leipsic and Berlin, in travelling, and in Hamburg. In the latter place his special engagement was to criticise both the plays and the actors of a newly opened theatre. His second great critical work, the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, is the noble fruit of this engagement. In 1770, he became librarian of the Wolfenbüttel Library, a post exactly suited to his taste, except in its want of society. Here he continued till his death in 1781. The last years of his life were his most eventful years, and the years of his theological activity. In the October of 1776, he was able to accomplish his long-desired marriage with the widow of an old Hamburg friend. Madame König was an excellent and sensible woman, and made Lessing strangely happy. We say strangely happy, for the happiness of home and of love had never been his, and now seemed hardly to belong to him; he enjoyed it, moreover, for but one short year, and it was too intense to last long. A year after their marriage his wife gave birth

to a son. The son died as soon as born, and the mother followed very shortly. His letters announcing first the child's and then the mother's death are concentrations of bitter anguish. The chamber in which his wife died he took for his study, and there, in the grief and desolation of his soul, he wrote his theological papers against Goeze and others, the only occupation that availed to make him forget his too great sorrow.

This is a brief outline of Lessing's life. Unsatisfactory in many respects as that life appears, we cannot escape the feeling that it was in accord with his nature and his work. Instinctively, by that mysterious and most blessed sense with which genius is endowed, he shrank with fear from an official life. His calling was to claim for others, having first used for himself, a free intellect, uncontrolled by earthly interests. The restlessness, too, as well as the freedom of his mind, was aided and not tamed down by the restlessness of his outward life. His calling was to search, ever to search, for the truth. The tent of a wanderer, therefore, and not the mansion of a settled inhabitant, best agreed with his vocation. And lastly, in reference to the errors and failings of his life, we are reminded of his own words: "Has God to do with everything, except with our failings alone?" And in another place, "It is not true that the shortest line is always the straight one."

Still more, at first sight, one might be inclined to think that a life like Lessing's—a life spent in general literary work, very much in the study of classical literature, largely for and in connection with the theatre—a life of unsettled aims and in the society of men of the world, editors, playwrights, actors, soldiers—would unfit, or at least not fit, a man for the profitable study of theology. Yet further thought will satisfy most that, in Lessing's case at all events, this life had been no ill preparation for his theological work. For when we ask, What have been the chief failings of theologians in all times? we find amongst them these—an untrue and mean estimate of the intellectual, moral and religious attainments of heathen nations, a depreciation of the moral and religious worth of so-called men of the world, great fear and anxiety lest a single flaw should be discovered in their systems, want of courage in speaking out their doubts and their convictions. Now, we find Lessing during



all these years acquiring a clear and full knowledge of the classical mind, a large acquaintance with the real though imperfect religion and morals of men of the world, a growing scorn of all worship of human systems and the slightest unfaithfulness to the teachings and the suggestions of the intellect. Instead, therefore, of looking upon his secular life as an ill preparation for useful labour in theology, we consider it as one of the best parts of his preparation. It was but a part; for we have seen him often occupied in the study of Church history and the writings of the Fathers, one of the most indispensable branches of theology, and a branch that bore precious fruit in his case.

Before leaving Lessing's life and turning to his theology, a word more as to the nature and powers of his mind will be of use. Not only did his mind require for further thought and action the greatest clearness and strongest conviction, it was also marked by great strength and healthiness. There is muscular vigour, moral, emotional and intellectual, about Lessing. As a sound physical frame will cast off infectious diseases, so a sound, healthy, braced mind rejects without effort the moral and mental diseases with which the world is always more or less full. Lessing's mind was pre-eminently a sound and robust mind. A sickly philosophy, a diseased morality, a debilitating religion, could not touch him. While still a schoolboy, he wrote an essay to shew that year by year the world continues the same as it has ever been, since neither the purposes of the Creator nor the nature of His creatures can have undergone any change; and that, therefore, it depends wholly on men themselves to bring about the golden age of the poets. When the religious public was in tears and ecstasies over Klopstock's spiritual songs, his sound taste condemned them. When the young men and maidens of Germany were undergoing all "the sorrows" of Goethe's Werther, and nobly ending their tearful existence like their great and magnanimous hero, the classical and well-balanced mind of Lessing expressed a truly Grecian contempt for such "small-great" productions. The same strong mind shews itself against all the miserable inventions of one class of theologians, and against the sickly, religious scruples and mysticism of another class. This sound mind is one of the primary endowments of a good theologian.

Another peculiarity of Lessing's mind was its broad catholicity. This catholicity distinguishes his Latin essay of his twelfth year; it is one of the most influential motives of his theological warfare; it is the aim and the crown of his last great work, *Nathan*. His catholicity is full and fair, and not towards some only. He writes to his brother:

"I hate from the bottom of my heart all people who wish to found sects. For it is not error, but sectarian error, yea, even sectarian truth, that makes the unhappiness of man, or would do so, if the truth were willing to form a sect."

Will any one say that catholicity is not an important qualification in a theologian?

His efforts to attain and keep perfect freedom in the pursuit and promulgation of truth, both for himself and others, have already been indicated. His passionate love of freedom is a chief characteristic. He could endure no other authority than his reason. He was the great apostle of free intellectual activity. He sacrificed the honours and the comforts of life that he might be perfectly free to think and to speak. In one place he says,

"Luther's spirit demands absolutely that *no man whatever* shall be hindered in advancing according to his judgment in the discovery of truth. But all are hindered if only one even is forbidden to communicate to others his progress in knowledge. For without this individual communication there can be no general progress."\*

In addition to these great qualities, Lessing possessed a distinct individuality hard to describe, though it can be seen and felt in everything he says and does. No one can mistake Lessing's thoughts or Lessing's style. Perhaps this is a weakness, yet if it is, some would be very sorry to miss it. To Pastor Goeze he says,

"Every man has his own style, just as every man has his own nose, and it is neither polite nor Christian to make fun of an honourable man's nose, however peculiar it may be. How can I help it that I have now no other style? That I have not formed it by art, I am conscious. I am also conscious that it is bent on making the most unusual cascades just when I have thought out the subject most fully. It often plays with the

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\* *Anti-Goeze*, I.

subject the more wantonly when I have sought to become more master of it by cool meditation.”\*

The style, the thoughts, the tone, the deeds of the man, all bear a peculiar and original cast, and each the impress of the whole man. Lessing is always Lessing and no one else, and the whole man Lessing is thrown into everything he does.

Lessing was a clear and powerful thinker. This is manifest in all his writings. Nor was he so unsystematic in his thinking as is sometimes said. It is very questionable whether he believed in a system of philosophy, but there can be no doubt as to his power to criticise and to construct one. His *Education of the Human Race* and several posthumous fragments shew clearly that he was able and delighted to build up systems of thought, if only for the pleasure of pulling them down again. We pass over the system that he is supposed to have believed in, not because it is not worthy of consideration, but because his countrymen themselves are not agreed whether he intended it for a house of cards or for a serious and permanent structure.† In either case his theological labours are intelligible apart from it.

Lessing was a great Grecian. He had thoroughly studied Grecian art. His taste was formed in this school. The canons of his criticism were generalizations from his observation of its productions. Here the goddess of beauty revealed to him her charms, and anointed him to proclaim the gospel of her sovereignty. He did not forget that he was her priest when he entered the sombre temple of theology. Here also he endeavoured to establish her authority. He concludes his beautiful essay, *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet*, with words that were glad tidings to young Goethe's heart:‡

“Only when religion is misunderstood can it carry us away from the beautiful; and it is an argument for the true religion, the religion which is rightly understood, when it brings us everywhere back to the beautiful.”

\* *Anti-Goeze*, II.

† Two elaborate examinations of Lessing's philosophy are Guhrauer's *Lessing's Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, Berlin, 1841, and H. Ritter's paper on *Lessing's philosophische und religiöse Grundsätze* in the *Göttingen Studien* for 1847.

‡ *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, b. viii.

Lessing was more than a thinker and an art critic. If he was not a great and original poet, he had so much of the poet's nature, that it is not easy to say what of it was wanting. He disclaimed, however, the possession of it.

"I do not feel the living spring within me, which wells up by its own inborn power, shooting upward by its own might in such rich, such fresh, such pure streams of light ; I must force everything upwards by the aid of forcing apparatus and pipes. I should be so poor, so cold, so shortsighted, if I had not learnt to a certain extent to borrow discreetly foreign treasures, to warm myself at others' fires, and to strengthen my eye with the glasses of art."\*

Yet surely the power of acquiring the spiritual wealth, the mental fire and sight, of which Lessing here speaks, and with which his dramas are enriched, verged closely upon poetic power. He had poetic passion, whether his own or borrowed, and this is an important element in his nature, and greatly influenced his relation to theology.

We now come to this man, so made, so educated, to listen to some of his thoughts upon theology.

Although he had been repelled from theology by the bigotry, narrowness and intellectual lifelessness of its professors, Lessing was drawn to it again by its religious importance and the vast influence which it had exerted and must ever exert upon the development of mankind. But he returned to theology as to no sacred and super-human science, but as to a subject of common interest, to be handled by the intellect like any other branch of knowledge. Owing to his firm faith in the intellect, a great many of the doctrines of theologians had no further interest for him than as they had played a most important part in the mental training of men during the dark ages, or as they still obstructed the progress of mind. Indeed, theology engaged his attention only as it related to the education of the human race. Man, the mind of man, was the great subject of his study ; to aid the development of that mind was the one end of all his labours ; theology was a most important factor in this development, either favourable or unfavourable, and hence the interest with which he studied it, and the earnestness with which he wrote about it. "It

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\* *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, at the end.

is certainly substantially true," he writes to his brother, "that in my theological—as you will call them—squabbles or meddlings, my concern is rather for the sound human understanding than for theology."

Lessing has left no theological creed of his own. In relation to existing theological systems he was antagonistic. To the two great opposing parties of his day he was an enemy. On the one hand, he was at war with the orthodox believers in the creeds and the Bible, while, on the other hand, he was still more in conflict with the *illuminati* and false rationalists. He writes to his brother, who had misunderstood his theological position—

"Should I grudge the world the attempt to enlighten it? Should I not with my whole heart desire that every one may think reasonably about religion? I would despise myself if I myself had had any other object in my blottings than to aid in forwarding these great designs. Still, grant me my own way by which I believe I shall be able to do this. And what is simpler than this way of mine? I am not for retaining the impure water which has been long unfit for use: I am only anxious that it be not poured away before we know whence purer is to be obtained; I am only desirous that it should not be poured away without considering that the child may henceforth have to be bathed in filthy water. And what else is it, our new-fashioned theology compared with orthodoxy, but filthy water as compared with impure water?

"With orthodoxy, thank God, we were tolerably near the end of the chapter; a partition had been run up between it and philosophy, behind which each might go on its way without hindering the other. But what is being done now? This partition is torn down, and, under the pretext of making us rational Christians, we are made in the highest degree irrational philosophers. I beg you, my dear brother, acquaint yourself more accurately with this matter, and look less at what our new theologians reject, and more at what they wish to substitute for it. In this we agree, that our old system of religion is false: but I should not like to say to you, that it is a patch-work by bunglers and semi-philosophers. I know nothing in the world in which human penetration has more distinguished and exercised itself than in it. Patch-work by bunglers and semi-philosophers the religious system is which shall now take the place of the old one; and with far greater influence upon the reason and philosophy than this laid claim to. And yet you blame me because I defend this old system. My neighbour's house threatens to fall. If my



neighbour will remove it, I will honestly help him. But he will not remove it; he will prop it and substruct it, to the entire ruin of my house. He must leave off doing this, or I shall interest myself in his falling house as if it were my own."

In another letter to his brother, he says,

"I prefer the old orthodox (at bottom *tolerant*) theology to the modern (at bottom *intolerant*) theology, because that openly contended with the sound human mind, and this would like rather to corrupt it. I make terms with my declared enemies, that I may be the better able to be on my guard against my secret ones."

These two quotations indicate with sufficient clearness his relation both to the orthodox and to the rationalists. In this respect, as in others, he stood alone. That he stood alone from pure regard for the truth, none can doubt who is acquainted with his character. And the progress of theological science has shewn that his position was far more secure than that of either class of his opponents.

We now come to a more important element of Lessing's theology. His relation to the dogmatic theology and the theological parties of his day is but a secondary matter compared with his relation to the greatest institution and the greatest book that have ever influenced our race. What did Lessing think of the Bible and of Christianity? This question introduces us to the heart of his theological labours and influence.

Closely connected as the two members of this question are, they are quite distinct in one respect, and Lessing carefully drew the distinction. We must, therefore, consider them apart as far as this is possible. And, first, his position with respect to the Bible.

The great theological battle which he called forth by the publication and partial advocacy of fragments of a posthumous work against the Bible by Professor Hermann Samuel Reimarus, of Hamburg, raged chiefly around the Bible. The conclusions that Reimarus arrived at after an examination of the book were not destructive simply of its infallibility and inspiration, but of its general trustworthiness also, and of the religion which he supposed was founded upon it. Lessing, in publishing fragments of Reimarus' work, prefixed to them a number of propositions with a view to help the simple Christian who might be at a loss and in doubt as to his Christianity after reading the Fragmentist. These pro-

positions culminated in the conclusion, that if all the Fragmentist's destructive criticism of the Bible should turn out to be true, the Christian religion would not be endangered thereby. Of course the orthodox theologians were at their wits' end to know what to do with the Fragmentist's reasoning. Much of their rage they vented upon Lessing for publishing what they called an infamous and feeble production. They declared that Christianity stood or fell with the Bible. They accused Lessing of being only a secret and subtle enemy of both Christianity and the Bible, and decried the propositions with which he had armed the perplexed and unlearned Christian against the doubt that Christianity might be untrue. The ground Lessing took in the controversy is indicated clearly in the following example :

"My anonymous author maintains : the resurrection of Christ cannot be believed for this reason amongst others (*auch darum*), *because* the reports of the evangelists concerning it contradict each other.

"I answer : the resurrection of Christ may be true enough, *although* the reports of the evangelists are contradictory.

"Then there comes a third and says : the resurrection of Christ is absolutely to be believed, *for* the reports of the evangelists are not contradictory.

"Weigh these particles, *because* (*auch darum*), *although*, *for*. You will find that all but everything rests upon them."\*

The publication of the Fragments, the ground that he took in the following conflict, and the rationalistic tendencies of his mind as well, indicate generally his views of the Bible. But there are passages in his controversy with the theologians well worthy of quotation. He concludes a very remarkable composition† thus :

"I conclude and wish : would that the Testament of John might re-unite all whom the Gospel of John has separated ! It is apocryphal, this Testament, it must be allowed, but for that reason no less divine."

Elsewhere,‡ he apostrophizes Luther—

"Luther, thou !—great, misunderstood man—thou hast delivered us from the yoke of tradition : who will deliver us from the more insufferable yoke of the letter ? Who will at last bring

\* *Eine Duplik.*

† *Über den Beweis des Geistes und der Kraft.*

‡ *Eine Parabel, &c.*

us a Christianity such as thou wouldest *now* teach, such as Christ himself would teach ?”

In another brief controversial production,\* in which he defended with characteristic clearness and force the Fragmentist's charges of contradiction against the gospel narratives of the resurrection of Jesus, he passes this sentence upon the harmonists :

“I granted the premiss (that there are irreconcilable contradictions in the evangelical accounts) because, after many sincere efforts not to be obliged to grant it, I became convinced of the miserable condition of all Gospel harmonies. For I dare trust myself, according to the rules upon which they are based, absolutely without any exception to bring all and every different narrative of the same event into no less agreement. When historians agree as to the main fact, the method of our harmonists defies all other difficulties. Invent them as wildly as you will, I will very soon reduce them into order, and support every step in my procedure with the procedure of some famous harmonist.”

While this controversy was going on, he wrote to his friend Moses Mendelssohn—

“It is infinitely difficult to know when and where one should stop, and for a thousand to every one the goal of their inquiry is the spot where they grew weary of inquiring. Whether this was not often the case with our Fragmentist, I will not absolutely deny. Only I am unwilling that any unfairness should be shewn him. I grant your remark, that in judging of certain characters and actions the measure of light and moral feeling which belonged to the time must be considered, is well founded. Yet surely only in the case of such characters and actions as make no claim to be more than the characters and actions of mere men ? And shall this be the case with those of which the Fragmentist speaks ? I am confident he would have passed a wholly different judgment upon similar characters and actions if he had found them in Herodotus, and certainly would not have forgotten to place himself in their times and upon the stage of their ideas. But are patriarchs and prophets people to whom we must stoop ? They are, on the contrary, designed to be the most exalted models of virtue, and the least of their actions we are to consider as recorded for us with reference to a certain divine economy. If, therefore, in things which can scarcely be excused, the people should and will with violence find something divine,—the philosopher, I

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\* *Eine Duplik.*

think, does wrong when he merely excuses these things. He must, on the contrary, speak of them with all contempt, which they would deserve in our better times, with all the contempt which they can ever deserve in still better, still more enlightened times. The reason why you have been struck with such a manner of procedure on the part of our Fragmentist, can only lie in this, that you have always been little accustomed to consider the blameworthy actions in the light of a kind of divinity, in which we certainly are called upon to consider them."

Still, though Lessing's views of the Bible were by no means the orthodox views, he had no sympathy whatever with the contemptuous treatment which it received from weak and frivolous free-thinkers like Edelmann and Nicolai. He acknowledged the intrinsic greatness of the Bible, although he could not in his day appreciate it as it can now be appreciated. Above all, he recognized the great service that the Bible has rendered in educating mankind. It is in this view that he treats of it in his hundred paragraphs on the Education of the Human Race. It is with him an elementary book, indeed, to be followed by an "eternal gospel;" but it has been, and still is, and must be for some time to come, the great school-book of mankind.

"At least it is clear from experience, that the New Testament writings have supplied and still supply the second better elementary book for the human race. They have occupied for seventeen hundred years the human understanding more than all other books, more than all other books have enlightened it, even if it should only be by the light which the human understanding itself brought into them."\*

Elsewhere he says,

"I see clearly how much the learned study of the Bible has assisted all other knowledge and sciences; into what barbarism we might soon again sink, if it were wholly banished from the world."†

It was no inconsistency in him, therefore, to say:

"Take care, thou stronger individual, thou who stampest in rage upon the last page of this elementary book, take care not to let thy weaker fellow-scholars observe what thou hast an inkling of, or already beginnest to see."‡

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\* *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, § 64, 65.

† *Axiomata*.

‡ *Erziehung d. M. G.*, § 68.

We now come to the second half of our question : What was Lessing's position as to Christianity ?

It is needful, in considering this important question, to bear in mind, that Lessing saw in all the three positive religions with which he was acquainted—the Jewish, the Christian and the Mohammedan—two elements, the one human and perishable, the other divine and eternal. He recognized in all these religions one great, eternal principle—the principle which Jesus proclaimed as the sum of both the Jewish and the Christian religion, the principle, namely, of love to God and man, with special emphasis upon love to man. He saw clearly that it was not the specific difference in the characters of the professors of these religions, but a common quality, that constituted them good and religious men, and this common quality was love. He saw, however, that this principle of love was clearly not peculiar to any revealed or positive religion, but the natural out-growth of the human mind and heart. When, therefore, he came to Christianity, he distinguished between its natural and its positive teaching. The distinction he expressed by calling the natural religion of Christianity Christ's religion, "the religion which Christ himself acknowledged and practised,"\* and the positive religion of Christianity, the Christian religion.

It is further needful to bear in mind, that although Lessing did not receive the teaching of the dogmatic Christian religion, he set great value upon it as an instrument in educating the human family. With the view of silencing the frivolous and contemptuous criticisms of the theology of the church, which were in vogue amongst the *illuminati* of his day, he even argued for a profound philosophical meaning as underlying such dogmas as that of the Trinity, and that of the satisfaction of Christ. He recognized in Christian theology great acuteness and grasp of intellect. He believed the sacred authority attaching to Christian theology had procured for it its numerous students. He thought the time had not come when men would think and study without the motives which a sacred book and sacred system of doctrines supply. He, therefore, thankfully acknowledged the intrinsic worth and the great usefulness of

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\* *Die Religion Christi.*



the religion of the church, and also used his utmost efforts to silence all contemptuous sceptics.

Yet, notwithstanding his attachment to the doctrine of love to God and man, which Lessing held to be the religion of Christ, and notwithstanding his admiration of the intellectual power manifested in systematic theology, and his great cautiousness in exposing its untruthfulness, he was most decidedly unfriendly to Christianity as a positive religion. His whole life, studies and work issued in antagonism to a system which proclaims to all men, "He that believeth shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." In his tract on the Education of the Human Race, he cannot conceal his great dissatisfaction with one of the main doctrines of Christianity—that of rewards and punishments, nor his deep longing for the time of a *new eternal Gospel*. The aim of *Nathan der Weise* is clearly no other than that which he confessed to his brother.

"It may be," he says, "that my Nathan will on the whole produce but little effect if it comes upon the stage, which probably it never will. It is enough if it can be read with interest, and among a thousand readers one only learns from it to doubt the evidence and universality of his religion."

Previously he said in another letter to his brother,

"Theologians of all revealed religions will no doubt inwardly abuse it (Nathan), but publicly to oppose it they will probably take no steps."

In an unpublished preface which at one time he intended to prefix to the drama, he wrote: "Nathan's feeling against every positive religion has always been mine." Passages in the drama shew clearly enough how much his intellect and heart rebelled against a system of belief with claims to universality. Sittah, the Sultan's sister, says to her brother,

"Thou dost not know the Christians, wilt not know them. Their pride is to be Christians, not men. For even that, originating with their founder, which seasons their superstition with humanity, they do not love because it is human, but because Christ taught it, Christ did it. Well for them that he was so good a man! Well for them that they may receive his virtues upon trust! Still, what virtues? Not his virtues, but his name shall be spread everywhere, shall put to shame the names of all good men, shall swallow them up. The name, the name alone, is their concern."

In the first interview between Nathan and the Templar, we read :

“*Templar.*—I must confess, you know how Templars ought to think.

“*Nathan.*—Only Templars ? *ought* merely ? and merely because the rules of the order so command ? I know how good men think ; know that all lands produce good men.”

Further on, Nathan exclaims to the Templar :

“Come, we must, must be friends ! Despise my nation as much as you will. Neither of us chose his nation for himself. Are we our nation ? What then is a nation ? Are Christian and Jew Christian and Jew before they are men ? Oh, that I had found in you one more to whom it is sufficient to be called a man !”

The famous parable of the three rings, the central doctrine and the chief beauty, of the drama, is much too long to quote as it stands ; we can only give the substance of it, feeling at the same time how any abbreviation, in prose too, must miss the effect of the whole.

Saladin asks of Nathan which of the three religions, the Jewish, the Christian, the Mohammedan, is the true one. Nathan clothes his answer in a parable. Ages ago an Eastern owned a precious ring, which possessed the secret virtue of making its owner beloved by God and man. Of course its owner valued it most highly, and, accordingly, took measures to perpetuate it in his family. To this end he left it to his best beloved son, and with the command that it should be left by him and all succeeding possessors to the best beloved son, who should by virtue of owning it be the ruler of his family. At length it was in the hands of a father who had three sons equally beloved, to each of whom he had on separate occasions privately promised the inheritance of the ring. He drew near to death, and was in great perplexity as to his promise. An expedient occurred to him : to have two more rings made in appearance exactly like the first. The ring was given to a goldsmith for the purpose, and he soon returned three so much alike that the father himself could not distinguish the original one. His three sons separately received his blessing, and each a ring, which he believed to be *the* ring. Immediately after the father's death disputes arose, since each son claimed to have the ring and therein the title to be prince of the family. They appealed to the judge.

"The judge replied (we translate Lessing's words) : Unless you quickly produce your father, I send you from my judgment-seat. Do you imagine that I sit here to solve enigmas? or are you waiting till the true ring opens its mouth?—Yet, stay! I hear that the true ring possesses the magic virtue of making its owner beloved, acceptable to God and man. This must determine! For the false rings will not be able to do this! Then, whom do two of you love most? Come, speak! You are silent? The rings act only reflexively? and not outwardly? Each loves himself most? O then you are all three deceived deceivers! Your rings are all three unguene. Perhaps the genuine ring was lost. To hide or to make up the loss, your father had three made for one. So, unless you take my counsel instead of my judgment, go your ways! My counsel is, Take the matter just as it stands. If each of you has his ring from his father, let each believe confidently his is the genuine ring. It is possible your father was not willing any longer to endure the tyranny of the one ring in his house. It is certain that he loved all three of you, loved you all alike, since he could not oppress two of you to favour the third.—Let it be so! Let each emulate his uncorrupted, unprejudiced love! Let each vie with the others in shewing the virtues of his ring! Assist this virtue with your gentleness, your perfect concord, your beneficence, your profoundest submission to God! And if then the virtues of the rings are evident in your far-off posterity, I invite you again before this judgment-seat a million years hence. Then a wiser man than I will sit here, and give judgment. Go! Thus spoke the discreet judge."

But Lessing's dissatisfaction with the positive side of Christianity is as apparent in the characters of his drama as in their speeches. Nathan, the wise and noble Nathan, "to whom it is enough to be a man," whose religion is not that of Jew, or Christian, or Mussulman, and yet the religion of them all, commands the admiration and love of the reader. The Christian patriarch, the fiery, persecuting zealot, on the other hand, excites only contempt and hatred. And of all the other characters, in proportion as they are natural men and women, uncorrupted by an exclusive creed, they are loveable; while in proportion as they submit their minds and hearts to any positive and exclusive religion, they are unloveable. The contrast of Nathan's foster-daughter Recha and her nurse Daja is very forcible. Daja is one of those fond, anxious women, who believe without doubting in their church, and have to suffer the sore trial of seeing

one dearly beloved outside the church. Her anguish for Recha is extreme. For Recha has been brought up by Nathan in no positive, but in natural, religion. Her heart is the home of a profound and beautiful religion, but a religion of nature and no church. In Recha we have a bright example of natural, uncorrupted womanhood, saved from the injurious influences of superstition by the exceeding wisdom of her foster-parent. In Daja we have a sad and unhappy example of what fond and faithful woman's nature may be made under the evil influence of a hard and unnatural creed.

The grounds of Lessing's dislike to positive religions, and Christianity amongst them, though nowhere summarised by himself, are not difficult to imagine. When we consider that the main characteristics of his mind, as well as the profoundest motives of his great conflicts and work, were catholicity, intellectual freedom and activity, humanism, hatred of the least injustice, we have the chief causes of his antagonism before us.

There is still an important aspect of Lessing's mind as to Christianity to be considered. Nathan was written to bring men to doubt not only the universality of Christianity, but also its evidence. The three rings cannot be distinguished. In other works he says clearly enough that the historical evidence for Christianity could never produce in him more than a belief in its probability, never a conviction of its certainty. Yet at first sight all he says on this subject seems not to be in strict accord. The variations in his statements, however, are only as to degree, and if the persons to whom he speaks are duly considered, his real opinion is clear.

Lessing always weighed a man's mental condition before he ventured to instruct him, and especially in the matter of the evidences of his religion. If, therefore, three men, the first a simple Christian, the second a philosopher, the third an orthodox theologian, had come to him to ask his view of the evidences of Christianity, he would have given three varying answers, though all true. To the first inquirer, the simple Christian, he would have answered: "Look within your own heart. Are not your highest feelings love to man and to God, submission to the Divine will, faithfulness to your conscience, forgiveness of wrong, self-sacri-

fice in the service of others? Where will you find the religion that lays greater stress upon these virtues than the religion of Jesus? Where is the religion that is more able to produce them than the religion of Jesus? Do you not feel the eternal, necessary truth of this religion? Surely, it must be true. Again, look around you and see what this religion now is, and what it has done for mankind. It rises in the world after seventeen hundred years as a grand and glorious temple, beautiful and vast in structure, benign and elevating in influence. From this great temple have proceeded law and right, art and science, morals and religion. Within its hallowed precincts the noblest and the purest characters have been formed and inspired. Surely mankind owe more to the Christian religion than to any other institution in the world! Within your own heart, therefore, and all round about you in the world, you may see most reliable evidence for the truth of Christianity." To the second inquirer, the philosopher, Lessing would probably return in substance this answer: "Do you not feel that Christianity is true? Do you not see that it is true in all its great and beneficial influence in educating our race? Is not that enough to satisfy you? It satisfies your heart, but not your head? You would believe the greatest truths of the Christian system if Christianity could not be proved to be historically true? if the two foundations of the early church—fulfilled prophecies and miracles—did not exist? Yes? Then, listen. A pillar is no stronger than its weakest place, and a chain no stronger than its weakest link. The historical evidence of Christianity rests upon the pillar, hangs upon the chain, of fulfilled prophecies and miracles. We know of fulfilled prophecies only the record of their fulfilment—of miracles, only the record of their performance. The strength of the pillar and the chain is the reliability of historical testimony. With how much confidence can you lean upon reports of fulfilled prophecies and of miracles? For myself, my trust in historical truth can never amount to conviction. If my religion had no firmer support than the historical evidence of Christianity, I should feel that all eternity hung but by a spider's web. And certain I am, that the theology of the schoolmen never so wounded religion as historical exegesis is now doing daily." Thus would Lessing answer one



“ Whose faith has centre everywhere,  
Nor cares to fix itself to form.”

How would he answer the third inquirer, the orthodox theologian, or the orthodoxist, as he would call him? Perhaps thus: “ You wish to know what I think of Christian evidences. Is it from curiosity you inquire? Is it that you wish to find a shield by which to turn the Fragmentist’s sceptical shafts? What kind of a shield will suit you? I thought I had one that would do for a man whose heart is more of a Christian than his head. But Pastor Goeze says it is of straw, and certainly it is small. If you want a shield to cover your Bible, your church and your congregation, mine is not large enough. You ask me about the evidences of Christianity. What do you want evidences for? To be able to say to all men, ‘ He that believeth not shall be damned ’? Thank God, the evidences of Christianity are so uncertain, that the more you preach this text the less men will heed you! I say, the evidences of Christianity are too uncertain to base a universal religion upon. For do not all religions rest ultimately upon history? And must not history be received upon trust? Now, whom can men trust best? Surely their family, those whose blood runs in their own veins, those who have given them from their very childhood proof of their love, who never deceived them, save when it was best to be deceived. How can a Mohammedan believe his fathers less than thou believest thine? or, reversely, can he desire from thee that thou shouldst make thy fathers liars that they may not contradict his?”

A most important and interesting inquiry remains, which cannot now be touched upon—the influence Lessing exerted upon the theology of Germany. We must be content to say that it was immeasurably great, as great as his influence upon art and poetry. How could it be otherwise? The man was so great; his mind so clear, strong, free; his influence had gained for him a public before he touched theology; English and French Deists, German illuminati, critics like Semler, Ernesti and Michaelis, had paved the way for him, while men like Paulus and Eichhorn were following close upon his rear; and then Herder, Goethe and Schiller were proud to be his disciples and continue his work. But we must end, and with two passages from our hero.

"Not the truth which any man possesses, or thinks he possesses, but the honest toil which he has spent to get below it, constitutes the worth of the man. For not by the possession of, but by the search for, truth, are his powers expanded, in which alone consists his ever-growing perfection. Possession makes restful, indolent, proud—

"If God held in His right hand all truth, and in His left the single, ever active desire after truth, although with the addition that I must always and for ever wander in error, and said to me—Choose! I should fall with humility into His left and say—Father, give! the pure truth, I feel (*ist ja doch nur*), is for Thee alone!"\*

"Suppose I have not then used my leisure to the best purpose, what does it signify? Who knows whether I should not have used it to a worse one in anything else? At least my intention was to use it well. At least my conviction was that I should thus use it well. I leave it to the future what my honestly spoken opinion ought and is able to accomplish. It is probable it *ought* not to accomplish as much as it *might be able* to do. Probably, according to the laws of a higher economy (*Haushaltung*), the fire must for a long time to come continue to smoke, for a long time to come make sound eyes to smart, before we can enjoy both its light and its warmth. Is that so, then, Thou eternal fountain of truth, who alone knowest when and where it shall flow, pardon a uselessly busy servant! He wished to remove mire from Thy way. If he has unknowingly cast grains of gold away with it, Thy grains of gold are not lost!"†

J. FREDERICK SMITH.

## II.—THE CREATION.—III.

THE last article on the Creation concluded the investigation of the first account; and it also prepared the way, by a translation of chapters ii. and iii., and by an exhibition of the differences in tone and purpose as well as in language between the two accounts, for a similar investigation of the second. This I now attempt, starting from the point reached in the former paper, and requesting my readers to refer to that for the translation and preliminary matter.

\* *Eine Duplik.*

† *Ibid.*

We have in the first place to look out for passages in other Old Testament books which may confirm or account for the story of Eden in chapters ii. and iii. That story is very different from the scientific scheme of ch. i. It is a drama of human interest, and abounds in names by which we ought to be able to trace it to its source. The man was put in "a garden in Eden, towards the east." Is nothing told us elsewhere about this country Eden, or the garden in it, or about the Tree of Life or the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil in the middle of the garden?

As a mere geographical name, we find the name Eden mentioned in the two following passages; but it is to be noticed that though the spelling is the same, the punctuators bid us read it when so used with the first *e* short (עֵדֶן instead of עֶדֶן); this however may be, and probably is, a factitious distinction introduced in later times. In 2 Kings xix. 12, the king of Assyria says through his ambassadors to Hezekiah: "Did the gods of the nations which my fathers destroyed—Gozan, Harran and Rezeph, and the sons of Eden who were in Thelassar—rescue them? where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king at the city of Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivvah?" Ezekiel, in his wail for Tyre, enumerates the countries which had had commercial dealings with Tyre, and after Sidon, Arpad, Persia, Tarshish, Javan (Greece), Togarmah, Syria, Judah, Arabia, and others, says (xxvii. 23, 24): "Harran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Assyria and Chilmad, were thy merchants." Without minute examination of the geographical hints here conveyed, we see at once that a district of Assyria, and probably in the north of Assyria, must be meant. There is also a town of Syria on the slopes of Lebanon known as Beth-Eden (בֵּית-עֵדֶן), called in Greek Παράδεισος, and even now Eden, mentioned in Amos i. 5; but its site is so far from the district to which all other indications lead us, that we cannot believe it to have any connection with the original Eden, except possibly as a colony; which hypothesis is perhaps favoured by the prefixed *Beth* (= dwelling of Edenites).

The Eden of Genesis is not synonymous with Paradise. It is there distinctly treated as a country; the garden was planted *in Eden*. But (except as the geographical name just mentioned) it occurs only in connection with its gar-

den ; and we now inquire what the Old Testament has to say of the Garden of Eden. It is alluded to in Genesis itself (xiii. 10) : "And Lot raised his eyes and saw the whole circle of the Jordan, that it was well watered, before Jahveh destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the Garden of Jahveh, like the land of Lower Egypt on thy coming to Zoar." But in the rest of the Old Testament, very curiously, we find no mention of it except in Joel, the later Isaiah, and Ezekiel, in the following passages.

(1.) Joel ii. 3 : Before them fire burns, and behind them flame glows ; the land before them was like the Garden of Eden, and behind them it is a desert of desolation. (2.) Is. li. 3 : Jahveh has comforted Zion, comforted all her ruins, and made her desert like Eden, and her wilderness like the Garden of Jahveh ; delight and joy will be found in her, thanksgiving and the sound of music. (3.) Ezek. xxxi. 3—18 : "Behold Assyria ! a cedar on Lebanon with fair branches. . . Cedars did not overtop it in the Garden of God, nor cypresses resemble its branches, and planes were not like its shoots ; none of the trees in the Garden of God resembled it in its beauty ; beautiful I made it in the multitude of its boughs ; and all the trees of Eden which were in the Garden of God envied it. . . At the sound of its fall I made nations tremble, when I threw it down to the grave to those who had gone down to the pit, and all the trees of Eden, the choice and the best of Lebanon that drink water, grieved for it in the nether world ; for these too went down with it to the grave to those slain by the sword, and its progeny that had sat in its shade in the midst of nations. To whom art thou thus like in glory and in greatness among the trees of Eden ? for thou art thrown down with the trees of Eden to the nether world, and liest in the midst of the uncircumcised with those that have fallen by the sword. So is Pharaoh and all his multitude"—is the declaration of the Lord Jahveh. (4.) Ezek. xxxvi. 35 : And they will say, "That devastated land has become like the Garden of Eden, and the waste and devastated and ruined cities stand fortified !" (5.) Ezek. xxviii. 11—13 : And the word of Jahveh came to me saying : "Son of man, raise a lament over the king of Tyre, and say to him : 'Thus says the Lord Jahveh : Thou that sealest up perfection, thou full of wisdom and

finished in beauty, thou wast in Eden, the Garden of God ; all the precious stones that cover thee . . . were ordained at the time of thy creation ; thou . . . wast on the holy mountain of God," &c.

To these passages we have only to add a few in the book of Proverbs in which the Tree of Life is mentioned. (1.) Prov. xi. 30 : The righteous man's fruit is a Tree of Life. (2.) Prov. xiii. 12 : Hope deferred sickens the heart ; but the desire arriving is a Tree of Life. (3.) Prov. xv. 4 : Gentleness of tongue is a Tree of Life ; but perversity in it is a break-down in the spirit. (4.) Prov. iii. 18 : She [wisdom] is a Tree of Life to those that lay hold on her : and blessed are they that hold her.

Now what should we suppose from these passages was known to the writers, or to those for whom they wrote, respecting Eden, Paradise, and the Tree of Life ? There is absolutely nothing that descends from vague metaphor into the most distant allusion to the facts of the story. The Garden of Eden, or of God, is used simply as a figure whereby to denote the utmost fertility ; the trees of Eden to indicate the finest conceivable of their kind. The Tree of Life equally serves the purpose of metaphor only. No one of the passages quoted shows any knowledge of the *story* at all ; but is far more intelligible on the supposition that the writer did not know it than that he did. The story must indeed have existed ; for without that substratum of legend the bare notion of God having a garden, and of Life having anything to do with a tree, would never have sprung up. We thus gain testimony to two important facts—first, that the legend had existed, and been so widely known as to furnish a store of familiar metaphors ; and secondly, that it was obsolescent or obsolete. (Similarly the "apple of discord" may be spoken of by many who never knew the story of the judgment of Paris.) Now it is certainly a striking fact that the writers who speak of the Garden and the Tree belong to a somewhat late age of the Hebrew sacred literature—the age of the Captivity (the later Isaiah and Ezekiel), or to an uncertain but probably equally late age (the proverbs in question). So many striking and perfectly new quasi-mythological conceptions appear in all the post-exilian writings, that it might seem an obvious conclusion to consider the story of Eden to have been learned from the Per-



sians during the Captivity. But Ezekiel uses the Garden of Eden solely as a familiar metaphor; if it alluded to a new story just picked up from foreigners, could it have been used in this way? Surely several centuries must have elapsed for the once familiar story to have its details, and ultimately all its features, so washed out as to leave nothing but one phrase serviceable as a metaphor. And therefore our minds are not puzzled but relieved to find that one sufficient proof of the existence of the legend before the Captivity is happily preserved. The prophet Joel's age is not indeed stated by himself in his book, but is approximately determined from his historical allusions, as well as from the general tone of his thoughts, to be not far from 830 B.C.; Ewald places him first of all the prophets, and Hitzig gives very good reasons for considering the period between 874 and 851 to be the only possible time for his prophecy. Anyhow, therefore, he lived not only long before the Babylonian Captivity, but at least half a century before the earliest hostile contact with Assyria, which ended in the captivity of the northern kingdom. Now we have seen that Joel uses the figure of the Garden of Eden precisely as Ezekiel did. We are therefore fully entitled to say that it was not the contact with Eastern mythology at Babylon, nor even earlier in Assyria, that introduced the story among the Israelites.

But other names remain to be considered, which certainly form an essential part of the story, seeing that they are not required for the legend of the first man and woman, and must therefore be retained in their place simply because they had stood there in the original form of the story. We are told that one great river issued from (which probably means took its rise in) the land of Eden. This may be compared with the great Deep, the Ocean-stream, of other legends; like that, it is described as being the fountain-head of the chief (if not of all the) rivers of the known world. It watered the Garden; and on issuing thence, it divided, and became the source of four great rivers, called Pîshôn, Gîhôn, Hiddekel, and Perâth. The last two of these are well known, as the Tigris and Euphrates. The first two names occur nowhere else; and that they were as little known to the writer's contemporaries as to us, may be inferred from the fact that he appends to them an elaborate

description of their whereabouts. The Pîshôn passes round the land of Havilah, and the Gîhôn round that of Cûsh. It need hardly be observed that it is a geographical absurdity to suppose that anywhere except in the low alluvial land near the mouth of a river one stream should divide into a delta of four; and the component streams of a delta are necessarily short, comparatively insignificant, and unknown by name to the world generally. Here the four rivers are evidently selected as the chief ones known to the writer: this we know positively of the last two, which also we know not to have a common source. Hence the great stream flowing through the Garden is no actual or possible river at all; and its obvious similarity to the Ocean-stream entitles us to consider it mythical. But if the source is mythical, are not the rivers that spring from it necessarily also mythical, and is not the whole story mythical, and then is it not idle to examine it seriously to discover its meaning? These pertinent questions crowd upon one, and demand a serious reply. If the story be mythical, it is idle to expect confirmation *as to fact*—to hope, for instance, to discover the skin-garments with which the first man and woman are here said to have been clothed by God himself. But we may try to trace the story itself; if from geographical or other indications we can find whence it came, this will regain for us a portion of the history of the people who told it—a portion which could not possibly have been otherwise preserved to us, since it lies before the commencement of all proper history. Never, therefore, let it be thought that an ancient story, by being proved to be mythical, ceases to be interesting, instructive, or even truthful; for it has truth at the core, if we can only reach it.

There is a significant difference in the way in which the rivers are enumerated. The Euphrates is named without any epithet or description, plainly because it was the nearest to the writer and perfectly familiar to his readers. The Tigris, though not much further off, is very rarely mentioned in the Bible; it must have been much less familiarly known to the Hebrews, and is therefore here described as “that which goes to the east of Assyria”—south-east would have been more accurate. The Gîhôn “encompasses the whole land of Cûsh;” and to the Pîshôn a still more elaborate description is annexed. These three rivers must therefore

be more distant from Palestine than the Euphrates. Eden must, according to the myth, have been imagined as a high-lying country, if four large rivers (though without the common source) took their rise in it. The Euphrates and Tigris direct us to the highlands of Armenia near Erzeroom, where we should without difficulty find rivers which might do duty for the Pîshôn and Gîhôn. For the former, the Phasis has been the favourite with scholars—there being sufficient similarity of sound to encourage the idea of identity of name; besides which the Phasis is the river of Colchis, Pîshôn that of Havilah—similarity again, somewhat rudely shaken this time by the remembrance that the Colchians are called in Hebrew Casluhim (פְּסִלִּימִים). For the Gîhôn we find a river just at hand, rising almost close to the Euphrates, the Araxes or Aras, which near its mouth joins the Cyrus or Kur and flows into the Caspian. But mere guess-work like this will prove nothing, and scarcely even render anything probable, if there are any difficulties on the other side. In the case of the Pîshôn and Gîhôn these are not wanting. The Pîshôn is said to be “that which encompasses the whole land of Havilah, where the gold is.” Now Havilah is mentioned several times, and always of a southern country; in Gen. xxv. 18, 1 Sam. xv. 7, it appears to be a district of northern Arabia (Arabia Petræa); but in Gen. x. 7, 29, it is given as the name of two tribes, one Cushite and one Joktanite; one of these is no doubt the modern Chaulân in  $17\frac{1}{2}$  N. lat. If the two are not in fact one and the same, the Joktanite tribe may possibly be rather further off than Arabia, since it stands next to Ophir, which Lassen has conclusively identified with India (Abhîra, near the mouth of the Indus). Of the Arabian Havilah we can manifestly make nothing; but if the name can here be used for India, the Pîshôn might be the Indus. The Indus does *pass round* the west and north-west boundary of India; and the rest of the description suits India better than any other country. “Where *the gold* is—and the gold of that land is *good*”—this suits well the country which is named with Ophir in Gen. x. 29; and India was celebrated among the ancients (even by Herodotus) for its extraordinary richness in gold. The best bdellium was said to come from Bactria, whence it would be brought down the Indus; and both that and the onyx are mentioned as articles of com-

merce with India. Thus it would seem that no country would suit our story so well as India, no river so well as the Indus. It is certainly unsatisfactory that the *names* are but very insufficiently explained on this hypothesis; Havilah being elsewhere used undoubtedly for a part of Arabia, and only very doubtfully for India; and Pishôn being unsupported by any ancient authority as a name for the Indus.

The second river, Gihôn, affords us nearly equal trouble. Taking our stand in Armenia, it might (and almost of necessity would) be the Araxes, though here again the name affords us no help. If the considerations which induced us to look to the far East for the Pishôn are to be allowed, there is then great probability that the Gihôn belongs to the same district. And here the name may give us some clue. The very identical name Jihôn\* is now, and has for centuries, been used by the Arabic geographers, for the Oxus, which rises in the Hindu-Cûsh, the western continuation of the Himalaya, very near the sources of the Indus, and flows northward into the Sea of Aral. The only reasons alleged against this identification are, that the antiquity of the Arabic name is not known, and it is imagined that the Arabs may have given this name to it on the strength of this very passage (very improbable, since the Paradise of the Arabs is not on earth at all, but in the seventh heaven), and that this word is sometimes applied to other rivers, especially the neighbouring Jaxartes; which looks as if it meant only a large river (but the same may be said of the Sanskrit *Sindhu*, yet that name and its western form *Indus* have been applied from time immemorial to the one great river of Western India). The idea held by some of the ancients that the Gihôn was the Nile, seems utterly untenable, since the position and the direction of the course of that river were so familiar to the Hebrews, that they could not, even in a story believed by them to be mythical (which this certainly was not), combine it in one system with three other rivers which must be sought to the north and east; moreover, as a writer in Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible well observes, the writer would here have found it even less necessary than in the case of the Euphrates to describe

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\* There is no hard *g* in Arabic, and *j* always take its place.

its course "round the whole land of Cûsh." But probably this very description led to the mistake. Cûsh is Upper Egypt and Ethiopia, through which the Nile flows. In most cases, to assume many places of the same name, is to confess an insoluble difficulty. But Cûsh, as we might expect from the name of so distant a country, is used with considerable laxity. Cushites were spread over the southern coast of Arabia, and perhaps even into India. Their name is the recognized equivalent of the Greek *Αἰθίοπες*, and like that might be used of all the dark races found in the south, or perhaps elsewhere also. In our present passage I cannot resist the temptation of suggesting that if the Gîhôn be the Oxus, the Cûsh may be the Hindu-Cûsh range of mountains. That name, indeed, is pronounced by the modern Persians Hindu-Koh (Hindu mountain); but this very insufficient designation can only be a corruption of the older name; and in the Greek name "the Indian Caucasus" we seem to have authority for regarding Cûsh as a name of great antiquity. But if we are to look for the Gîhôn in the far east, there is one other river whose claims (if we consider the Arabic authority not conclusive as to the Oxus) may be weighed. If the Pîshôn be the Indus, could the Gîhôn be the Ganges? The ancient Sanskrit name of this river is Gangâ, of which Gîhôn is no very unnatural mispronunciation in the mouth of foreigners. Thus we should have the whole eastern world, as far as it was known to the western nations, comprised in the lands watered by the rivers of Paradise. I cannot say that this identification seems to me nearly so probable, nor so happy in itself, as that with the Oxus. The Indus was the farthest Indian river known to the western world, I believe, until the time of Alexander; and as these legends point to the north, it seems far more in accordance with the system of the story to combine the Indus with the Oxus as the eastern limit, than to extend that boundary so as to comprehend the whole of the fabulous land of India. Moreover the Hindus themselves in their earliest period did not know the Ganges. They lived in the Punjâb on the Indus, and were long before they spread further east than Oude.

But how can we adopt so eccentric a conclusion as one which finds two Edens—one in Armenia, and another in the neighbourhood of the Hindu-Cûsh, separating the two



pairs of rivers which the story says had the same source? The nature of the answer which I shall give to this question shall be anticipated in the following quotation from Ewald :\*

“Here I must observe that I do not believe the original form of that description of Paradise will be ever fully understood, or the four rivers be properly interpreted, till some of the names of rivers are allowed to have been changed during the migration of the legend. In my opinion the Pishon and the Gihon are the Indus and the Ganges ; to these were originally added two others belonging to the same region ; but when the legend passed to the Hebrews in Palestine, the latter were exchanged for the familiar Tigris and Euphrates.”

The Hebrews themselves acknowledged their descent from the northern lands on the upper Euphrates and Tigris. The son of Shem to whom their origin was referred, is Arpachshad, whose name is found in the Assyrian province Arrapachitis, north of Nineveh and bordering on Armenia. His descendants Salah, Eber, Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor, Terah and Haran, all belong to the same region, and are mostly personifications of tribes and places therein ; in particular Haran (brother of Abraham) is recognized in the ancient Arrhene, modern Armenian Har-kh, Arabic Arran or Arraniyat, just north of lake Van. But Terah and his family had lived in Ur of the Chaldees ; the epithet determines the locality. The Chaldees are the ancient Carduchians and modern Kurds ; they lived and still live in the mountainous country immediately south of Arrapachitis and north-east of Nineveh. Thence Terah, Abraham and Lot removed to Harran in Mesopotamia, in a south-westerly direction. This name (which I spell with the double *r*, to avoid confusion with the previously mentioned Haran, a totally different word) is the Charraë of the Greek geographers. This was a long removal in the direction of Canaan, taken by Abraham according to the legend with a view to go on to Canaan, where he settles in the plain of Mamre or Hebron. Now the meaning of this legend is the simple fact that the Hebrews believed themselves to have come from the north, and had left there kindred tribes whom they regarded as nearer of kin than their nearer neighbours the Syrians, who

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\* History of Israel, I. p. 281, note.

were descended not from Arpachshad, but from his brother Aram. How strong was this belief appears from the legends of Isaac and Jacob, who kept up the purity of blood by marrying from the very region that Abram had quitted. It also receives confirmation from other quarters. The story of the Deluge makes the ark rest upon the summit of Ararat, in the middle of Armenia. Hence, whatever may have been the Eden of the first population of the earth, Armenia is unquestionably treated as the centre of the renewal of the race ; and the legend even goes into details, and speaks of the first husbandry on the renewed earth and the vine-cultivation, which actually receives strong confirmation from the great fertility of the Ararat region and the fact that there the vine grows *wild*. But besides these facts, there are many indications of an obscure sanctity attaching to the *North*, which are especially important, because, there being no clear reason for such sanctity, it must be a traditional sanctity of which the true origin is forgotten. Such indications are found in the sacrifice of the burnt-offering on the north side of the altar (Lev. i. 11) ; in the vision of four cherubim coming to Ezekiel from the north (Ezek. i. 4) ; in the idea of a Mountain of God in the far north (Is. xiv. 13).

The Hebrews therefore firmly believed in their own origin in the north, and specially in Armenia ; and the only two of the rivers of Paradise whose position is certain lead us to the same country. Here, therefore, we might close the inquiry, if we could separate the Hebrew story from those of other nations. But we cannot overlook the striking coincidence between the Hebrew legend of Paradise and the Zoroastrian (Persian or Parsee) myths respecting the origin of mankind. This is dangerous ground to tread, for the most striking coincidences occur not in the Zend Avesta itself, but in a much later Pehlevi book called Bundesh, respecting the value of whose testimony doctors differ. The abode of the first men was a region called Airyana-vaêjo, or the Aryan or Iranian home ; where men lived 300 years without pain or sickness, and were sanctified at their death. There was also a mountain of the gods called Harô-berezaiti in the Zend, and Albordj in the later dialects, where dwelt Ahura-mazda or Ormuzd and the good spirits ; it is believed to be the Hindu-Cûsh or Indian

Caucasus range ; and from it sprang all the rivers in the world. The Tree of Life strikingly reminds us of the Haoma of the Iranians and Soma of the Indians, the intoxicating drink which forms one of the prominent features in both their religions, being sacrificed with great solemnity. One of the Vedas is entirely devoted to the Soma ritual. This tree, or the intoxicating drink prepared from its fruit, was believed to confer immortality, and to be used at the resurrection to reanimate the dead. It was also regarded by the Zend people as the *first* of all trees—which is interesting to our present inquiry. The Zend language was first satisfactorily interpreted through its close affinity with the Sanskrit ; but even this affinity did not at once yield the striking results which have followed the study of the oldest form of the Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas. When these Indian Scriptures came to be studied on their own account, and their language to be known not as a mere dialect of Sanskrit, but as the older language, of which the speech of the Epics and the Laws of Manu was a later development, the understanding of the Zend books received an astonishing forward impulse. Another result of even greater importance then followed. The names of the Vedic deities were discovered in the Zend, and the inference became irresistible that the ancestors of the Hindus and of the Persians had originally formed but one people, speaking the same language and venerating the same deities. But the comparison yields further results. It not only tells us that they *had been* the same, but that they *became* distinct, and furnishes data from which the time and reason of the separation may be approximately inferred. The Vedic songs point to a region in the far north of the later settlements of the Hindus in the Punjâb and on the Indus (the original India, named from the river, Sans. *Sindhu*), as their primeval abode ; and some are believed to shew clear evidence of having been composed before the migration into India. The position of their sacred mountain Mêru (like the Zend Harô-berezaiti or Alborj) in the north of the Himalayas itself bears witness to this fact. The name Arya by which both nations called themselves is evidence of the original unity. Both nations were pastoral, and the imagery and mythology of the Vedas shews this at every step. The very clouds are heavenly cows, the earth herself is a cow, and the same word *gô* (whence

both  $\gamma\eta$  and  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ) remained in Sanskrit ever after in both these senses, to perpetuate the myth. Now the Hindus, entering India on the west, must have found a passage by following the course of the Indus, and their primitive mountain-home must have been near the source of that river, on the highland called in ancient geography Bactria, or, as some more specifically say, the great plain of Pamer between the sources of the Indus and the Oxus. The cause of the separation was religious. This we find from the fact that many divine names, which to the one people denote beneficent powers, to the other denote evil ones. Thus the Vedic gods were called *Déva*; but the Zendic *Daeva*, the original of the later Persian *Dev*, is the most general name for the diabolic powers. The traditions of the Zend people also point to the eastern extremity of the Iranian highlands—i.e. Bactria or Pamer—as their original home; and thus we have striking independent testimony from both nations as to their origin, although in historic times they had no idea of such a connection, and therefore no temptation to collusion in inventing it.

The Zend people, therefore, remained in their original position, while the Hindus migrated to the south of the mountains. The former retained for themselves the name Arya—in their dialect Airya, and that of Airyana-vaêjo for their country; and this has been perpetuated to the present day in forms such as Ariana, Irân or Erân. But what extent of country was denoted by this term? We have seen that it was originally confined to the small, high and cold province of Bactria. The Zend Avesta almost proves this by assigning to the half-fabulous original Airyana-vaêjo, the abode of the first men, ten months of winter and two of summer, which of course exaggerates the amount of cold. But the advance of the people of Bactria over the vast extent of land to the west enjoying a more genial climate was inevitable, and is proved in fact by the subsequent nations speaking later forms of the same language all over the great region still called Irân. In fact, they extended westwards till they met the Assyrians and Babylonians, and north-westwards to the Caspian Sea and Armenia. Zoroaster was said to be born in Airyana-vaêjo, and also in Ragha, which is said by some to be in the province Atun-pâtakân (Atropatene, Adarbajân or Azerbeijân, west of the

Caspian), where the modern town Rai probably preserves the name. This has led to a dispute whether he belonged to the east or the west—to Bactria or to Rai. Surely the name Airyana-vâêjo had been extended as the people spread themselves to the west, so as to include the country west of the Caspian. If so, there may be no discrepancy in the accounts. And of this migration westwards at a very early period, before the traditions of the primitive home were lost, we have some striking evidence. The names of places moved with the people. The mountain of the gods, Albordj, in the Hindu-Cûsh range, moved to the Caucasus, and gave its name to the highest peak of that range, still called Elburz or Elbruz. And it seems to me extremely probable that the name *Caucasus* itself moved to the west at the same time. The Hindu Cûsh, which as we have seen is very probably the Cûsh of Genesis ii. 13, was termed by the Greeks the Indian Caucasus, and this name is surely the literal translation of Hindu-Cûsh. The name Cûsh, in the reduplicated form *Caucasus*, was then transplanted to the great range which formed the northern boundary of the new western territory of the Aryans or Iranians. Caspian also is only another form of the name Cûsh or Caucasus, and was applied to the mountains south and west of the Caspian Sea, as also in the form *Caspiane* to the country and people south of the mouth of the Cyrus or Kur; thus apparently tracing out nearly the whole line of the westward movement. When we are once on this track, other migrations of local names of no less importance suggest themselves. The grandest mountain of the west, and from its position one of the most imposing in the world, is Ararat. This is called by the Armenians Air (the longer name Ararat is manifestly only borrowed from the Bible). This is surprisingly like the name Aryan, and may surely be the new western Airyana-vâêjo. In the Hebrew account of the Deluge, moreover, it plays precisely the same part. As the original Airyana-vâêjo was the first abode of mankind, so is Ararat the place where the ark rested, and where Noah, the sole progenitor of postdiluvian humanity, landed and lived. The name Armenia itself probably has a similar origin,\* and there are

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\* See *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgenl. Ges.* X. p. 379, where Lassen derives it from the Vedic *aryaman*, friend, kinsman, which is itself formed from *arya*, the primitive of the ordinary name of the race *arya*.



in that region a surprising number of names beginning with the same syllable *ar* ; but I refrain from weakening the force of my argument by adducing words whose history may prove them to have a different origin. One other name, however, is of great importance. The Hebrews derived their race from Arpachshad, son of Shem, whose name must be interpreted as a race rather than as an individual, and has long been recognized in the province of Arrapachitis, north of Nineveh ; and Haran, the brother of Abraham, is found in Arrhene, Armenian Har-kh, north of Lake Van. This Haran (with the softer *h*, and therefore in Arabic Arran) again recalls the name Airyana, and has been argued by Spiegel to be identical with it. Max Müller's somewhat supercilious objections to these combinations are to me very unconvincing. It must be observed, in conclusion, that the date of the western migration of the Iranian race is in no wise connected with the question of the date of Zoroaster. They may, and I think must, have spread over their greatest expanse long before his time ; indeed on no other assumption would the story of his birth in the west, in Media, be possible.

If this chain of reasoning be sound, we have discovered the point both of space and time where the ancestors of the Hebrews may have learned the legends of Paradise, the Four Rivers, the Tree of Life, and the Deluge. Under the shadow of Ararat, where they themselves claim to have lived, they came into contact with the Iranians migrating westwards. They were the aboriginal population there, some of whose members (as Nahor and Haran) remained in the country, while others (represented by Terah, Abram and Lot) were expelled after a time, and followed the course of the Euphrates to Ur-Chasdim, and ultimately to Canaan. Indeed we may with great probability conjecture that it was the Iranians moving westwards, who pushed the Semitic tribes before them, and caused that series of Semitic migrations which began in Armenia, and only found their end in Egypt. The legend of the four rivers was necessarily modified in its removal from its original eastern home and its adoption by the Hebrews, a people who had never known eastern Irân at all. The confessed obscurity of the two names, Pîshôn and Gîhôn, shows that they were not invented in the new site, but had been transmitted with

the legend itself, and designated eastern rivers, probably the Indus and Oxus. If Pîshôn could be shewn to be the native name of the Phasis, it would probably, like Albordj and Caucasus, have moved with the people. The names Euphrates and Tigris can only have arisen in Armenia; but were undoubtedly, as Ewald suggests, there substituted for the names of other forgotten rivers in the east.

It appears to me that this theory accounts very satisfactorily for the peculiar position of the Hebrews. The peculiarity to which I refer consists in the following elements: (1) they form the centre of the Semitic stock of peoples and languages, which shows none except the very most remote connection with the Aryan stock; (2) yet their legends, especially those of the Paradise and the Deluge, are palpably closely akin to those held by various Aryan nations, and notably by the Iranians; (3) which legends are proved to have been held by the Hebrews from very early times, and yet to have always remained in a certain sense foreign to them—being very rarely referred to, and then generally in so vague a way as to tempt us to think that the details of the story were forgotten.

The story of the Creation might appear to be finished at the end of the second chapter. The man has been created and placed in a region where he can support life; the animals are given to him as companions (not as subjects); and the woman has been added to the rest, as that which alone was wanting to make his life endurable and happy. What more can be added to this story of primitive innocence and happiness? The acme of happiness, which would seem to be the aim of the story, is already reached. When we look at the next chapter, our impression is rather confirmed than reversed. It commences with the introduction of the serpent, which would according to the second chapter be simply one of the animals made for companions to the man, playing the part of tempter to the woman, and for that purpose gifted with a miraculous power of speech. So far from this serpent being described as a being of a different order from the animals generally, he is expressly classed among them: "being cunning, more than all the beasts of the field which Jahveh-God had made;" "thou art accursed out of communion with all the cattle and all the beasts of the field;" before that curse, then, he must have been classed

with them. We should then infer from the fact of supernatural endowments being attributed in chapter iii. to one of the animals, that the animals in general in chapter ii. might be possessed of such. But from the consideration that no extraordinary endowments are in chapter ii. attributed to the animals, and that they must inevitably have been mentioned if they existed, we should argue with equal cogency that the serpent, as one of those animals, was not possessed of speech. And no mode of reconciliation between these two conceptions appears satisfactory, or even honest. To say that the whole life in Paradise is supernatural, and that the animals in chapter ii. *did* talk, is not to explain from the evidence before us, but to invent a huge miracle by way of explanation. To say that the serpent in chap. iii. is any special serpent, not one of the animals, is to contradict the obvious meaning of the word in that chapter. The only legitimate inference is, that the two chapters do not belong closely together, but are written with views more or less distinct.

Again, we find a very important difference in the naming of the woman. In ch. ii. v. 23, she is by the man formally named *Ishshah*, from *Ish* (man), as being *derived* from him. This name-giving is described in the same terms as in most similar cases; compare the following few instances taken hap-hazard: Cain, Gen. iv. 1; Seth, Gen. iv. 25; Noah, Gen. v. 29; Samuel, 1 Sam. i. 20; John the Baptist, Luke i. 13, 14; Jesus, Matt. i. 21, Luke i. 31—33. *Ishshah* is therefore regarded by the writer not as a common name of the race (woman), but rather as the personal or proper name of the first woman, which might be perpetuated and become to later times the general name of women. In this he acts in strict accordance with his previous treatment of the word Adam, which (contrary to the practice of the writer of ch. i.) he uses as the only name of the first man. So far as ch. ii. goes, therefore, the only names for the first human beings are *Man* and *Woman* (or rather "*Maness*"). But in ch. iii. v. 20, we find the name *Havvah* (Eve) formally conferred on the woman, with the explanation of its meaning (the *life-giver*, i.e. *child-bearer*) attached, as in the other instances referred to. If we were right in assuming the name-giving in ch. ii. to be self-sufficient, it must be a new writer who gives to *Ishshah* this new name of *Havvah*. It is also im-

portant to notice that the references which we have discovered in other Old Testament books to Eden, Paradise, &c., refer to things described in the second chapter; and that the special contents of the third chapter—the serpent, the temptation and fall, the Divine curse, the expulsion from the Garden, and the Cherubim watchers—are nowhere alluded to in the Old Testament, and acquire importance only in the New Testament, through the dogmatic parallel instituted between “the first and the second man Adam.” We are therefore justified in regarding the legend of the Fall as one of the least important, having the least influence on the literature and therefore on the *mind* of the Old Testament—among the many legends of antiquity. If so, it must also be one of the least ancient. So beautiful a story on so momentous a subject must have possessed great attractions for the Psalmists, and still more for the Prophets, if it had been in existence and well known in their time. The great favour into which it was received by the Christians proves this. That man, as God’s noblest creature, had enjoyed His favour above all others, and been allowed to dwell in His own beautiful garden, but that, being of a mixed nature capable of and attracted towards both good and evil, he could not even then keep himself from sin, but fell, and was condemned by the Divine righteousness to lose the privilege of living in companionship with God Himself—was an idea which in its entirety was peculiarly consonant with Israelite views. Indeed it simply states of mankind in general what their writers are constantly saying of Israel in particular. Israel was taken up by Jahveh in Egypt, and adopted as his son, being at the same time pledged to observe a certain law (just like Adam, Gen. ii. 16, 17); Jahveh would be his God, Father and King, and consequently live with him, and the very land which Israel was to have was to be a sort of “Garden of God”—a “land flowing with milk and honey;” but Israel could not remain without sin against the compact, any more than Adam, and so, after many warnings from Prophets and many invasions by enemies, the real end came at last, and Israel was ejected from his Paradise to live in the land of the stranger in Babylonia. The minds that put the history of Israel in this shape, and therein recognized the Divine justice, would evidently have been delighted with the account of the Fall.

We must, however, observe, that it is impossible to separate the third from the second chapter, as they now stand, in the sense in which the second is separate from the first. At chapter ii. verse 4*b* begins a new story; that which precedes has reached its natural end. Nothing in language or in subject tempts us to keep the two together; everything goes to prove them separate stories, written down by distinct authors. Between chapters two and three, however, there are many connecting links. "All the beasts of the field which Jahveh-God had made," iii. 1, refers to their creation in ii. 19; "Lest ye die," iii. 3, to the threat in ii. 17; "Because I am naked," iii. 10, to ii. 25. "Until thou return to the ground: for dust thou art, and to dust thou wilt return," iii. 19, is a very marked allusion to ii. 7, since it would have sufficed to say, "until thou die." And chapter ii. may be thought to hold chapter iii. *in embryo*, inasmuch as the commandment to abstain from touching the two trees may be considered as certain to be sooner or later transgressed by fallible creatures, and indeed to be mentioned only in order to lead up to that transgression in chapter iii. So also the assertion that the man and woman felt no shame at their nakedness prepares for their "eyes being opened," iii. 7. All this is very true, but it requires us to assume nothing but what from the evidence of language (especially the continued use of the remarkable double name *Jahveh-God*) and style we must in any case have assumed—that the story as told to us comes from a single, and a late, narrator. If it be objected that the two chapters belong to one another as much in subject as in mode of narration, I am inclined to contest that point. Other nations have their legends about a golden age, which do not tell us how or why that happy time came to an end. And the Hebrew writers often, as we have seen, allude to the Garden of God, or to Eden, without showing any knowledge of man's expulsion from it. The sequel to the story, containing the temptation and fall, may therefore be a later addition to the legend, which a clever narrator would easily attach to the original story, with all the references forwards and backwards which we have already noticed.

The Serpent-tempter at the beginning of the third chapter is, as we have observed, not treated by the narrator as a being of a distinct order from the other created animals.



The later identification of this serpent with Satan cannot by the historical inquirer be adopted to explain this story, for the simple reason that it finds no support in the story itself, and that Satan was unknown in Israel until that late age (after the Babylonian captivity) when a large amount of Persian mythology, with a whole army of good and evil angels known by personal names, was received by the Hebrews. In the earlier times it was God Himself (Jahveh) who tempted to evil as well as encouraged to good. Of this perhaps the most striking instance is that found in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, when "Jahveh moved David" to take a census of the nation; an act which, being regarded as sinful, is by the later writer of 1 Chron. xxi. 1 attributed to Satan. Yet it is far from satisfactory to rest in the conclusion that the Serpent is only an ordinary snake in the original myth, whatever he may have seemed to the narrator through whom we hear of him. Nor is any sufficient explanation to be found in the fact that a certain wisdom or cunning was attributed to the snake by many ancient nations, such as the Egyptians or the Greeks, who twined a snake round the staff of *Æsculapius*. From this to the power to persuade or seduce men is a long step. We do not reach any satisfactory solution till we find that the Evil Spirit *Angramainyus* (the later *Ahriman*) of the Zoroastrians is called a Serpent, and attempts at every step to undo the good works of his coequal Good Spirit *Ahuramazda* (the later *Ormuzd*) by setting up a corresponding number of evil agencies. The investiture of superhuman agencies with the forms of animals is so essential a part of the mythology of the Eastern nations, the Vedic Indians, the Sanskrit Indians, and the Zendic Iranians, and so foreign to the Hebrews and the Western Asiatic nations generally, that thence alone we should be tempted, even in default of any direct evidence, to insist on such an origin as the only probable one for the story. The Evil Spirit does seduce the first men in the old Persian story; the only unsatisfactory point is, that the details of the seduction seem not to be given in the *Zendavesta*, and to occur fully and present a striking parallel to the Hebrew legend only in later Zoroastrian books, such as the *Bundehesh*. It appears from this that one of two theories must be adopted. The *Bundehesh*, though written much later, under the Sassanids, may con-

tain legends really as old as the oldest parts of the Zend Avesta, and therefore be available for the elucidation of Genesis, and the Hebrews may have learned the whole story during their aboriginal contact with the Iranian people in Armenia: if so, chapter iii. is coeval with chapter ii. Or, the rudiments only of the story (the impersonation of the Evil Spirit in the Serpent's shape), which we find in the Zend Avesta, or not even this, may have there become known to the Hebrews, and the story of the seduction have come to them at a late period of the Hebrew monarchy, when they had free intercourse with the East, and the Persian mythology was more fully developed. In any case, the Hebrew narrator either wilfully conceals or does not understand, that in the original story the Serpent is not a mere snake, but an impersonation of the Evil Spirit. The Serpent was among the Egyptians, as well as among the Greeks and Romans, the symbol of a beneficent deity; which is sufficient reason (apart from the fact that all other parts of this story lead us to the East) against imagining this use of his form to have come from Egypt.

I pass to the "Cherubim with the flame of the glancing sword" which were settled "at the east of the garden of Eden, to keep the way to the Tree of Life." The functions of these mythical creatures are well known from other parts of the Old Testament. "They symbolise the Descent of the Deity," as Ewald says; thus in the Psalm, 2 Sam. xxii. 11, Jahveh "bowed the heavens and came down; and He rode upon a Cherub and flew, and was seen upon the wings of the wind;" and thus Cherubim were painted and sculptured in various ways in the Holy Place and on the Ark of the Covenant, to indicate the place where God came down from heaven to earth. They were always pictured as winged, and as partly of human form, and immense size. Those which Ezekiel sees in a vision are far more complex and elaborate, and should not be taken as representing the ordinary conception of them, but rather as affording a parallel to the compound figures imagined in the book of Daniel, in which each feature is strictly symbolical. That the Cherub, though so intimately associated with the action of Jahveh, is of foreign origin, may be unhesitatingly assumed. The gods of many nations have peculiar animals assigned to them to ride on; and the Cherub, so far as he serves the

Hebrew God in this capacity, must probably be borrowed from some foreign nation. To this it must be added that the name is inexplicable from any Hebrew root; at least such explanations as have been given are so forced as not to convince even their authors. The Hindu god Vishnu rides on a bird called Garuda, which dazzles all the gods with the light that streams from it, from which it is called Fire and Sun; and it is probably a personation of the sun himself, the most glorious chariot on which a god could be imagined to ride from one end to the other of the heavens. If, however, the god himself be imaged by the sun, the brilliant creature on which he rides must be the bright clouds that precede him as he crosses the sky. The similarity of the name is as striking as that of the function; and Ewald\* appears to hint at, if not positively to affirm, a connection.

But the Cherubim of Gen. iii. 24 shew no connection with those mentioned elsewhere. They have "to keep the way to the Tree of Life." They remind us of the guardians of the Soma tree (mentioned before) in the Indian mythology; especially as the Soma *is* the Tree of Life. The corresponding Zendic Haoma tree has also guardians—here in the form of fishes, because this tree is conceived as growing in water. But that which affords the most striking parallel is told by writers nearer home. Herodotus† tells of a vast quantity of gold existing in the far north, and guarded by Griffins (γρυπές), from whom a race of one-eyed men, the Arimaspi, are always trying to steal it. Let the mythic sanctity ascribed by the Hebrews to the north be remembered in this connection. Ctesias, speaking of India, says, "And there is gold in the Indian territory, not found washed down in the rivers, as in the Pactolus; but there are many great mountains, on which live the Griffins, four-footed birds, of the size of a wolf, with legs and claws like a lion, with red feathers on the breast, and black on the rest of the body; and by reason of these creatures the gold on the mountains is difficult to get at." In the Prometheus of Æschylus old Oceanus enters riding on the same four-footed bird Gryps. In the German *Greif*, and English

\* *Alterthümer*, p. 139: "Merkwürdig stellte der Altar beim Altindischen Pferdeopfer die Gestalt eines Garuda (d. i. Kerúb) dar."

† Herod. iii. 116.

*Griffin*, the same creature has entered the Teutonic mythology, and from thence our own nursery tales ; and we here find evidence how wide-spread the myth was, since the Germans have it quite independently of the Greeks, as the difference in the form of name sufficiently shows. Now the connection between the words כְּרֻב and γρυψ (*Chrûb* and *Gryp-s*) is not to be resisted, when the Hebrew word finds no explanation in Hebrew, and the functions are identical. It is therefore certain that in the Cherubim we have again an Aryan legend and an Aryan word imported by the Hebrews. With the other characteristics of ch. iii. it seems probable from the foregoing argument that this is a feature added to the older story of ch. ii. at a much later time ; but it is quite possible that further evidence may be found to establish the "solidarity" of the two chapters. Whether the Cherub in both its functions, and therefore the Gryps also, springs from the Hindu Garuda, is a difficult question. I incline to believe this ; partly because the Greek Gryps unites both functions (compare Ctesias and Æschylus mentioned above), like the Hebrew Cherub ; partly because of the inherent difficulty of believing in the coalescence of two original words in the one Hebrew word Cherub : besides which the usually assumed etymology of γρυψ, *greif*, *griffin*, from *greifen* to grip, snatch, Sansk. *grabh*, is unsatisfactory, as it seems to confound the function of the *guarding* Griffins with the *snatching* Harpies.

Here I bring the investigation of the Hebrew account of Creation to a close. The latter part of necessity appears the least satisfactory, because it has to do with myths held in more or less similar form by other and even older nations, whose mythology is not yet fully explored, nor fully established as to age and gradual development. When the Zendic scholars have fought out their too virulent contests and rest in one common conclusion, we shall have available for the explanation of these stories a great treasury of matter which I have had to disregard as not yet sufficiently authenticated. Enough, however, is already known to indicate in general terms the quarter from which the Hebrews received the myths in question ; and it is this which I have endeavoured to show in the preceding pages.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

### III.—THE PROGRESS OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

*The Progress of the Working Classes.* By J. M. Ludlow and Lloyd Jones. Strahan, London. 1867.

So much has been written and said about the working classes, and the subject has been for some years so popular, that, like all popular subjects in England, it is rapidly becoming encrusted with a growth of cant which greatly tends to distort our real knowledge of it. On the one hand, the loose inaccuracy of thought and language of the philanthropist—on the other, the rigid, logical deductions from an imperfect and one-sided selection of facts which distinguish a certain school of social philosophers, are about equally misleading, though in different directions ; and what is wanted at present is a really scientific and systematic inquiry into the various wants and wishes of the widely differing classes whom we are apt to think of as the working class, although we call them the working classes. In the interesting little book the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, the working class mainly means the factory class of Lancashire and Yorkshire and the skilled artizan of our large towns. Yet it would surely be entirely erroneous to argue that because certain facts are true of these classes, they must likewise be true of the agricultural labourers of Dorsetshire. Even within the limits of the same trades, very important differences are found among men employed in various parts of the country (as, for example, among coal-miners), which make any general argument drawn from observation in one locality alone very unsafe. Even when the inquirer is living in and amongst the class which he is attempting to understand, and comes into daily contact with it, he is very likely to be misled by generalizing from its exceptional, rather than from its typical, members. Hence we get widely differing descriptions of working men from men like Mr. Lowe and Mr. Bright, or the authors of the present book. It may be worth while to consider what are the difficulties in arriving at the truth which cause these wide divergences in opinion among inquirers equally able, equally sincere, and equally well placed for ascertaining the truth.

There are several sources of information, each of which



has its own value, to those who attempt to estimate the character, feelings and wants of a working class, though at the same time each has its characteristic defects, which have to be guarded against when the value of the evidence to be derived from them is being weighed. There is, first, the employer of labour, the worth of whose evidence varies very greatly. The great advantage of his information, so far as it goes (and this remark applies with increased force to his foreman), consists in the unforced and natural relations under which he comes into contact with his men. He sees and deals with them in their daily work, whereas in most of the cases to which we shall presently allude, they are conscious that they are observed. We are, however, speaking of those employers who deal with their men at first-hand ; and our remarks, for example, would in many cases apply rather to the manager than to the owner of a cotton-mill. It is very difficult for the best of us to be very natural when we are aware that we are, so to speak, the subject of a moral diagnosis. Besides, the employer of labour has to deal with average working men, whereas, as we shall see, most other inquirers come into contact with exceptional members of the class. But, on the other hand, he too often sees his workmen only in one relation, and that in many cases an antagonistic one. To take an example. It would appear at first sight that a successful, public-spirited and liberal employer would be well placed to take a comparatively fair view of the action of a trade society, supposing the assertion so often repeated to be true, that a well-managed trade society is not antagonistic to the interests of good and wealthy employers, but that, on the contrary, it assists them in checking the unfair competition of grasping, needy and unscrupulous rivals. In many respects the contrary is the case. The fact that the employer is a liberal and an able man, prevents his having any personal experience of the action of the union, except when it is in the wrong, and it is very hard for a man to judge with perfect impartiality a body whose faults are the only signs of existence which in the nature of the case he can have cognizance of. Another source of error is, that unless a man is accustomed to close and accurate thought, he is very apt to confuse his own personal experience with the *ex parte* statements of the society amongst which he moves, and to reason from the

latter with the same confidence as from the former. In fact, there are very few educated men who have any real appreciation of the relative value of different kinds of evidence, as the education of our universities does not as a rule seem to give it. If we took half the pains in sifting and systematizing the facts of social science that we do with those of natural science, we should be far nearer a solution of some of the terrible problems which every day are pressing upon us more and more urgently.

It would seem however, that if, for these and other reasons, the evidence of employers must be received with circumspection, we might, at any rate, gather from the men themselves at least the feelings and wants of their class. Yet here also care is very necessary. The men with whom the inquirer is likely to come into contact are energetic and pushing, with a strong individuality which they are likely to impress upon those immediately around them, so that much of their experience may well consist of their own thoughts and opinions, more or less faithfully reflected from surrounding admirers. If, on the other hand, you carefully seek out the average working man, you too often find that he is like Canning's "needy knife-grinder"—"Story! Lord bless you, he has none to tell you!"—and that he is only anxious to catch the drift of what you wish him to say, either in order to gratify you, or possibly from a sense of incapability of saying anything else. There are two other classes of men from whom valuable information may be gleaned, though it requires careful scrutiny before it is received, namely, the Scripture reader or domestic missionary and the philanthropist. The value of the Scripture reader's evidence varies very greatly. Sometimes it is very great, sometimes again so tainted with sentimentalism as to be almost useless. Great allowances, however, should, in all fairness, be made for this tendency. The unctuousness which too often distinguishes domestic missionaries is not the self-conscious expression of sentiments which it would be in other men, but results from the fact that they come in contact with the trials and sorrows of life to an extent which makes an expression of feeling natural and simple in them which would be overstrained in others. The danger in their case is, that if they are not only Scripture readers, but also almoners, they see the poor rather than the working men,

and see them under their least favourable aspect. There is nothing more painful than the tendency of a large proportion of the English poor to pauperism, though we should always recollect that the facts that come under our own observation constantly tempt us to overrate it. Those who fight the battle of life for themselves, are from that very reason not noticed by us except at rare intervals, and it is chiefly the pauperized in heart who force themselves upon our attention. Scripture readers and domestic missionaries have one great requisite for understanding the class among whom they work, viz., a sympathetic appreciation of their joys and sorrows, but they too often want the critical faculty. These two faculties are not necessarily so opposed as might at first sight appear; it is the truest love that can venture upon the freest criticism; and the people of England have almost always cordially accepted the hardest truths, when they were assured of the disinterestedness and sympathy of the speaker. The philanthropist is perhaps the most dangerous of all guides, unless he also possesses a more than ordinarily philosophical temperament. He generally has some theory to establish, and is often more anxious to confer a benefit than to gain a heart. We often find men of the purest and most unselfish lives making great sacrifices both of time and money, while they shew but comparatively small powers of sympathy with individuals. Vigorous and efficient, they carry their ideas out by main, we had almost said brute, force; the men who work with them are treated as convenient machines rather than as fellow-workers, and zeal for humanity almost extinguishes the love of men. These are not the men who can give any valuable information about the feelings and wishes of the independent and vigorous working man, but they very often possess a great deal of important, because to some extent reliable, knowledge as to his habits.

Almost equally misleading are statistics, unless, indeed, they are very carefully prepared. To take an example. Nothing is more uncertain than many of the tables of figures adduced when the subject of intemperance is in question. The comparison of the numbers of persons taken up for being drunk and disorderly in various places may be rendered entirely fallacious by variations in the vigilance or tolerance of the police, and an apparent increase in the drunkenness of

a town may simply be the result of instructions to the chief constable to enforce greater strictness. Facts cited as examples are often really exceptions, and the very circumstance that they have arrested the attention of the population amongst which they have occurred, is rather a proof of their rarity, and deprives them of any value as typical phenomena. All these sources of information have, however, their own value, but they require careful sifting and checking by each other; and if this be thoroughly done, we may possibly find that in many respects we have totally misunderstood classes of men in the very midst of whom we have lived, and with the whole of whose existence we have supposed ourselves familiar.

These considerations have the greater force at the present time, because the question which is now warmly and almost fiercely debated among thinking men throughout the country is, whether the progress of the working classes, relatively to that of similar classes in other countries, is or is not very defective. Unfortunately, when we speak of Europe, we too often practically mean France, as when we speak of America we mean New York. Both errors are seriously misleading. The French Revolution has had in France the exhausting effect of a fever, while in Germany it has been like a healthy stimulant to a strong but sluggish nature, whose slow and sure growth is far more dangerous to our imagined supremacy than the theatrical though perfectly sincere impulsiveness of the Parisian workman. The strong, sturdy farmers of the West, not the mongrel boasters of New York, are the true typical class of America, and it was the want of a due appreciation of this fact which led us so grievously astray during the late Civil War. There are, therefore, two distinct questions which we have to ask the authors of the interesting treatise we are examining—first, what has the progress of our working classes been as compared with their former condition? and, secondly, has that progress been relatively as great as the progress of the same classes in surrounding countries? Let us first cordially acknowledge the thought and knowledge which have been brought to this inquiry, and if we are compelled here and there to differ with men who have for so many years worked in and among the classes of which they speak, it will be with the greatest diffidence.

The first chapter is, to our minds, one of the most satisfactory of the volume. It contains the impressions of one who, in 1832, was a working man in Manchester, and who states calmly and simply what were the broad features of the class amongst which he lived, and compares them with the universally acknowledged facts of the present day. The second admits of more discussion. It consists of a wonderfully concise and able resumé of the legislation affecting labour since 1832. But upon the effects of that legislation there may exist more difference of opinion than Mr. Ludlow appears to anticipate. So far as regards the Factory Act, we believe him to be correct in stating that most of the employers who bitterly opposed it, now confess the benefits which it has conferred, not only upon their workmen, but upon themselves. As regards the Merchant Shipping Act, however, some of the best ship-owners tell a very different story. It has been broadly asserted, and, so far as we are aware, not denied, that the merchant-seamen of the present day are inferior to those of ten or fifteen years ago, and some of the ablest and most humane of ship-owners trace the commencement of that deterioration back to the passing of the Merchant Shipping Act, with its manifold provisions for the protection of the sailor. They assert that the Government relieved ship-owners from a responsibility which they were just beginning to acknowledge; that they have not only weakened, but destroyed, the tie which ought to bind together employer and employed; and that the consequence has been, what might have been expected, a serious, if not dangerous, deterioration in the character of our merchant service, so far at least as the seamen are concerned. On the other hand, it may be urged that such ship-owners only know the weak points of the Act; that the law was not made for them, any more than laws against fraud are made against the honest man, although sometimes an enactment quite necessary to punish fraud may act most unfairly against the honest man. The chief argument in favour of the Act urged by Mr. Ludlow is, that the branch of the mercantile marine which is subject to the closest supervision, namely steamers, is the branch which has of late years increased most rapidly. But surely there are quite sufficient reasons for the substitution of steam for sails without giving credit to an Act of Parliament for a change



which was an inevitable result of the advance of science. The question is one of the greatest difficulty, and one upon which the very ablest and most experienced men differ entirely, and to all appearance irreconcilably. It is the old battle—is, or is not, prevention better than cure? But this is a battle that has never been fairly fought out. Formerly we tried leaving ship-owners altogether alone, and of late years we have tried supervision; but we have not tried suffering them to take their own course, while holding them strictly responsible for the results. There may be other reasons than the Merchant Shipping Act for the deterioration of seamen, though we cannot help thinking that, so far as it weakens the bond between employer and employed, great mischief must arise. The law which provides that seamen shall be paid their wages whether the ship arrive at her destination or not, and which thus weakens their interest in the ship's safety, we cannot but believe to be a most pernicious one. Again, the whole moral tone of commercial morality has of late years been disgracefully lax, and in no trade has this told so lamentably as in ship-owning. So long as commercial public opinion and the insane credulity of limited-liability banks permit men without capital and without character, who pass their lives in intermittent bankruptcy, to be the ostensible owners of fine fleets of ships, so long may we expect to be shocked by the repeated instances of brutality, fraud and cowardice, that pervade so terribly our mercantile navy. It is lamentable that thirty years of improvement in ship-building and navigation should result in increased premiums of insurance and increased loss of property at sea, or, to speak more accurately, increased wilful waste and fraud. When, therefore, Mr. Ludlow speaks so cheerfully of the great advantages that the seaman has derived from the Merchant Shipping Act, we hesitate entirely to agree with him; and though we are far from asserting that the present unfortunate state of things is traceable to the Act, still we venture to submit that it is difficult to bring evidence that the action of the law has been in this case successful. There is still another point which is worth noticing before we leave this branch of the subject. Foreign-going seamen have no trades' union, so that the evils of which we complain cannot be traced to that source; yet among no class do we think that the results usually ascribed to unions are more commonly to be found.

However, with all drawbacks, it may be acknowledged that the social legislation of the last thirty years has worked well. The 'Public Libraries' Act of 1855 has, where tried, apparently been remarkably successful. Unfortunately, none of the annual reports of the free libraries established under it, except Liverpool, mention the trades of the readers; and even there the statement is confined to the readers in the lending library, leaving out of sight the reference or main library. There are two lending libraries at Liverpool, from which during the municipal year 1866-67, there were lent 420,282 volumes to 8233 readers, of whom, so far as we can estimate, not quite half, men and women, belonged, strictly speaking, to the working class; while the rest consisted mainly of merchants' clerks (1452), apprentices (677), office-boys, &c., and a moderate number of shopkeepers and shopkeepers' assistants. The readers of the reference library are not classified, but from their appearance a very much larger proportion belong to the working classes in the strictest sense; and it is very natural that this should be so. Too often working men can read more comfortably anywhere than in their own houses. The number of books issued in the reading-room of the reference library amounted last year to 578,774, or an average of 2041 per day. Probably, in Manchester or Birmingham, it might be found that even in the lending libraries the proportion of working men was much larger than in Liverpool, but unfortunately the necessary particulars to enable us to judge are not given. It is a proof how fallacious statistics may be if not complete, that if the occupations had not been given in the case of Liverpool, we should have unhesitatingly considered that three-fourths at least of the readers undoubtedly belonged to the working classes. It is interesting to find that among the volumes issued from the lending libraries at Liverpool were 3490 volumes of music. The museum at Liverpool was last year visited by 505,993 people, and so far as personal observation enables one to judge, by far the majority of the visitors belonged to the working classes.

The question of education is too large for discussion in this place, but we must express our dissent from the very strong language which Mr. Ludlow applies to Mr. Lowe's revised code. We believe that the only way of preventing the small shopkeeper, who is perfectly able to pay for the

education of his children, from defrauding his poorer neighbours of the education provided for those who cannot pay, not for those who can, by crowding them out of their own schools, is by keeping the scale of teaching sufficiently low, while making it good so far as it goes. It is the dead level which is required in primary schools; else teachers are too apt to devote their attention to a few clever and promising pupils, to the neglect of the others. The large proportion who can read and write fairly, not the two or three that are well up in geography and history, test the real value of a school intended to educate those who, without State aid, might not be educated at all. And in education, as in other things, the most valuable work is not always the most showy, so that a real advance may be an apparent retrogression. Do not let us be misunderstood: we do not mean to underrate the value of geography and history in opening the mind; we only say that they are comparative luxuries, for which parents may be well expected to pay, and that it is the first duty of the State to take care that *all* are taught the rudiments of education before it provides anything further. This we believe to have been, in the main, the effect of the revised code. We are not going to deny that it has made the profession of schoolmaster perhaps somewhat less sought after than formerly; but there may, during the last few years, have been other reasons for this change, into which it would take too much time to enter at present.

With regard to the periodical literature of the day, as compared with that of a few years ago, it is impossible to speak too strongly. There is no single subject upon which we may with so much reason congratulate ourselves, as upon our cheap periodical literature. With all its defects, the tone, temper, ability, and, let us add, purity, of the penny press throughout England, is what any nation may be proud of. If the reader be tempted to think this language too strong, and to call to mind the baby-farming advertisements of the *Daily Telegraph* and certain reports of cases in the divorce courts, we would ask him to refer to the files of the newspapers of a quarter of a century ago, and examine some of the reports of cases before the House of Lords. If he think that sometimes the comments upon political opponents are more clever than fair, let him look back and see what in former days gentlemen and scholars—writers

some of whom are English classics—said of those who honestly differed from them, and he will be forced to admit that, whatever he may think of the ability of the press of the present day, the improvement in taste, fairness and purity has been very remarkable.

We think Mr. Ludlow passes too rapidly over the recreations of the working classes, in which the change for the better has been very marked. We do not speak of penny readings or working men's clubs, both of which have been established by extraneous means, but of the amusements spontaneously selected by the working men themselves. No one can have observed the class of pieces played at the working men's theatres, such as the Grecian, the Britannia, &c., without being struck with the much higher class of drama that is now popular, as compared with the melodramas of old days. The amusements provided by philanthropists will of course be moral and instructive, and even the passion for athletic games has been stimulated by the exertions of kind-hearted friends of the working men; but the theatre has been left to take care of itself, except for the mischievous interference of the Lord Chamberlain, and the necessity for applying for a licence. It is therefore a far more accurate test of the taste of the working classes, than recreations provided especially for the purpose of improving and elevating them. The comic songs of the present day may be foolish, absurd and childish, but they do not contain the gross indecency and immorality of a few years back. We therefore entirely agree with Mr. Ludlow's summing up of this part of the subject, when he says—"Take things all in all, we believe that the progress of the working man has been greater in nothing during the last thirty-five years, than in learning to enjoy harmless, wholesome amusement."

The question of trades' societies appears to us to be a far more complicated one than either their advocates or their opponents appear inclined to admit. We greatly doubt whether working men will be easily persuaded that, while united action in every other department of social life is found to be so valuable, in the matter of their daily work it must be an unmixed evil. At the same time, it is difficult to draw the line between the tyranny of a majority over a minority, and that necessary discipline which is the *sine qua non* of all organized action. It is the same difficulty, in another form, which meets us in the formation of

political parties, viz. how to combine individual freedom with national power. We are sure, however, that the unmeasured invective launched against trades' unions, simply as such, will have little effect in preventing the members of the various trades from combining. Either combination does give working men additional power, or it does not. In the latter case, it is waste of strength to oppose a harmless organization; in the former, it is unreasonable to suppose that you will persuade men to resign what *ex hypothesi* is a source of power. You may persuade them that they are using that power wrongly, and that it may be employed to better purpose, even as regards their own interests; but to ask them to forego power which you acknowledge to be real, is asking too much from human nature. In many cases, the real and pernicious power of the union has been the result of the cowardice and insincerity of the masters; and the true remedy is not less co-operation between the workmen, but more co-operation between the masters, and less of the beggarly jealousies and over-reaching which have in so many cases disgraced them. We may perhaps hope that the effects of the American War have had something to do with this state of things, and that it may pass away and leave a better. In many cases, the manufacturer has ceased to be one in any true sense, and has become a merchant; that is, he has made his money rather by knowing when to buy and when to sell, than by the excellence and cheapness of his manufacture. In all exportable commodities these evils will, it may be hoped, eventually cure themselves; but with regard to a series of trades more connected with the health and comfort of the country than almost any others, the case is different. We allude to the building trades. The action of the unions in these trades is all the more dangerous because the effects are not always directly traceable to their real causes. The cost of building has of late years enormously increased; the advocates of trades' societies point out that the rate of wages has not increased in proportion; but it would be difficult to prove that there has been no increase in the *cost of labour*, which is quite a different thing. When trades' societies attempt to secure higher wages than the market can bear, the laws of political economy will in most cases provide a sufficient remedy, but these laws may prove powerless against attempts to diminish the efficiency of the



work done. The great industrial power of England has, to a great degree, lain in the fact, that though wages were high, labour was not costly in consequence, because an Englishman's day's work was so much more valuable than the day's work of the continental workman; but let that superiority cease, and wages will fall to the continental level, in spite of all the trades' unions in the world, and in many cases in consequence of them. Many of the rules of trades' societies, designed to prevent the day's work being so valuable as it otherwise would be, are so many blows aimed at the greatness of England; and those who countenance them ought to be treated with unsparing severity, as false to their country and traitors to their class. Nowhere do this class of rules appear so much to have prevailed as in the building trades; but it is to be hoped that some time soon the masters may feel themselves strong enough to make a determined stand against them, backed as they ought to be by the moral feeling of the whole country. For they are a tyranny of the most immoral and debasing kind, preventing a man being as good and as useful a workman as he might otherwise be, and making him the slave of soulless dawdlers who ought to be improved off the face of the earth.

It is not, however, the leaders of the societies who are to be chiefly blamed for this; they are but the expression of the trade feeling, and not seldom are in advance of it. The objection so often urged, that these leaders are frequently not the best workers in a trade, is futile: a man may be an excellent politician, which is what is required in the management of a trade's society, and yet a very poor handicraftsman: the only question is, do such men fairly represent the feeling of their trade? and we believe that in most cases they do. Even in the case of Broadhead, it is clear from the subsequent action of the saw-grinders, that the majority of the trade were assassins at heart. If a trade's society exists, and there are in the trade frequent cases of rattening, it ought to be held morally, if not criminally, responsible; but that is because the moral feeling of the trade is expressed in the trade's society—a moral feeling, not the effect, but the cause, of the organization. A trade's society guilty of an act of tyranny, should be attacked, not as being a trade society and therefore prone to such acts, but as having committed a certain specified act which was tyrannical, unjust and unfair to

the interests of the country and of fellow-workmen in other trades : instead of which, the course too frequently pursued is, to make a ferocious attack on the unions in general *à propos* of some particular action of one of them, and thus to range all of them side by side in defence of what in cooler moments the societies would have acknowledged at once as unwise and unfair. We are apt to make all these questions into party questions between labour and capital, whereas very often the ultimate sufferers are the fellow-workmen of the unionists, who have to pay more for the necessaries of life. This is peculiarly the case as regards the building trades. No one can have observed the enormous difference in building estimates for the same work, without being struck with the fact, and without wondering why there should be so much more difficulty in arriving at some sort of exact estimate of the cost than in other trades. When, however, all the fancies of meddling and intrusive unions have to be taken into consideration, and the loss of time, waste of labour, and uncertainty consequent thereon, the mystery is explained, and also the number of failures amongst master-builders.

These results are the more lamentable, inasmuch as it is difficult to bring them home to the acute, but naturally narrow and suspicious, minds of the men in whom their fellow-workmen have confidence. Even in the case of educated men, it is difficult to make many understand the indirect bearings of a question upon their interests ; nor is the gross materialism of the English mind in the present age confined to the working class, but pervades all English society. Indeed, we think it might easily be proved, that in this respect the progress of the working classes will not compare unfavourably with that of the classes above them. The fact is, we have been creating for ourselves an ideal working class which never did exist, and cannot be expected to exist for generations to come, and have been taking the working man of exceptional ability as an average representative of the class. We have therefore been looking for a sound substratum of good sense and moderation which we suppose to underlie the frothy, shallow talk of the more prominent and noisy members of a trade. The mass of every class can neither talk nor think, and though there may be some eminently sensible men who do not talk, their ideas and opinions are of

little use to any besides themselves if they do not express them. We, who pride ourselves upon the working of a constitution which necessitates power of expression as a prime requisite of statesmanship, should be the last to complain that the leaders of trade organizations possess that power of expression, and should not jump to the conclusion that because all who talk do not think, therefore that the converse must be true, and that silence is a proof of thought. If any candid inquirer will carefully examine the reports and organization of such societies as the Amalgamated Engineers, with its 30,984 members and £75,672 of income, or the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, with its 8000 members and £13,000 income, and then cross-question any half-dozen ordinary engineers or carpenters whom he may by chance come across, he will at once recognize that the men who manage these unions must be very superior to the average of their fellow-workmen. These are the men with whom, instead of traducing and attacking them, in the hope of undermining their influence, we should reason most carefully, and with that respect which every representative of a large body of men has a right to command. Nor, in many cases, do these men shew themselves really bigoted, so soon as they are convinced of your impartial good faith; although employers are often unduly surprised that their arguments are not at once received as judicial opinions, entitled to all the weight, not only of superior wisdom, but of absolute impartiality. Most writers on political economy who directly address the working classes, are either employers themselves, or so closely connected with employers, as to have imbibed their prejudices. We, for our part, have always found the leaders of trade societies very reasonable and moderate, provided only that we were prepared to treat them as men to be argued with on an equality, and not as children to be lectured. In the case of a large union, the leader must necessarily be a man of very considerable natural power: he requires great tact, command of temper, knowledge of human nature, and power of seeing the weak points in an adversary's arguments, if he is to control successfully the turbulent elements of which every body composed of working men consists. The more educated, up to a certain point, a man is, the more he learns to conceal the vanity and *amour propre*, the conciliation of which is so

difficult even in leading a party composed of educated gentlemen—a difficulty greatly increased in a class which has not in general been educated in habits of reticence and self-control. Sometimes the men who are put up to speak are men of violent and excitable natures; but these are not the men who in the long run regulate the policy of a union, or remain at the head of affairs for any length of time. Trades' societies are often very unjust and shortsighted in their policy, but that is because the workmen in the trade are unjust and unfair, and the union must in the main express the feelings and intelligence of the trade; but it will be found generally that the leaders, acting with a greater sense of responsibility, are often successful in modifying in a moderate sense the action of the trade. They are somewhat in advance of their class, but they cannot be too far in advance, or they would cease to be representative men. They, however, are the proper channels through which to educate their class, and once accepted in the representative character which belongs to them, we believe they will be found perfectly ready to meet and discuss in a fair and candid spirit all the vexed questions of wages and hours of labour, and in this way the true principles of political economy may be gradually diffused amongst the working men of England. It is not a very long time since sound economical views were first adopted by our most educated and thoughtful classes, and the rapidity with which they have spread during the last quarter of a century gives every reason to hope that the same success may attend well-directed efforts to spread an enlightened view of the question of wages, as attended the efforts of Cobden in his mission in favour of free-trade. And for this purpose organization is a great assistance, because an organization which has for any considerable period maintained an active existence, has enabled its members to take the measure of each other with a very tolerable approach to accuracy; and if you convince the more prominent men of such an organization, you have gone a long way towards convincing the main body who rely upon their judgment. We must not be misled by the analogy of political organizations, although even there we have seen education carried a long way sometimes; but there are so many other considerations besides ability and fitness involved in the selection of political leaders—family connection, wealth, and what not—that

we very often find very stupid old Philistines at the head of affairs. The case with trade societies is very different ; there all men are more or less upon an equality, nor can they afford to select mere empty spouters, however clever ; there are funds to be raised and dispensed, and tact and judgment, or the want of them, in a secretary or president may seriously increase or diminish the number of members.

If, however, real good is to be effected by the diffusion of economical knowledge, great caution will have to be exercised. In the first place, it must be made perfectly clear that the ultimate destruction of trades' societies is not the object aimed at, for it is not in human nature that men should acquiesce in theories which involve the destruction of their power. Secondly, great care should be taken not to put the men into the position of being suspected of being masters' men, as it is called ; that is, men who find their account in standing well with the masters and being unduly influenced by them. We think a great mistake is often made in this way. A representative man of a trade, of more than ordinary intelligence, is selected from his fellows, conspicuously taken up and fêted ; his head perhaps becomes a little turned, and he becomes an enthusiastic convert to the views of his patrons ; but in the meantime he has lost the confidence of his fellows, and his conversion, ending with himself, is labour lost. It should be clearly made evident that the only reason why it is thought important to discuss political economy with officers of a trade society, is because of their official position ; and that so soon as they lose the confidence of their own class, their opinions cease to be of any importance.

Upon the whole, we think Messrs. Ludlow and Lloyd Jones may fairly claim to have proved that there has been a very marked progress in the position, character and intelligence of the working classes in England, and that the last thirty years may favourably compare in this respect with any similar period in English history, at least since the Revolution. If, however, we are to maintain our position in the scale of nations, our progress must compare favourably not only with our own past history, but with the present history of other nations ; and into this part of the question the present authors do not go. In the matter of education we fear there is little doubt that we cannot afford to be put side by side either with France or Germany. The



state of our dangerous classes in London is a disgrace to our civilization, and the systematic pauperization of Bethnal Green is the natural but most alarming result of the blundering imbecility which characterizes the institutions and police of the Metropolis, and of the unmanly weakness which pervades our administration of the law. While, therefore, there may be some grounds for congratulation, much remains to be done before we can consider the condition of our working classes with satisfaction, or regard the state of our civilization otherwise than with considerable alarm.

P. H. RATHBONE.

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#### IV.—DAVIDSON'S INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

*An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, Critical, Exegetical and Theological.* By Samuel Davidson, D.D., LL.D. Two vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1868.

DR. DAVIDSON has rendered a fresh service to Biblical learning by the publication of these two volumes, the product of some years of laborious research and independent thought. So far as we know, this work, with the Introduction to the Old Testament which preceded it, is the first attempt in a complete and systematic form to put the English public in possession of the results of continental criticism on the many interesting but difficult problems which are involved in a thorough investigation of our sacred literature. Some of these results will probably startle the sluggish self-complacency of our stationary theology. While we in this country, with all the advantages of our richly-endowed universities and our numerous theological seminaries, have been repeating with a blind trust, till quite recently at least, the conclusions transmitted to us by a more learned and energetic ancestry, as if there was nothing further to be examined and known—our neighbours in France, Holland and Germany have kept abreast of the rapid progress of ideas in every department of philological inquiry, and on some points have come, orthodox and heterodox alike, to accept as established facts, what it would almost subject a

man to the charge of infidelity to hint at as simply possible, with us. We cannot too strongly express our obligation to Dr. Davidson for his manly and intrepid endeavour to dispel so discreditable a state of ignorance. He has surveyed his subject from the widest point of view. He has not shrunk from encountering the boldest theories of the most advanced schools face to face, and accepting from them without hesitation whatever element of truth he has found them to contain. But he has attached himself to no party, and gone to work in a spirit truly eclectic. He has used his own judgment on the diversified mass of materials brought before him; and if we cannot always agree with it, we feel sure it is in every case an honest and independent one. Like every single-minded searcher after truth, he must expect censure from different sides—from some, as going too far; from others, as not going far enough.

The form of Dr. Davidson's work is peculiar, and lies open, we think, to some technical objections. It occupies a sort of middle place between the old-fashioned Introduction, as it continued to be handled from the time of Carpzovius and Michaelis to that of De Wette and Bleek, and the form of literary history which has been more recently adopted by Reuss, and which will probably supersede every other, when the great fundamental results of biblical criticism have been more completely worked out. The earlier Introductions distributed their contents according to the subject-matter—taking the Gospels first, then going on to the Epistles of Paul, and treating lastly of the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse—following in the main the old ecclesiastical division of *evangelium* and *apostolicum*: and this seems to us the right mode of proceeding in a strictly critical work, where date and authorship cannot be assumed, but are the very points to be investigated. The case is different with literary history. Here criticism is presumed to have done its work, and furnished the materials out of which history weaves together in a continuous narrative its ascertained results. Dr. Davidson's work is not a literary history, but a body of criticism; yet he has arranged his materials according to their supposed chronological sequence, and by adopting this method he is often compelled to base the framework of his system on conjecture, and forestall the free judgment of the student. The date of a book is just one of those points which criticism must leave open

to be settled according to the evidence produced. On this ground we rather take exception to the form of Dr. Davidson's very valuable work, as confounding in some degree the distinct provinces of criticism and history. He has mixed up too, as his title announces, a good deal of exegetical and theological discussion with the proper subject of his volumes, which is criticism; and a fastidious objector might complain of this, as destroying the strictly scientific character of his work. Admitting that there is considerable force in both these objections viewed abstractedly, we are nevertheless inclined to think, that in reference to the class of readers among whom Dr. Davidson's labours are calculated to bear the most abundant fruits of good—young students of theology and persons whose minds have been unsettled by the present distracted state of religious opinion—the very defects of his book as to mere form, may possibly assist and extend its practical influence. Boldly putting the Epistles of Paul in the foremost rank of our New Testament books, may help to dissipate the prejudice which has still a strong hold on many minds—that because in our canon the Gospels come first in order, therefore in the form in which we now have them, they are the oldest and most authentic documents of our Christian faith. The interspersion also of exegetical and theological commentary, though strictly out of place in a critical work, may soften prejudice and smooth the way for the admission of new views, by shewing that they render clearer and plainer many passages hitherto involved in great obscurity, and bring a purer and more spiritual theology out of the overthrow of an earlier belief.

Dr. Davidson accepts the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians as the most ancient Christian writing now extant, though it is possible, he thinks, there were earlier letters of Paul, which have been lost. He puts its date about A.D. 52. With many eminent critics, he supposes it anterior to the so-called First Epistle. With Mr. Jowett, he asserts the Pauline authorship of these two Epistles—and, we think, justly—against the unreasonable scepticism of Baur and the critics of the Tübingen school. Next in order he reckons the two to Corinthians, Galatians and Romans. Of these four Epistles the genuineness and authenticity have never been called in question by any scholar of authority. They

subsist as an unassailable witness of the origin and earliest working of our Christian faith; and set forth with the utmost clearness and strength the characteristic doctrines of the apostle—the abolition of law, and the admission of all men to an universal religion through justification by faith. We do not find the evidence in these Epistles for Paul's belief in the pre-existence of Christ, quite so decisive as it seems to be regarded by Dr. Davidson. We can only admit, that the apostle's view of Christ's person was such as might gradually advance, under the continued influence of the beliefs of that time, to the full recognition of that doctrine. As yet we discover no trace of his identifying the person of Christ with the Alexandrine Logos. He knew Christ only in his risen and glorified state, where he looked up to him as a humanity made divine, destined by God to introduce a new spiritual era, and exercising through the Spirit a supreme dominion over the souls of men. Speaking from the general impression which these four letters have left on our own mind, we should say, that the doctrine of the Spirit, as the renewing, justifying and sanctifying principle of human nature, forms the characteristic feature of their teaching, as distinct from communion with the Word made flesh, which was a later development of the Christian idea.

It is impossible not to feel, that some change has come over the doctrinal views of the apostle, when we arrive at the later Epistles ascribed to him—Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians. This change has been considered so marked and peculiar by Baur and his school, that they have questioned the Pauline authorship of these letters, including the one to Philemon. We agree with Dr. Davidson in thinking, that they bear strong internal marks of genuineness, with the exception of Ephesians, which reads to us as a later amplification of the simpler text of Colossians. The doctrinal change on which so much stress is laid, seems to us no more than what may be readily accounted for by the natural development of certain fundamental conceptions in an age of rapid intellectual movement and free discussion. Contrary to Dr. Davidson's decision, we are disposed to refer these letters—Colossians, Philemon and Philippians—rather to the two years' imprisonment in Cæsarea than to that in Rome. We know nothing certain of the apostle after he reaches the metropolis of the world. We lose sight

of him for ever in that great Babel, when the narrative in Acts closes abruptly over his head. If these letters were really written from Rome, it is surprising that there should be scarce a passing allusion to the new and wonderful world in which he found himself, the few supposed references being quite as easily reconcilable with a Cæsarean date.\* During this interval of comparative rest, protected and favoured by the Roman governor (Acts xxiv. 23), Paul would have time to gather up his past experiences, and to mould into a more definite form some views which amidst the incessant conflicts of controversy had been left in a vague and fluctuating state. He would perceive, that some doctrine was wanted to unite in a common point of view the most advanced minds among the heathens and the Jews; and in those more exalted conceptions of the nature and functions of Christ, which he has so distinctly expressed, more especially in Colossians (i. 13—19, ii. 9, 10), and for which the Alexandrine speculations of his countrymen had prepared the way, he found, under the influences then all-powerful in the world of thought, the natural issue of his earlier faith, and the means of overcoming the most formidable opposition alike from the Hebraic and the Hellenic side. These views he did not live to carry into effect; but if we are right in regarding Colossians and Philippians as the latest extant productions of his pen, they form an interesting and instructive link in the genealogy of Christian doctrine between his own earlier views, when he first broke away from Judaism, and that more distinct acknowledgment of an incarnate Logos, gradually developed out of more extended collision with the heathen mind, which was embodied in the Fourth Gospel after his death.

Of the three so-called Pastoral Epistles which bear the name of Paul, Dr. Davidson is compelled by the result of his critical researches to question the authenticity. He is brought to this conclusion by the marked and pervading difference of their diction from that of Paul, by the indications of a more developed ecclesiastical system than seems compatible with so early a date, but chiefly by the impossi-

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\* The *πραιτώριον* (Philipp. i. 13) may be the *πραιτώριον τοῦ Ἡρώδου* at Cæsarea (Acts xxiii. 35), where the Roman governor had ordered Paul to be kept; and *οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας* (Philipp. iv. 22) may be persons attached to his suite.



bility of finding any suitable time and occasion for them within the limits of the recorded life of the apostle. It has been customary to refer them to the period of a second imprisonment in Rome; but of such imprisonment there is no existing evidence whatever. The supposition of it is a conjectural expedient to get rid of the chronological difficulties of the letters. Dr. Davidson thinks the author was a Pauline Christian who probably lived at Rome in the first part of the second century, and wished to encounter the Gnosticism of that day from a practical point of view. To be asked for such a concession as this, is very painful to those who have been taught to believe that their faith is imperilled by any questioning of the genuineness of books contained in canonical scripture. On this subject our author has some very pertinent and seasonable observations.

“There is a way of looking at these conscious fictions which does great injustice to their authors, and is equally foreign to the Oriental mind. They were usual both before and after Christ’s coming. The books of Daniel and Ecclesiastes are examples. Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature presents many specimens. The Clementine Homilies, the book of Enoch, and others are similar. The motives of the writers were good. No deliberate fraud was meditated; at least in our sense of the word. It was a common practice to put forth a work under the cover of a well-known name, to procure a readier acceptance. Such was the method in which good men often conveyed their sentiments and taught the public. It is not our Western one, nor does it fall in with modern notions of rigid morality. Being theirs, however, it is but fair to judge them from their own point of view. The end was unexceptionable; the means adopted were in harmony with the prevailing notions of the time. Had the parties believed these means to be wrong or immoral, they would not have adopted them. In their eyes, they were right and pertinent. It should also be observed, that the authors had no idea of the use that would be made of their compositions, by a rigid separation of them into canonical and uncanonical; the former to be taken as an infallible standard of faith, the latter not. Neither apostles nor evangelists wrote as conscious organs of a dictating or superintending Spirit; nor did they suppose themselves so far elevated above other spiritual men as to claim for their writing a divine authority. They worked in the interests of truth, and as they thought they might best promote it.”\*

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\* Vol. II. p. 448.

This is only what De Wette and Bleek and other critics really acquainted with the character of early Christian literature, have said before.

Of the authenticity of the Catholic Epistles, Dr. Davidson speaks more than doubtfully, with the exception of that of Jude, which he thinks may have been written by a disciple of that name, closely connected with the apostles—the brother of James. The Second Epistle of Peter he looks upon as the latest of all the writings in the New Testament. Its relation to Jude, which must have preceded it, is remarkable—bearing some analogy to that of Ephesians to Colossians. Hebrews he agrees with all the more eminent critics of modern times, in regarding as an expression of Christian Alexandrinism in contradistinction from Paulinism. With respect to the authorship of the Apocalypse—a question of high critical importance from its bearing on the controversy about the Fourth Gospel—Dr. Davidson, after a very full examination of the external evidence, arrives at the conclusion, that “its apostolic origin is as well attested as that of any other book in the New Testament.”

“How,” he asks, “can it be proved, that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Galatians, for example, on the basis of external evidence, if it be denied, that the apostle John wrote the closing book of the canon? With the limited stock of early ecclesiastical literature that survives the wreck of time, we should despair of proving the authenticity of any New Testament book by the help of ancient witnesses, if that of the Apocalypse be rejected.”\*

With the external evidence he finds the internal to agree.

“As far as the individuality of John is reflected in the New Testament and tradition, it is in harmony with the contents of the Apocalypse.”†

In a finely written passage,‡ which we regret we have not room to extract, Dr. Davidson has drawn a vivid and discriminating contrast of the characteristic features of the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse.

We turn with great interest to his investigation of the mutual relationship of the Three First or Synoptical Gospels. Of the three principal theories which have been propounded on this subject,—that of Eichhorn and Marsh, which assumes a primitive gospel as the common basis of our

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\* Vol. I. p. 318.

† Ibid. p. 324.

‡ Pp. 335, 336.

synoptical narratives, that of Gieseler, which views those narratives as the ultimate fixation in a written form of different streams of oral tradition, and that of which the most distinguished representative is Griesbach, who supposed the later evangelists to have used the earlier—our author adopts with some modifications the last. We think he hardly does justice to the substantial probability involved in the theory of Eichhorn, which has perhaps lost credit from being wrought out with too elaborate an ingenuity by the subtile intellect of Marsh. The close verbal agreement which our three first Gospels constantly exhibit in citing the words of Jesus, amidst the widest discrepancy in other respects, ever seemed to us conclusive proof, that they must have had access to some common written record; and this was ground sufficient for Eichhorn's general assumption of an *Urevangelium*. One conclusion seems clearly to result from Dr. Davidson's researches, which we suppose most who have really looked into this matter with the lights of modern criticism, would be already prepared to admit,—that the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke could not have been struck out all at once complete by the writers whose names they bear, but that they are cumulative productions which grew by successive accretions to the form in which we now possess them. In the question now so keenly discussed of the relative priority of our three first Evangelists, Dr. Davidson takes side against that school of distinguished critics of which Mr. Kenrick is one,\* who accept Mark's as the primitive Gospel. For ourselves, we must confess we could never feel the entire force of the reasoning which has led some eminent scholars to discover the traces of originality and even of autopsy in that Gospel. Some considerations on which they are accustomed to lay much stress, appear to us to imply rather the reverse. We incline, therefore, to believe with Dr. Davidson—as, indeed, we have always believed, since we first examined the subject—that the oldest records of our faith, coeval probably with the life-time of Jesus himself, are to be found in the Gospel of Matthew. Only, when we speak of Matthew as it now exists, we speak, it must be remembered, of a very compo-

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\* See his *Biblical Essays*, reviewed in the first number of this Journal, March, 1864.

site work, including the original Aramæan nucleus rendered into Greek, and much additional matter subsequently incorporated with it. That there was a collection made of Christ's discourses\* by the apostle Matthew, we learn from Papias, our oldest witness; and we see no reason to doubt the substantial truth of his statement. This must of course have been anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem; but there are passages in our actual Matthew which can only have originated subsequent to that event. The traces of these different elements are still perceptible to the careful reader. Dr. Davidson has indicated some of them; and to discriminate them by a clear and intelligible principle of separation, is one of the problems which the modern criticism is now attempting to solve, and in working out which it is not unlikely that it will carry its scepticism in the first instance too far. On the whole, we are disposed to assert the presence of a rather larger amount of the original apostolic element in our actual Matthew, than Dr. Davidson appears to admit. The collection first made by the apostle in his native dialect determined the form and character of the ensuing work. It was a record of Christ's sayings and preachings, embodied in a narrative of the circumstances which immediately called them forth, the whole strongly coloured by the Jewish feeling which distinguished the earliest phase of the Christian faith. Subsequent accretions of a kindred nature were attracted to and clustered round the original nucleus, some of them betraying the influence of those wider conceptions of Christ and his mission, which had sprung up subsequent to his death, yet not so divergent from the primary constituents of the work, as to deprive the Gospel in its completed form of a marked uniformity of tone. The close relationship between our Matthew and the Gospel of the Hebrews, which so puzzled Jerome, indicates what was in all probability the genesis of both works: viz. derivation through a different process of intervening development from a common apostolic source. We should not perhaps be far from the truth, if we assumed what is called the Sermon on the Mount to be the most ancient and authentic document of Christ's teaching in existence.

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\* This we must still contend to be the original and proper meaning of *τὰ λόγια*, in opposition to some critics of high name who argue that the word is equivalent to *εὐαγγέλια*.

Only we cannot regard it, with Dr. Davidson, as a single discourse "orderly and connected," which has been antedated in the chronology of our present narrative; but rather as a collection of notes or memoranda, taken down at the time, of discourses delivered by Jesus on various occasions during the Galilean period of his ministry, from a hill-side not far from Capernaum, of which the quick geographic eye of Dean Stanley thought he could still recognize the features in the unaltered physical conformation of the neighbourhood. Whether these original materials have been subjected to any sifting and arrangement, or may in some instances have had a new significance put into them, by the later Greek editor, is a point on which we do not venture at present to offer any decided opinion. To us they seem tinged throughout by the Jewish feeling, which we have no doubt characterized the earliest teaching of the prophet of Nazareth. The leading idea which runs through them, is evidently to bring out the deeper spiritual meaning, which lay hid, and had been overlooked, in the old traditional injunctions of the Mosaic law. That the Aramaean substance of our first Gospel underwent progressive enlargement and some corresponding modification of form, on passing into Greek, can hardly admit of a doubt in any mind which has thoroughly examined the question. When our Matthew assumed its present form, it is impossible precisely to determine. As the Epistle of Clemens Romanus does not, and that of Barnabas does, recognize its existence, Dr. Davidson thinks it must have appeared between the dates of those two works. But this is a precarious inference, dependent too on first ascertaining when those epistles were written. We gather that he would place it, though his language is vague and hesitating, somewhere about the beginning of the second century.

Next in order of time to that of Matthew, Dr. Davidson places the Gospel of Luke. It is in favour of this view, that the numerous citations of the gospel history in Justin Martyr correspond for the most part to the text of Matthew and Luke, there being comparatively few coincidences with that of Mark, except in one remarkable passage which we shall notice hereafter. We agree with our author in thinking, that the third Gospel exhibits a new and advanced phase in the development of the Christian faith, and that



its object is mediating and conciliatory, designed to bring Judaism and Paulinism within the sphere of a comprehensive Christianity.\* Every one must have noticed, that some of the most beautiful parables associated with the name of Christ, breathing a spirit of the most enlarged humanity, are peculiar to this Gospel—contained in that large collection, implying apparently a separate and independent document, which is inserted between the ninth and the nineteenth chapters, in the interval between the transfiguration and the arrival at Jerusalem. What account is to be given of this addition to the original Judaic Gospel of Matthew? Were these parables a fresh product of the working of the Christian idea in the mind of a later writer imbued with the spirit of Paul, wholly disjoined from any root in words once actually spoken by Christ himself? We think not. The idea of Christ which flashed on the mind of Paul at the time of his conversion, as the representative and embodiment of our collective humanity in its filial relation with God, where there is neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free, circumcision nor uncircumcision—we believe to be nearer to the indwelling truth and reality even of his historical character, than the narrower Judaic memorials which took down the outward word and act, without any full consciousness of the deeper meaning that was hidden in them. Every great and creative nature, especially one whose sphere of influence is the spiritual world, has a many-sided manifestation, which inferior minds cannot at once comprehend in its whole extent. They seize on particular indications which suit their capacity or are in harmony with their previous mode of thought, and working them out on one small line of logical development, end in the production of systems of which the aim and tendency fall infinitely short of the broad and catholic spirit of the teacher whose authority they claim. The endless variety of Christian sects is a standing proof of this. It must ever be borne in mind, that all our records of Christ's earthly ministry are fragmentary and partial, tinged by the colour of different memories, and presenting those aspects of his divine humanity that had most commended themselves to particular minds, and were the most tenderly cherished by divergent traditions. For-

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\* Vol. II. p. 43.

tunately for the world, the catholic principles of the framers of our canon led them to include in their collection the most varied elements of Christian thought and feeling. Christ's own mind, as we may gather from his history, was itself in a course of progressive self-development, ever awakening to a fuller and clearer consciousness of the work entrusted to him by Providence, even to the last. As the Spirit came to him and wider views opened before his mental eye, he threw out hints and suggestions still Jewish in their mode of enunciation, of which some caught and treasured up the far-reaching spiritual application, while others of slower apprehension could not get beyond the obvious meaning of the old traditional form. The consequence was, two distinct lines of tradition, perpetuating different elements of "the manifold wisdom" of Christ\*—not contradicting each other as to fundamental facts, but understanding and interpreting those facts from a different point of view—the literal and Judaic represented in the main by Matthew, the spiritual transmitted through Stephen and Paul, and embodied in Luke. The date and authorship of this Gospel, with the connected book of Acts, is a complicated question, for the solution of which no clear and positive data exist. The conciliatory tone which pervades both these works, implies the subsidence of early controversy, and precludes the adoption of a very early date. Following De Wette, Dr. Davidson finds in Luke's account of the Last Supper, an approach to that view of Christ's death, which ultimately led to the celebrated Paschal controversy, and of which Paul gives us the earliest indication in 1 Cor. v. 7. The suggestion is an important one, and deserves full consideration; but the language of the Gospel does not appear to us quite decisive. Our author assigns the date of Luke's Gospel provisionally to about 115 A.D.

Mark's Gospel he puts as late as 120 A.D., and supposes to have been written at Rome for the use of Gentile converts. He thus meets the argument for the originality of this evangelist, which has been founded on his graphic style:

"Vividness of description, which Mark usually effects by inserting details unknown to Matthew and Luke, does not necessarily imply an eye-witness or greater originality than the other

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\* ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία. Ephes. iii. 10.

Synoptists. On this point many critics have been misled, because they did not fairly consider *the character* of the delineations supposed to indicate priority of time to those of Matthew and Luke. It has been argued that the manner in which our evangelist represents the performance of miracles, shews an earlier form of the gospel tradition. We are reminded of the fact, that Mark recognizes the use of natural means in several instances (vi. 5, 13, vii. 32). But surely this indicates a later reflectiveness, uniting the natural with the supernatural. Had it been the common belief from the beginning that the miracles were within the compass of natural causes, we might suppose that Mark represents an earlier form of the tradition than the evangelists who omit all notice of the natural ; but as that is incorrect, the natural element is the creation of a later period, not a remnant of the earliest.\*

It might be replied perhaps, that this is simple affirmation without proof, and that one statement is as good as another. What makes all inferences drawn from such data alone so very unsatisfactory is, that they owe their force to the subjective condition of the critic's own mind.

We agree with Dr. Davidson, that Papias's account of Mark's taking down from time to time, without regard to order, what he heard from Peter in the course of his preaching, concerning the words and actions of Jesus, does not at all correspond to our second Gospel in its present form. But here, as in the case of the first, we are disposed to contend for an ampler presence of the original apostolic element than our author seems willing to allow. We suppose our second Gospel, whether its original memoranda were taken down in Aramaic or in Greek, to stand very much in the same relation to Mark, as our first does to Matthew. Who reduced either of these to their actual form, we know not. All that we argue for is, that the materials at first collected by Mark were used, in conjunction with other sources, by the later *réducteur* ; that they came ultimately from Peter ; and that to this cause the vividness of some of the narratives may possibly be due. It is certainly remarkable, that the only passage in the New Testament where the epithet *Boanerges* is applied to the sons of Zebedee, should occur in Mark (iii. 17), and that where Justin Martyr (Dial. c. Tryph. c. 106) alludes to this circumstance, he should quote the memorials of Peter as his authority. The connecting

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\* Vol. II. p. 108.

line of development between the first indication of origin in Papias and the completed work which we now possess, it is utterly impossible to trace ; and the loss of these intervening links makes the assignment of a date and final editorship so very conjectural and uncertain. Whether, in the case of Mark, this was anterior or subsequent to the appearance of our present Matthew, we have no sure means of determining. But we still believe the original materials of Matthew, as not improbably taken down in the life-time of Christ himself, to be of older date and more authentic character than the memoranda collected by Mark from the lips of Peter. Luke must have had access to an original tradition different from any followed in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. The title to priority may be stated in two ways ; it may have reference to the original materials, or to the ultimate form. On the latter point, the question is still an open one. With respect to the former, Matthew seems to us to put forward a claim which cannot well be disputed by any other evangelist. Interpreting as best we may the evidence internal and external now accessible, we are unable to acquiesce in the conclusion which has approved itself to many eminent critics—Lachmann, Meyer, Ewald and Kenrick—that the Gospel of Mark is the *protevangelium*.

There are two questions on the solution of which the future criticism of the New Testament mainly depends—the relation of the book of Acts to the Pauline epistles, and that of the Fourth Evangelist to the Synoptists. Each of these questions Dr. Davidson has examined at considerable length, and with great freedom and independence of judgment. His decision in both cases is adverse to the traditional orthodox view. No one who has mastered the exhaustive analysis of Zeller's book,\* can, we think, reasonably doubt, that the Acts of the Apostles is not a simple record, but has been written with a purpose ;—that its object is conciliatory, intended to heal the breach which the sharp antagonism of the Jewish and heathen parties had occasioned in the early church ; and that consequently, where the statements of Paul and the history are at variance, the probability is, we have the most authentic account from

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\* Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung kritisch untersucht.

the apostle.\* Nevertheless, there is always a tendency on the first promulgation of an original view, however based on substantial truth, to push it to an extreme and assert it in too absolute a form. Dr. Davidson appears to us to have followed Zeller too implicitly, and in his discrimination of the historical and unhistorical elements of the book of Acts to have been guided too much by mere subjective feeling. The critics of this school seem to us unreasonably disposed to depreciate the claims of Peter to some share in the gradual liberalizing of the Jewish Church. He has not the advantage, possessed in this controversy by Paul, of being able to produce his own letters; for those which bear his name are confessedly of a later date. We can only judge him, therefore, by the one-sided light of the history; and he naturally lies open to the suspicion which attends it, that his conduct has been exhibited in an unduly favourable aspect, to put him on a level with his great apostolic rival. We agree in the main with Mr. Watkys Lloyd,† that the account in Acts, of Peter's access to wider views and of the general condition of the Jewish Church, however veiled in myth and symbol, is not in itself improbable, and may be accepted as corresponding to the broad outlines of historical fact. We see no ground, for example, for supposing with Schleiermacher and Dr. Davidson, that the words in Acts (viii. 1), "except the apostles," are unhistorical. On the contrary, they seem to us, with the whole of the ensuing narrative, to bear strong internal marks of credibility. The apostles, strengthened, as it would appear, by the recent accession of the Pharisees, who found their policy in turning to their own profit the growing popular enthusiasm in favour of the new religion—were still sufficiently Jewish in their beliefs and outward observances, to remain unmolested in the capital, when the persecution broke out on the death of Stephen. It was the advanced party, the innovators, sharing enthusiastically in the sentiments of the first martyr, who were driven out, and disseminated the new ideas through Samaria and southern Judæa. The conduct of the apostles who had been left behind, is significant on this occasion. They were

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\* See an article on this subject in the last number of the *National Review*. November, 1864.

† Christianity in the Cartoons.



evidently alarmed as to the possible effect of this more liberal preaching on the public mind; and they deputed Peter and John to go over the same ground, evidently with a view to counteract and neutralize its influence. It was in the course of this journey, and as a result of his observation of the new feeling which was everywhere springing up, that Peter's own mind opened, and was prepared for the subsequent admission of the heathen Cornelius into the Church. Paul must not be allowed to have the word in this matter entirely to himself. His was a noble and glorious character; but he was still a man, not exempt from liability to the one-sided and party views that are specially incident to an ardent and energetic type of mind. We do not see why it should be doubted\* that, wherever circumstances allowed it, he first preached in the synagogues, and only when expelled from them, addressed himself to the Gentiles. His own letters abound in proofs of his warm attachment to his countrymen, and how gladly he would have carried them with him foremost into the kingdom of God.† His case resembled that of John Wesley in later times, who would have remained in the bosom of the Church of England, if the Church would have tolerated him and accepted his reforms; who became a Dissenter, because he could not help it. In conformity with his own avowed principle (1 Cor. ix. 22) of "becoming all things to all men, that he might save some," we find no difficulty in believing that, under given circumstances, Paul might have thought it expedient to let Timothy be circumcised, and yet in a different state of things might not feel it necessary to enforce the rite in regard to Titus. The most formidable discrepancy between the history and the letters, is that which relates to the apostolic decree (Acts xv.) regulating the terms of the admission of Gentiles into the Christian Church. If Paul had been fortified with a document of this nature, it is inconceivable that he should not have appealed to it in his expostulation with the Galatians. In its actual form and chronology, the narrative in Acts must be regarded as unhistorical.

Dr. Davidson dissents from many critics in ascribing the

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\* Vol. II. p. 210.

† See, among other passages, the following: Romans ix., x. 1, xi.

first Epistle of John to a different author from the Fourth Gospel. He thinks, it must be earlier than that work; and that the second and third Epistles, though somewhat later, belong to about the same date. He thus escapes the difficulty, as bearing on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, of the alleged early use by Papias and Polycarp of the first Epistle. This is one of those nice and delicate points of criticism, which are very liable to be settled by subjective feeling. Relying on the decided voice of ancient testimony, and strongly impressed by a general similarity of thought and diction between the first Epistle and the Gospel, we had been disposed to refer them both to the same pen. But Scholten\* and our author have indicated some peculiarities in the Epistle, distinguishing it in a very marked way from the Gospel, which cannot but excite a doubt on the matter: and it must be confessed, that the more we become acquainted with the literary history of those times, the less do we feel inclined to lay stress on these coincidences of sentiment and phraseology, as certain proofs of mutual acquaintance, of borrowing, or of a common source. They can often be regarded in no other light than as the inevitable expression through various media of views which then dominated the whole world of religious thought, and of which we can already discern the incipient influence in the later Epistles of Paul. Instead, therefore, of looking to the Fourth Gospel as the source of these mental tendencies, it would probably be nearer the truth to consider it as one of the manifestations of them. Dr. Davidson assigns 150 A.D. as a probable date for the Gospel. For ourselves we cannot see, that there is yet any evidence for arriving at a positive conclusion. Nor, again, can we quite agree with our author, that all traces of a belief in the second coming of Christ have disappeared from the Fourth Gospel. That belief, it seems to us, is still there, though in a softened and spiritualized form.† It is in a state of transition. The *ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα*, which is the favourite mode of expression in this Gospel, corresponds to the *παρουσία* of the earlier evangelists.—In spite of these unimportant differences of opinion on a few minor points, it is

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\* Die ältesten Zeugnisse, &c., p. 49.

† See particularly John v. 25, 28, 29.

very satisfactory to the writer of the present article to find, that a work, which was the subject of criticism in the last number of this Journal,\* has been in all its main conclusions fully sustained and corroborated by the patient research and impartial judgment of a biblical scholar like Dr. Davidson. It might perhaps suffice to refer Mr. Higginson to the concluding part of the learned work which we have here reviewed, for a complete answer to every one of the objections which he has raised; but as the criticism referred to may be thought to require some more particular notice, and the subject is identical with the one which we are already discussing, we hope to be excused for devoting a brief space to its consideration before bringing this paper to a conclusion.

We gather from Mr. Higginson's own statement, that his knowledge of the controversy about the Fourth Gospel is derived from the *Prolegomena* of Kuinoel, published, as he himself admits, more than forty years ago, but which brought, he tells us, the whole argument on both sides to a focus, and thoroughly examined all the objections (*especially those of Bretschneider*) to its authenticity.† On this somewhat defective and antiquated authority, Mr. Higginson proceeds to inform his readers, that since the appearance of Bretschneider's *Probabilia* in 1820, "no new argument, he believes, certainly no new critical fact, has been discovered bearing on the question." By "no new critical fact," as distinguished from argument, he means, we presume, no

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\* An Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel, especially in its relation to the Three First.

† The last volume of the last edition of Kuinoel's Commentaries on the Historical Books of the New Testament, was published in 1827, according to Winer's *Handbuch der theologischen Literatur*, which came out at Leipsic in 1838. Kuinoel himself died in October 1841. We do not know what edition Mr. Higginson may have used of Kuinoel's work. We have the London reprint of 1835 (Booker, New Bond Street), which, as appearing eight years subsequently, we might have supposed to represent the latest German edition. In this English reprint, the *Prolegomena* do not bring down the controversy beyond Horstius, whose attack on the authenticity of the Gospel made its appearance, with some other works of similar tendency, quite at the commencement of the present century. Their arguments, especially those of Horstius, are replied to at considerable length. But of Bretschneider's book I do not find any mention even in a passing reference. How is this? Is there a later edition of Kuinoel, which contains the criticism on Bretschneider? And has the English publisher by a strange oversight reprinted an early one, where it is wanting?

passage in an ancient author yet unused in the controversy, or no fragment of some lost or imperfect work yet brought to light. Both in its broader and in its narrower sense, we take leave to dispute altogether the correctness of this statement. No one knows better than Mr. Higginson, that old facts may be placed in an entirely new light by the continued examination and comparison of them: and his assertion, that during the half century which has nearly elapsed since Bretschneider first timidly suggested his probabilities, and during the whole of which the question has been discussed with unequalled earnestness and the most thorough investigation, by Baur, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Keim, Réville, Scholten and Davidson on one side, and by Lücke, Bleek, Bunsen and Ewald on the other—no fresh light has been thrown on the subject in dispute, and no views developed and now generally admitted, which are preparing the way for an ultimate solution of the problem, is so utterly groundless and so palpably contradicted by facts, that it can only produce astonishment in any mind which has sufficient knowledge to be capable of a competent opinion. To take one example out of many: the whole paschal question, the bare outlines of which were briefly indicated by Bretschneider, has since his time been gone into with an exhaustive fullness and thoroughness, especially by Hilgenfeld,\* which have brought into view many of its bearings on the origin and authorship of the Fourth Gospel, that were before unappreciated and even unsuspected. It is not too much to say, that a full comprehension of this paschal controversy, as placing in their true relationship to each other, the facts that were involved in the gradual passage of Christianity from its Jewish to its Catholic form—has done more than any other investigation to explain the real genesis and actual character of the Fourth Gospel.—But to meet Mr. Higginson on the narrower ground of “new critical facts,” it is not true, that none have been discovered since the publication of Kuinoel’s *Prolegomena*; and we are surprised at his ignorance of them, as they have been understood to bear favourably on Mr. Higginson’s view of the subject. In 1851 was published for the first time at Oxford from the sole Paris MS.

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\* *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche.* Halle, 1860.

a "Refutation of all Heresies," originally ascribed to Origen but now generally regarded as the work of Hippolytus.\* It is needless to remind those who have any knowledge of the subject, that in this work references were supposed to be made to the Fourth Gospel by the Gnostics, Basilides and Valentinus, in an early part of the second century, which were eagerly seized on by the advocates of its authenticity, and by none more than by the late excellent Baron Bunsen, as proofs that it must have been written at the date traditionally assigned to it, and within the limits of the apostolic age. The conclusion drawn has been disputed; for it has been shewn with high probability, that the passages in question do not speak of Basilides and Valentinus themselves, but of the schools which bore their name, and which admit a much later date. But this addition to ancient patristic literature drew fresh attention to the subject, and led to an animated discussion which has borne not unimportant critical fruits. Again, it had been a point much insisted on by those who impugned the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, that there were no clear allusions to it in the Clementine Homilies. The sole MS. on which the earlier editions of them by Cotelierius, Le Clerc and Schwegler had been founded, was defective at the end, wanting the twentieth and a part of the nineteenth Homily. Among the literary treasures of the Vatican, Dressell discovered some years ago, a perfect MS., on which he based a new edition, published in 1853. Curiously enough, the part restored contained an undoubted reference to the Fourth Gospel (ix. 2, 3), which was hailed with much joy by the critics of the conservative party: but the passage, though contributing a new element towards the determination of the date, furnishes no decisive evidence as to the author, of the work.—Mr. Higginson has, therefore, no ground for his unqualified statement, that since the time of Kuinoel and Bretschneider, who seem to bound his knowledge of the subject, nothing has been done to throw any further light on this grave critical question. He thinks it necessary to warn his English readers against "those feats of German criticism, which consist in exhausting all arguments on

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\* The first editor was Emmanuel Miller. It has since been more critically edited by Duncker and Schneidewin.



both sides of a question, as a mental exercise ; though not a few are disposed to accept the negative results of the process on trust." That there are those in this country as well as abroad, who accept results, positive as well as negative, on trust, we are perfectly well aware ; but we must protest against this sweeping and indiscriminate insinuation against a race of scholars, to whom biblical learning in all its departments owes so much, and whose love of truth is attested by their indefatigable industry in searching for it. A reader ignorant of the facts, might suppose from this language, that a German *savant* was a mere intellectual athlete, who delighted to shew his agility and resources on either side of a question without any regard to truth ; whereas it is notorious, that, on the continent as with us, the world of thought has its conservative and its progressive parties, which beneficially stimulate and check each other, and in each of which are to be found honest and high-minded men striving earnestly to give ascendancy to the views which they hold respectively to be true. We hope Mr. Higginson will pardon us, if we on our part venture to remind English readers, that they must not too implicitly rely on his own statements, as he also occasionally shares in the common human infirmity of being somewhat deficient in precision and accuracy.

To the charge of "making out the character of John to have been that of the merest, dullest Jewish zealot, the *Boanerges* who would, not once only, but habitually, have called down fire from heaven upon reluctant hearers, but not a disciple who had any claim to lean on Jesus' breast"—the best answer we can give, is to cite the passage on which the charge is founded, from the work itself :\*

"The few distinct glimpses that we get" (of John the son of Zebedee) "are just of such a character as we should naturally expect to find in the first generation of Palestinian converts to Christianity—full of Messianic eagerness and zeal, and warmly attached to the person of Jesus ; marked by strong prejudices and bitter national antipathies, but generous, impulsive and confiding, susceptible of the deepest and tenderest love where the object seemed worthy of it ;—a simple, honest, unlettered Jew, with the better life of Christianity gradually kindling within him, but incapable of breaking loose entirely from the bonds of

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\* Character of the Fourth Gospel, p. 24.

early prepossession, and of throwing himself with unreserved freedom into the broad catholicity of the spirit of Paul."

Mr. Higginson cites, as proofs of authenticity, implying an eye and ear witness, the following passages: "there was much grass in the place;" "John was not yet cast into prison;" "that Sabbath was a high day;" "the servant's name was Malchus;" "there is at Jerusalem a pool;" and the interruption at the end of ch. xiv., "Arise, let us go hence;" as if expressions of this kind were not inevitable in every narrator of vivid conceptions, who had moreover written documents already in circulation to prompt him. They weigh nothing consequently as evidence against those clear indications of a later belief and a more advanced stage in the history of Christianity, wrought into the very substance of the Fourth Gospel, which Davidson and others have dwelt upon, as we think, with unanswerable force. As for "that most delicate, and because so delicate, most convincing mark of authorship," which our critic finds in the fact of the Baptist's being simply called John in the Fourth Gospel—it is obviously connected with the studious omission of all mention of Christ's baptism, which characterizes that Gospel, and the wish to avoid the recognition in any way of the authority of a purely Jewish institution. As we interpret the phenomenon, it is evidence not of the authenticity, but, on the contrary, of the late origin of the work, when Christianity was making an effort to free itself from the last remnants of Judaic adhesion.

It is said, "very scant justice has been done to the historical testimony of Eusebius and Irenæus." When the former wrote, the Church had substantially agreed on the books which it would recognize as authoritative in matters of faith and practice. Disorganizing controversy had long rendered this a vital necessity. How subjective the principle of selection was, and how contrary often to what would now be considered sound criticism, we learn very clearly from Eusebius himself. Conformity to what had come to be regarded as the standard of apostolic diction and apostolic belief, was accepted as the surest warrant of apostolic origin, and the want of it as the test of heresy.\*

\* Mark the decisive language of Eusebius: *πρόρρω δὲ που καὶ ὁ τῆς φράσεως παρὰ τὸ ἥθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτήρ, ἢ τε γνώμη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαιρεσις, πλείστον ὅσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὁρθοδοξίας ἀπέδουσα.* Hist. Eccles. iii. 25.

Irenæus, a century earlier, lived at a time when the canon afterwards adopted was in process of formation : and what strange fables were followed in deducing the genealogy of some of our sacred books, and how little was really known about the matter, we may gather from the mythic account of the origin of the Fourth Gospel, contained in a fragment of the oldest canon in existence, dating probably from the end of the second century, which was originally brought to light by Muratori.

Mr. Higginson disposes of the Quartodeciman controversy in a very summary way. "I pass it by," he says, "as the weakest instead of the strongest part of the argument, with the remark, that if the alleged diversity were proved to exist between the Fourth Gospel and the others, it has nothing to do with John's supposed authority in the Easter question, but only shews that according to him, Jesus and his apostles had reckoned the 14th of Nisan according to the Karaites and not the Pharisaic rule. Either way they kept the lunar reckoning ; in neither way the Sunday reckoning." This strangely confused statement does not touch the point at issue. The question between the Asiatic and the Western Churches was not whether a lunar or a solar reckoning was to be followed, but whether the 14th of Nisan was to be any longer kept. Of course, if the Pass-over were really celebrated according to the Fourth Gospel, it must have been by the lunar reckoning, as such was the invariable usage of the Jews. Sunday reckoning could have nothing to do with our Lord's life-time ; for Sunday was not yet a sacred day. The Sunday question was raised at a far later date, when the Catholic Church, intent on uniformity of practice, wished to preserve unbroken the fast preceding Easter by abolishing the Quartodeciman festival, and made Sunday the point of departure for its ecclesiastical regulations. In the controversy which sprung out of this movement, the Asiatic Churches, attached to their ancient observance, pleaded in their favour the example of the apostle John, which had been traditionally followed in the Church of Ephesus. What bears on the question of authenticity, is the curious fact, that although the apostle was so distinctly appealed to, the Gospel which goes under his name and which might be supposed to be in harmony with his practice, leaves it more than doubtful, whether

Jesus and his apostles ever kept the paschal supper at all. That there were two modes of calculating the 14th of Nisan in use at the same time, one observed by the Synoptists and the other by the author of the Fourth Gospel, is in the highest degree improbable, and so far as we know, unsupported by any contemporary evidence. How the Karaite rule could affect the question, we are wholly at a loss to conceive; as the Karaites were a sect that did not come into existence till the 8th century of our era.\*

Mr. Higginson makes light of the "alleged contradiction between John and the Synoptists as to the day of the Last Supper." Some very eminent men have thought otherwise. Mosheim, whose profound acquaintance with the history of the Christian Church will not be disputed, in the appendix to his Latin translation of Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, has frankly declared that he found himself quite unequal to solve the difficulty;† and the learned Dr. Routh‡ has made a similar confession. This was on the orthodox assumption of necessary harmony between the four Evangelists. In fact, there are only two ways of meeting this question: either the old-fashioned, exhausted method of trying to make out a harmony; or else, giving up this as impracticable, and then arguing for the superior claim to credibility, either on the one hand of the Synoptists, or on the other of the Fourth Gospel. Modern critics of eminence have thought it most prudent to adopt the latter course. Mr. Higginson, notwithstanding its critical perils, has valorously encountered the former. Adopting essentially Wakefield's transposition and paraphrase of the opening words of the 13th chapter (which seems to us forced and unjustifiable), he assumes, that the synoptical account of the paschal supper is tacitly embedded in the narrative of the ensuing chapters—to the end, we presume, of the seventeenth. "It is plainly implied," he says, "by the narrator, that the supper which he proceeds to speak of, was the passover." Some of his grammatical criticisms in support of this view, we take leave to question. Δείπνου γενομένου, he informs us, "would be more properly translated, *supper*

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\* Jost's *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, B. V. viii.

† "De vera notione Cœnæ Domini," p. 22, quoted by Bretschneider, p. 100.

‡ *Reliq. Sacræ*, I. p. 168.

being come, or on the table, or in progress; just as *πρωίας γενομένης* (xxi. 4), *ἡμέρας γενομένης* (Acts xii. 18 and xvi. 35), *σιγῆς γενομένης* (Acts xxi. 40), all denote *existing*, not *past* or *ended*." On the contrary, we hold that the proper force of the aorist in all these passages, is to express the result or effect of an action already past and completely finished.\* The words in question might, therefore, be not inadequately rendered, as Wakefield has rendered them—"when supper-time was come;" though why *supper-time* should be substituted for *supper*, except to facilitate a latitude of extension, which is not conveyed by the original,—we do not see. But they cannot signify, "while supper was in progress" or "supper was going on;" though such a rendering would be more favourable to Mr. Higginson's hypothesis. That would have required *δείπνου γινομένου*.† *Ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου*, appears to indicate the close of the meal; and though Wakefield renders it, "arose from supper," he has the candour to admit in his notes, that "the phrase has usually, if not always, elsewhere another meaning. So *ἐκ δείπνων ὕπνος*—"sleep after supper."‡ He would probably have so translated it, but for the compulsion of a foregone conclusion.

Mr. Higginson contends, that the words spoken to Judas (xiii. 29), even though taken in connection with xiii. 1, do not imply that the feast had not already begun, but that they have reference to its continuance. We presume to think, that *εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν* cannot bear such a construction, but must denote some season yet to come, for which preparation had to be made. He continues the same mode of reasoning in reference to another text, which has been thought to prove, that the passover had not yet taken place: ch. xviii. 28, where the Jews are described as refusing to enter the judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled—*ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα*. "It is gravely urged," he informs us, "with a literal hardness that would disgrace a bibliolater, that they could not have already eaten the passover lamb. But how if they feared defilement for seven days after it? I remember solving to my own mind, when quite a child, this palpable verbal difficulty by that simple explanation, which I

\* See Matthiæ's Gr. Gr. § 506, v. i.

† This is what the Vatican and the Sinaiticus actually read, and Meyer seems to approve. We give Mr. Higginson the benefit of the various reading.

‡ Eurip. Hec. 903.



since found in learned commentators. Having eaten the passover lamb, but having still to keep themselves ritually clean during the seven days of unleavened bread, they feared pollution by going into the Roman prætorium." "Here, as before, eating the passover means keeping the festival to the end." In spite of the confident tone which pervades this passage, we doubt whether such criticism as modern scholarship could sanction, will altogether sustain this precocious discovery of Mr. Higginson's youth. "Eating the passover (*φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*) means keeping the festival to the end." This is easily said; we ask for proof. Against an authoritative decision of this kind we do not of course venture to adduce the judgment of such blind, groping bibliolaters as ourselves, who hardly merit the rebuke of a child. We prefer to quote from Mr. Higginson's own party. Meyer, one of the ablest and most learned supporters of the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, and profoundly skilled in the language of the New Testament—comes to a very different conclusion from our critic. "*Φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*," he says, "*ἐτοιμάζειν τὸ πάσχα, θύειν τὸ πάσχα*, throughout the New Testament, signifies nothing else than to eat the *passover lamb*, as *אכל הפסח* in 2 Chron. xxx. 18. Hence it is clear, that on the day at whose early dawn Jesus was brought before the Procurator, *the passover lamb was not yet eaten, but had to be eaten*; and that consequently (according to the Fourth Gospel) Jesus was crucified on the day before the Feast. Ch. xiii. 1, *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς*, determines the chronology of the whole history of the Passion. The Jewish passover must necessarily have been to come, when Jesus partook of his last meal with his disciples; and consequently the Last Supper of the Johannean narrative cannot have been the Passover."\* The learned and candid Bleek, also a strenuous upholder of the authenticity, expresses the same opinion, and remarks, that the absence of *τοῦ* before *δείπνου* (xiii. 2) proves that the Passover cannot have been intended, but only an ordinary meal.† These learned men interpreted the text of the New Testament with too keen a sense of its idiomatic proprieties, and too unprejudiced a love of truth, not to see, that any attempt to har-

\* Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Evangel. Johan. xviii. 28.

† Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik, p. 127.

monize the accounts of the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel respecting the Last Supper and the day of the Crucifixion, which does not set grammar, history and chronology at defiance, is out of the question ; and that the point now to be decided, on which the criticism of the New Testament must henceforth depend, is—whether we are to control the Synoptists by the Fourth Gospel, or the Fourth Gospel by the Synoptists.

Mr. Higginson has never withdrawn, though in his recent criticism he has not thought proper to repeat, the hasty and unwarrantable assertion by which he has disfigured the pages and lowered the character of his well-conceived and really useful and instructive volume—"A Catechism without Questions." In p. 155 of this work, he thus flippantly dismisses one of the gravest and most difficult questions, that is now anxiously engaging the thought of all biblical scholars :—"By a strange freak of modern conjectural criticism, making light of ancient testimony, the Fourth Gospel has been dogmatically denied to be John's, and the Apocalypse as pertinaciously ascribed to him." It is impossible to conceive of a larger amount of misrepresentation compressed into a small compass, than what these words convey. No one could have objected to Mr. Higginson's expressing in the strongest terms his dissent from the conclusions at which some eminent scholars have laboriously arrived. Every complicated problem has two sides, or it would cease to be investigated by honest and able men. But to describe the profound researches of such men as Baur and Hilgenfeld and Scholten, as a freak or conjectural, and making light of ancient testimony, is not only untrue, but ludicrously absurd ; when it is notorious, that they have ransacked every corner of old Christian literature to discover a single fragment of testimony, that they have subjected it when found to the acutest criticism, and from the data thus industriously collected have worked out conscientiously and fearlessly, though it may be on some points mistakenly, the results which seemed to them to be true. For a critic who delivers his judgments in this lordly style, *ex cathedra*, Mr. Higginson's ignorance is almost incredible. He ought to have known, that there is no mention whatever of John, as the author of the Fourth Gospel, till quite the end of the second century ; and that of all the books of the New Testament, the Apocalypse, as a work of John the apostle,

is the earliest and best attested. Kirchhofer, who has devoted an elaborate work to the collection of ancient testimonies, and who writes without any bias, says of the Apocalypse, that "hardly one book of the New Testament has such a list of historical witnesses marked by name on its behalf;" and Dr. Davidson fully confirms this statement by his own independent conclusion.\* If laborious and conscientious studies of this kind are to be called a freak, we do not know what the word means. In fact, the freak, the conjecture and the dogmatism are all on the side of the critic himself. A writer who undertook to instruct the English public, if he alluded to the subject at all, was in duty bound to make himself acquainted with the facts of the case, and when he had ascertained what they were, to state them candidly and honestly. As it is, he has only ministered to ignorant prejudices already sufficiently strong. Whether he himself knew no better, or has allowed his invincible prepossessions to darken what he knew—it is not for us to decide. But the alternative—and he has really left himself no other—seems to us an embarrassing one for a critic, who has assumed so magisterial a tone as Mr. Higginson.

We return to Dr. Davidson. His manner throughout his book will strike many of his readers as somewhat curt and abrupt. He at times pronounces absolutely on some critical point, without giving his reasons. They are clear to his own mind, as the result of foregoing investigation; but he ought not to presuppose them in the mind of his readers. This is no doubt a defect, which may possibly expose him to adverse criticism. Often too at the close of a long discussion, and a careful weighing of the reasoning on both sides, he seems at last hesitating and undecided, and leaves his reader in doubt, what after all is his own opinion. This, however, is what must often happen to every candid and impartial investigator of the critical problems which have occupied Dr. Davidson's attention in the present work, and what none will so readily forgive, as those who having traversed in some degree the same fields of inquiry, know how much easier it is in a thousand cases to come to a negative

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\* "The writer of the Muratorian Canon, who perhaps represents the views of the Roman Church—seems to speak of the Apocalypse of St. John as though it were received without question." Professor Lightfoot (of Cambridge) in the *Journal of Philology*, No. I. p. 111.

than to a positive conclusion. Those who have the least knowledge, are ever the most forward to dogmatize.

In spite of a few drawbacks of manner, this work will prove an invaluable help to those who wish to understand what the New Testament really is, and to have distinctly set before them the ascertained results of modern criticism respecting it. That a man of such learning and honesty as Dr. Davidson, of so deeply religious a spirit and of so irreproachable a character, should still be without official position and public recognition among us, is not creditable to the religious condition of England. Recent experience has not impressed us with a very favourable opinion of the tendencies of any ecclesiastical bodies, whatever principles they may profess, when left to themselves. In the changes which are awaiting our country, and which must eventually terminate in complete religious equality, we trust that the State, without encroaching on a sphere, where it has no right to intrude—the sanctuary of conscience and worship—will never part with the powers necessary to enforce the thoroughness and universality of education, and to uphold the freedom of science and learning, which the priest and the sectary are ever on some pretext or other so forward to prevent and so mischievously active to obstruct.

J. J. T.

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## V.—THE OBLIGATIONS OF CONFORMITY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

WHATEVER may be the result of the resolutions for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and whatever meaning may be ascribed to the term, the mere moving of the question places the relation of the Church to the State in this country in a new light. It must at the least make us more familiar with the idea and the possibility of change. Of course, if the term “disestablishment” refers simply to a new distribution of revenues, while the clergy have no more power of self-government than that which they now possess,—if the clergy are to have no right of drawing up their own confessions of faith, and if every clergyman is still to

retain his right of appeal in the last resort to the Crown, the change would be confined to the mere matter of temporalities, and as such can afford little satisfaction to the large and growing party, whether in England or in Ireland, who would wish to convert the Church into a purely voluntary association, bound by its own self-imposed canons and creeds. But if it be meant that when the present generation of clergymen has passed away, the final decision of all questions relating to belief shall rest with the Convocation or the Metropolitan,—if each new clergyman may be called upon to sign some test devised to secure greater uniformity of teaching and a more thorough unity of thought, but a test, the imposition of which on the existing race of clergy would be illegal, then at once we should have to face the possibility of a similar change in this country, and we shall do well to determine, so far as may be in our power, whether such a change is likely to be mischievous or beneficial to the moral and spiritual welfare of Englishmen.

In dealing with this subject, I wish to approach the question in the same spirit in which it has been treated by Mr. Beard, in his remarks on Conformity in the last number of this Review. The arguments or pleas which may be offered as a justification of clergymen who hold indefinitely divergent opinions for continuing in the ministry of the English Church, are not urged from any notion that they should exercise the least constraining force on any who do not regard themselves as members of that society. But as a matter of fact, the Established Church reckons about half the population of the land as its professed adherents, it numbers nearly twenty thousand men amongst its clergy, and these clergymen are not only men trained under very different intellectual influences and varying greatly in degrees of culture and learning, but they belong to conflicting schools of thought, the divergence between some of these schools being so great as to amount practically to a complete antagonism. The question is, whether this condition of things is one which any State is justified in upholding, whether its working is for better or worse on the conscience and morality of its members. It is not even pretended that these considerations should carry weight with such members, clerical or lay, of the Established Church, as believe themselves to be in absolute harmony with her system in



all its manifold details ; far less, that they should induce those who are not her members to disguise or suppress their disapprobation of a position which may to them appear disingenuous or even immoral. All that is here proposed is, to state plainly the reasons which may serve to justify, not only to themselves, but in the eyes of others, such clergymen as may retain office, and such laymen as may continue in membership, in the Establishment, when in the view of others they ought at once to leave it.

It may perhaps be said with truth, that for such men the subject resolves itself into a mere question of fact. They find themselves, by birth, by education, perhaps by ordination, members or ministers of a society in which at the least two or three religious schools of rigidly-defined dogmatic convictions contend, not for toleration, but for mastery, and each of which maintains (and maintains, we may allow, honestly) that the doctrine of the Church of England is its own doctrine. We find as a fact that this society or institution stands in the place of another society which to a certain extent it also represents. It makes use of a language and speaks of itself under titles familiar to this earlier society, but it uses them with such limitations and reservations as plainly to shew that the two societies are one in name only. This vital change was effected by an act which professed to leave its organization, its discipline and its doctrines, absolutely untouched. It simply substituted the Crown for the Pope as the final tribunal in all ecclesiastical, as it was for all civil causes. But this act happened to be coincident with a strong theological movement, and it soon became clear, not only that this movement was exercising a considerable influence on the thought of England, but that the new theory of Royal Supremacy could scarcely be established, unless something more were done to break the associations which bound the people to the ancient Church. A reformation of doctrine and of the service-books was the result ; and this reformation was essentially the act of the nation speaking through its civil Parliament, while the end which it had in view was distinctly to comprehend within the circle of the National Church, so far as might be prudent, the adherents of the old Sacerdotal and the new so-called Evangelical theology. In themselves these two systems were distinct enough, the

one depending essentially on the visible media of sacraments and a priesthood, the latter making everything turn on the inward condition of the individual Christian, as by his own act he appropriated to himself a redemption which had been wrought out for him. For some time the religious thought of the nation continued to flow in these two streams, which without mingling went on, like the Ganges and the Jumna, side by side. They who could not content themselves with the diluted sacerdotalism of the Establishment, adhered to the Pope: they whose personal and subjective religion kicked more and more against a Sacramental system, joined the ranks which were afterwards to grow into the great body of English Nonconformists, a body which, although not homogeneous, was yet as distinct and as narrow in its dogmas as either of the two churches from which it held aloof. So long as the struggle lay between these parties, the action of the principle of Royal Supremacy was essentially coercive. No school of thought as yet existed which was not represented by the language either of the Liturgy or of the Articles, but which, while it departed insensibly and in whatever degree from the spirit of both, had no wish to declare war against either. But as time went on, it became clear that the principle which Protestants especially had asserted with the greatest vehemence, might have logical results very little to their liking, and fatal in the long run to all elaborate theological systems. It became more and more clear that the right to dissent from the Church of Rome and the Church of England involved the further right of examining the foundations on which the belief of both those Churches rested. Thus there grew up a body of men who, as members or ministers of the Established Church, confined themselves to the promulgation of certain truths or convictions common to both the other parties, but truths which these parties severally regarded as making up a mere system of ethics, which might be propounded quite as well by a Mahometan, a Buddhist, or a Hindoo. It became also clear that, whether these men were or were not conscious of their want of harmony with the traditional systems in their strict integrity, their opponents were assuredly not in harmony with the Book of Common Prayer taken as a whole. The one party, it was seen, turned instinctively to the Articles; the other found

in the order for the daily service and for the Eucharistic office, an expression, which, however inadequate, yet at the least sufficed for their wants. The history of this latter school, during the present century, is known to all. It has made itself felt in every part of the land. It presents on the whole a compact front to its antagonists, and it frankly avows its intention of following to its logical issue the phraseology which, as they maintain, has been providentially used in the Prayer Book. They avow that the Church of England is simply a portion of the Church Catholic, that the Catholic Church includes the Church of England, that their faith is identical, and that the members of the English Church are bound by the same laws and the same discipline, and are pledged to accept the doctrines of the Catholic Church, whatever these may be. Hence the idea of sacerdotal authority not derived from the Crown or the people, but received from Christ himself by succession from his apostles, is brought out into constantly greater prominence, and whenever opportunity offers, the chance of exercising such authority is eagerly caught at. But this party, while it chafes against the fetters imposed on it by the civil power, which in their belief holds the Church in bondage, is fully aware of the great gulf which separates it from the Evangelical or Low Church schools, and fully conscious that the Book of Common Prayer itself is but a weak and perhaps a treacherous foundation on which to rest their hopes. The latter, again, while still adhering to the Prayer Book, put their own interpretation on phrases and rites which to their opponents are essential to the very vitality of the Church, and feel that they would gladly part with much, the lack of which would throw their opponents into the ranks of the Church of Rome. Meanwhile the middle party, sympathizing to a certain extent with both, feels and avows that the sense which they apply to many phrases in the traditional theology differs indefinitely from the senses assigned to them by other schools, but feels also that they have enough of common convictions, common aims, common hopes, to enable them to work heartily with the others in everything likely to promote the highest good of the people generally. It is scarcely necessary to say that this school, if it can be so termed (and even this word is strained in the application), can still less be called a party.

As a body, they may be said to be indifferent to dogmatic schemes of theology as such, and not disposed to lay much stress on points which the others regard as essential; but they are perfectly ready to bear with each other's differences, and to recognize the right of the Sacerdotalists and the Puritans to maintain their position in the Established Church. Many of them have perhaps never analysed their own convictions with any minute care; many may feel that they have far too much to learn to make it possible for them to do so. Some may have made up their mind definitely to reject certain dogmas as being in themselves absurd, contradictory or impossible; others may have confined themselves strictly to a historical examination of the books of the Old Testament and the New, and may see clearly that the dogmas of the Catholic Church do not rest upon facts, or more strictly on such facts as those on which they are said to rest. As for the State, whatever else it may have left undecided, it has laid down unequivocally that the Church of England knows nothing whatever about any laws or discipline or organization of a society called the Catholic Church, except those which have received the sanction of Parliament, and that any act done professedly under the authority of this Catholic Church alone is in itself null and void. It maintains that every clergyman of the Church of England in all cases of doctrine may exercise the right of appeal to the Crown, and that the decision will turn, not on the theories of any theological party, but on the strict legal sense of the documents put forth as the standard of conformity to the Establishment.

Here then, as a fact, we have a society, or an institution, or the State in its religious aspect, in which certain formularies are used, certain phrases uttered, and certain professions of belief made, but which are used by the several parties included in this body in conflicting senses, the differences being in some cases not great, but in others so marked as almost to justify the inference that the men who use them thus differently cannot belong to the same religion. It would be scarcely possible to imagine a stronger intellectual antithesis than that between Dr. Pusey and Mr. Maurice. In the vast majority of cases, the propositions maintained by the one would be met by directly counter assertions from the other. If the statements of the Prayer

Book and of the Articles are to be taken as a whole, and if a real belief in all those statements is to be required as a condition for Church-membership, or for holding any ecclesiastical office, a conscientious adherence to the creed of the Establishment becomes an impossibility. The being who could hold to all as forming part of a consistent whole, would be a chimera, not a man. By the confession of all alike, the system is not consistent, and it is simply impossible that the words of the Prayer Book and Articles can be used in the same sense, or anything like the same sense, by the twenty thousand men who minister in the Establishment, and by the millions who profess to be members of it. The fact is patent. The several parties in the Church know it, the judicial tribunals know it, the Parliament knows and sanctions it. In other words, the cohesion is not organic, if we regard the maintenance of a certain number of dogmatic propositions as the essential condition of religious unity. Whether such a state of things is or is not in itself wholesome and beneficial, whether on the whole it acts unhealthily on the moral sense of Englishmen, or whether, at the cost of some mischief, it preserves us from vastly greater evils, are distinct questions. By the spectator from without, the Establishment may be regarded as an immoral institution: and they who profess to belong to the ancient Catholic Church may take this known contrariety of opinion and belief as evidence that the Church of England has no fixed creed, that she has betrayed her trust as a guardian of the deposit of faith, and that she is in a state of dissolution. But it is possible that others may see that the present condition of things is a necessary stage in the process which in the end will teach men that real religious unity lies apart from the maintenance of any schemes of dogmatic theology, and that great good is achieved by constraining men, who would otherwise be members of hostile sects, to tolerate each other, and to work with each other in the same society. However this may be, the differences between one body and another in the Establishment are so great as to be quite irreconcilable; and hence Prayer Book, Articles and Canons, must of necessity be regarded from a very different point of view from that in which we should consider the Canons of the Council of Trent or the Confession of Westminster. The clergyman who reads the offices of the Established



Church cannot be regarded as giving, or the congregation as either receiving or demanding, the same kind of profession of good faith, as that which we may suppose is made between Roman Catholic priests or Independent ministers and their people. In other words, the theory of Church communion and of religious worship is radically different, and no sane man can for an instant doubt that change of mind does not necessarily place a clergyman of the Church of England under any moral obligation of resigning his office or of withdrawing from its society.

Almost all the objections urged against Conformity from a Nonconformist point of view are thus met at the outset. If a whole nation says, and the English nation by its Parliament certainly does say, that it chooses to maintain an Establishment partly for the seemly worship of Almighty God, and in part for the education and general improvement of the people, knowing that it consists of men differing widely from each other on many most important subjects, but yet capable of working together on the basis of still deeper principles which are common to all, then the measure of the legal obligation becomes the measure of the moral one in a sense which makes all anxiety of conscience on the subject wholly superfluous. The question is then confined to determining what these principles are; and nothing less than a repudiation of these principles can involve an obligation to withdraw from the communion of the English Church. What then are these principles? Certainly not the maintenance of a priesthood with sacerdotal powers drawn from Christ himself; certainly not the assertion of belief in a vicarious sacrifice of blood, to bring about a change in the Divine mind, or in the special limitation of Divine favour in times of old to the people of Israel; certainly not the necessary dependence of all spiritual life on sacraments duly administered, or the infallibility of the Church or of the Bible,—for some of these propositions are pointedly rejected by the Book of Common Prayer or the Articles, and on every one of them the most contradictory conclusions are maintained by large sections of English Churchmen.

But if it may be assumed that, under all this contrariety, the whole body of the English clergy and laity agree in believing that the affairs of the world are guided, not by

chance, or by any Comtian deity, but by a personal God, in whom we shall continue to live consciously and personally when our life here has come to an end,—that the history of the world is part only of a vast plan which shall issue in the consummation of the highest good,—that in all ages God has raised up prophets and righteous men who have led their countrymen from a lower spiritual teaching to a higher,—and that the highest truths which man has been enabled to reach find their expression in Christianity,—that the effort to advance in goodness is to be estimated, not by the enunciation of a dogmatic formula, but by the moral sincerity of the individual man,—that God is not partial or changeable, and that we can wait in patience and confidence the end of His work who is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever; if, further, it be assumed that they agree in believing that the especial work of Jesus Christ was to bring men as children to their Father, that the feast which he bade his disciples keep in memory of him was to remind them of his love, and to enable them to lift up their hearts and give thanks to God as it is meet and right to do, then all who can heartily profess such faith are fully justified whether in retaining ecclesiastical office or in continuing lay members of the Church of England.

But obviously no room is left for difficulties founded on any ideas of contract between the ministers and the members of a congregation. The laymen of the Establishment are emphatically not “justified in the belief that the man who in the highest function of his life, at the most solemn moment of that function, deliberately uses a certain form of words, accepts those words in a natural and unforced sense as the fit expression of his faith.” They are not justified, because the tribunals before whom all such causes must be brought avowedly recognize that two senses, by no means the nearest to each other, may be put on some of the most solemn of these formulæ,—because with the most solemn of all (“The body of our Lord,” and, “I absolve thee from all thy sins”), notoriously at least one-half of the clergy protest with all their might against the idea of any visible and sensible division or reception of Christ’s body, or on any relation of set phrases to the forgiveness of the sins of a penitent. There may be some such contract in other religious bodies: there is certainly room for none in

the Church of England, so long as the design of compromise is openly avowed by the State, the law courts, the clergy, and the people. If it be true, that "it strikes at the very root of true devotion to think of accommodations of phrase, of economies of meaning, of mental suppressions and evasions, in connection with prayer," it would follow that there can be no true devotion and no genuine prayer in the Church of England, for unquestionably every one of her most solemn formulæ are used with certain reservations and evasions by large parties within her pale, and used with the full sanction of the Parliament and the people. This being the case, any clergyman is fully justified in using in public prayer language which to one looking on from the outside it would seem could be plainly taken in only one sense, and then expounding it in another. Rather, any such exposition is superfluous; for no one supposes, or at least has a right to suppose, that out of ten given clergymen any two use the words in precisely the same sense. There is nothing disingenuous or shifty in the act of the individual clergyman: whatever fault there is, lies with the people and the Parliament who maintain the system. If all reservations and evasions are to be regarded as inadmissible, then, to use Dean Stanley's words, there is not a single clergyman who could with a good conscience retain his office, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the meanest curate on the wilds of Cumberland.

Yet, although in this sense it cannot be said that "in the Common Prayer the officiating minister gives pledges of his faith to the people," there is another in which it may be without fear maintained, that "in the prayers which he leads from day to day, and in the echoing response, he and his hearers put themselves on one level of belief, and call upon God in the strength of the same hope and trust." This hope and trust is, as we have seen, something quite distinct from the maintenance of any propositions on the subject of a vicarious redemption, of a sensible presence in the Eucharist, or of a belief in the infallibility of the Church or the Bible.

The same remarks apply to objections founded on a recital of the Creeds as they occur in the order of divine service. Whether the men by whom the Prayer Book was put together inserted them with the design that they should

serve as expressions of absolute belief on the part of the ministers and the congregation in every proposition enunciated, it is quite certain that neither by the State nor the people are they so regarded now. If the solemn formulæ of the Communion Office and for the Visitation of the Sick are notoriously used with widely different meanings, is it to be supposed that the freedom thus given is to be curtailed by the recitation of documents about which Churches and Councils have been engaged in internecine conflicts, and about which books have in the English Church been written by one set of theologians, which have been indignantly repudiated by another? When it can be shewn that any congregation, or still more that the Court of Arches, supposes that by reciting the Apostles' Creed, clergy or laity are committed to every statement in Bishop Pearson's Exposition of that Creed, then it may be well to point out how in that given case the contract has been broken. This, however, is an instance in which the layman is by his personal act quite as much concerned as the clergyman. If the Creeds are to be regarded as a string of propositions, to each of which the reciter declares his adherence, it is undoubtedly true that "they are a distinct enunciation of personal belief made to God by minister and people, each, as it were, taking the other to witness. No expression of belief can be made under circumstances of greater gravity; in no way can those who repeat be more fully pledged to a clear and absolute persuasion of the truth of each succeeding proposition." Can a single English congregation be found in which the laymen would allow that it imposed on them any such obligation? It is needless to remark that the layman binds himself, as far as words go, quite as strongly as the minister. If the former does not regard himself as so bound, neither need the latter do so, nor will any law courts hold him to be so constrained.

It is at once clear, then, that a large amount of liberty is, from the conditions under which the Establishment exists, secured to every member of the Church of England, apart from all legal decisions in particular cases. As a rule, the effect of such decisions has of late years been in one direction; and the freedom thus granted is larger than what it is perhaps generally supposed to be. So far as historical criticism is concerned, it is as large as it well needs to be.

The canonicity of Isaiah can no more be questioned than the existence of St. Paul's Cathedral in St. Paul's Churchyard ; but any clergyman is perfectly free to maintain that the Mizzaim out of which the Israelites came was not the land watered by the Nile, that the Mosaic legislation was the work of a late age, that the stories of the Conception and Nativity in the Gospels are contradictory and mythical, that Jesus was the son of Mary by ordinary generation, that Nicodemus and Lazarus are beings created by the imagination of the Johannine evangelist. The concessions granted in the cases of Mr. Gorham and Dr. Williams are neither ineffective nor immaterial. The decisions in Mr. Wilson's case are even more important. There are many things in which it is impossible to go beyond the expression of a hopeful or confident trust. It is the case with all ideas of the Divine Nature, of his wisdom, his power, his justice and his goodness,—with everything relating to the spiritual world. We can never get beyond the Psalmist's language, "My trust is in the tender mercy of God for ever and ever." We can bring no absolute demonstration of the Divine mercy ; yet our hope in that mercy is as strong as our conviction of the truth of an axiom of Euclid. Thus, in the passage of "Essays and Reviews," Mr. Wilson threw his belief into the form of a hope ; but if this hope does not express the strongest conviction, and is not equivalent to its expression, human language can have no meaning. The clergy of the Establishment have then in this respect as much freedom as they may fairly wish for. No check or hindrance is placed on the enunciation of their belief that the mercy of God is over all His works, although a large majority have apparently no desire to avail themselves of their freedom.

Everything, therefore, turns on the answer to the question, With what mind and for what purpose is any subscription to the Book of Common Prayer or the Articles called for? Are such subscriptions imposed on young men of the age of three or four and twenty, in order to repress their intellectual growth and bind them down henceforth to a set of stereotyped opinions? Until such a purpose has been judicially avowed, we need not credit it ; and the manifest conditions of English society make it superfluous to deny its existence. The accession of a clergyman from one party to



another is taken by the party which he joins as a sign of growth; and the extension of the liberal party is evidence that this growth has not in all cases been in the direction of Sacerdotalism or Puritanism. Nay, for almost all parties in the Establishment, the last thirty or forty years have been pre-eminently a period of growth. It has taken long to develop the High-ritualistic section, and it is only by a gradual process that they have drifted further and further back to the beliefs or superstitions of the mediæval church. And even in the case of those who have passed from the strongest convictions of High-churchmen to a more liberal faith, the gradations have in most cases been so easy, and the memory of the high aims and self-devotion of the men with whom they once worked remains so clear, that no room is left for animosity; and in this sense the strongest upholders of the Bishop of Natal may yet wish the Ritualists "God-speed." They have, in short, grown up under some of the highest intellectual influences of the age, and they may thank God if they have given to them one-half the wisdom which they ought to have imparted.

It is clear that in no other religious body in England would the life of such a man be what it has been. Anywhere else, the men with whom he still sympathizes would have been severed from him long ago. As it is, although they may have come to think that the Anglican Establishment is identical with the Church of England in the days of Henry VII., while he may have become convinced that the Establishment is only another word for the State in its religious capacity, still he lives with them in the same society, he may take part with them in the same services, and in spite of all the little acrimony which may from time to time embitter their intercourse, the very fact that they are still workmen engaged in the same task can scarcely fail to have a softening and humanizing influence. Thus the more liberal among the Anglican clergy are more and more drawn away from the inculcation of dogmas as such, and they acquiesce cheerfully in a condition of things which seems to give the most scope for the best qualities, and keeps the less attractive manifestations in the background. They are, in fact, taught a lesson of practical charity which few other religious societies could teach them; and it is precisely because they belong to a body, the members of which use their dogmatic formulæ (as contrasted with their

common Christian beliefs) in very various senses, that they are able to associate on a footing of thorough friendliness with men against whom they would otherwise be ranged as opponents. It can scarcely be good for any to live in a state of isolation; and the largeness of comprehension allowed in the English Church gives a check to that critical temper which, on the theory that in pronouncing the formulæ of public worship the minister gives pledges of his dogmatic faith to the people, would make the life of the searcher after truth a perpetual migration from one religious body to another. If, as soon as he questions the truth of these propositions, it is his duty to find some society in harmony with his convictions for the time being, it may, for all he knows, become his duty to seek many times again a more congenial sphere. He may also be repelled by the phases assumed by most of the religious societies of Europe. He may find any worship intolerable which is not liturgical; he may shrink from the idea of extempore prayers and of the tyranny involved in them; he may have notions of theistic worship which have never been realized, and which perhaps may never be realized. Under the present constitution of the English Church, these things need not trouble him; but if the State of England should refuse to identify itself any further with a religious society of any kind, not a few, and perhaps a large majority, of the liberal clergy, and probably a yet larger number of the liberal laity, would withdraw wholly from all religious association of whatever kind. Even such a state of things as this might in the long run bring about happy results. We are scarcely competent to determine what the highest conditions of human life may be; but there can be little doubt that, for a time at least, its effects on the moral health of the nation would be more hurtful than any which Nonconformists probably could receive by claiming their rights as members of the National Church. The great difficulty would surely be removed if they could convince themselves that, in a sense which in no way binds them to this or that dogmatic proposition, they may join or take part in the services of the Established Church, with the conviction that the heart of the minister goes along with the heart of the people, and that "every response which they give is a pledge of common beliefs and hopes and trusts."

## VI.—ON THE INFLUENCE OF PROFITABLE PRISON LABOUR UPON THE REFORMATION OF CRIMINALS.

THE Act of Parliament of 1865, called the Prisons Act, is intended to regulate the Prisons of England, and to establish for all a common system of discipline ; yet its requirements, perhaps not very clearly defined, have been so little understood or so imperfectly obeyed, that the extraordinary discrepancies to which we are about to call attention, could neither be explained, nor indeed be credited, by those who have had no adequate experience of the powers of routine, the almost unconquerable resistance to change, and the unwillingness to institute inquiry, to receive or to communicate information, or to recognize the necessity of reform where abuses and irregularities have interblended themselves with long-established habits of thought and action.

A Committee of Devon county magistrates was appointed “to inquire into the practicability and propriety of making prison labour productive and remunerative under the regulations of existing Acts of Parliament ;” and the results of that inquiry shew extraordinary incongruities in the different returns presented from prisons subject to the same legislation, visited by the same inspectors, amenable to the same central authority, and, as one might suppose, equally interested in obtaining the best practical results, whether economical or moral. The conclusion is forced upon us, that less depends upon the character of the law than upon the mode of its administration ; that regulations, however excellent, unless made efficient by the activity of magistrates and the aptitude of officials, are less valuable to society than more imperfect schemes of discipline, where the local magistracy devote adequate attention and bring the needful observation and experience to the discharge of their responsible duties. That such contrasts should exist in different parts of Great Britain, between reckless expenditure and severe economy—between officers superfluous in some localities and insufficient in others—between accountancy lucid, intelligent and instructive, and records slovenly, confused and unintelligible ;—in a word, between statistics full of information under every head, and others satisfactory on none, and imperfect, if not useless, on all, is not creditable

to the general reputation of the kingdom, and still less so to those portions of the magistracy who, whether from carelessness or unfitness, have allowed so unbecoming a state of matters to exist or to continue.

The questions which the Committee circulated were general and special. The first series were of a comprehensive character, and addressed to those whose opinions on questions of prison discipline would bear with them a weight of undoubted authority. The second series were sent to the governors of prisons, and furnish the statistics which will afford matter for a few observations as to their details. It may be observed, as a general result, that the most satisfactory statistics of administration have been invariably associated with the best system of monetary account; that in some cases, such as those of Salford, Bedford, Holloway, Leeds, and a few others, the full and simple returns give answers to every important inquiry; that in some instances the returns were blotted, corrected, confused and valueless; in a quarter where there was a special reason for seeking information, the answer was, that the labour of furnishing the desired account was too great to be imposed on the already "over-worked officials;" in one case, notwithstanding the requirements of the Act of Parliament, the governor simply avers that it is not wished to make the labour of the prison "productive;" in very many prisons the value of the labour employed in the service of the prison is neither estimated nor reported; in a considerable number of instances the questions have been returned without an observation, or have remained wholly unnoticed.

A very sagacious Spanish proverb says, that the fool knows more of what passes in his own house than the wise man of what passes in the house of another; and it is a vague conviction of this sort which leads to the clamour against centralization and the struggle to retain local influence without control from the supreme authority. Now, if local influence were as intelligent, as experienced and as disinterested, as the superordinate power is and ought to be, it is clear it might safely be trusted with independent action. But local *boards*, as Bentham sagaciously remarked, are in innumerable cases mere *screens* to conceal abuses; and whatever may be the value of an unpaid magistracy, it is to be feared that they are among the least impressionable

and the least plastic instruments in the whole machinery of our government. It is not easy to estimate the amount or the extent of the irresponsible power held by the Justices of the Peace, nor its ramifications through all the elements of society—beneficial in many cases, but pernicious in some—and especially pernicious when repudiating the demands for reform or the pleas for inquiry on the ground of their being intrusive, inopportune or censorious.

Apart from the question of pecuniary losses to the community, in consequence of the dilapidations of criminals and the cost of their prison keeping, whether previous to or after conviction, the latter of which amounts yearly to more than a million sterling,\* the great question of prison discipline may be divided into two categories, that of punishments vindictive and of punishments reformatory. On the ground between the two, and with a greater or less application of both, almost all the legislation of cultivated nations may be said to stand. The lowest savagery is represented by the simple element of revenge; the highest civilization by the efficiency of the reforming principle. In the proportion in which the desire to reform is made subordinate to the wish to punish, or in which the wish to punish is made subordinate to the desire to reform, may be traced the progress not only of philosophical thought, but of practical benevolence.

Magistrates and gaol functionaries have unfortunately a tendency towards the employment of punishments simply pain-inflicting, which are generally spoken of under the name of *deterrent*: the name has been too rashly accepted and adopted, for it can be proved that inflictions simply punitive are less calculated to *deter* offenders from the commission of crime, than is a discipline in which the hopes of the criminal are appealed to as well as his fears;—in other words, that the better part of his nature—and there are few cases in which some “better part” is wholly wanting

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* Proceedings against Criminals .....	£156,814
Convict Prisons .....	271,617
Reformatory Schools .....	51,694
Local Prisons .....	547,414

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£1,027,539

Cartwright on Criminal Management, 1868; but the amount has considerably increased.



—may be acted on by other influences than those of bodily or mental suffering. But the truth is, the infliction of punishment, especially of indiscriminate punishment, is a very easy task ; the fit classification of convicts, and the application to each of that discipline to chastise, to correct or to encourage, which is suited to every particular case, require an attention and a discrimination too frequently wanting among justices and prison officers.

Legislation, indeed, can only establish certain principles, and we come again to the conclusion, that the judicious application of those principles must mainly depend upon the character of the local magistracy. Even in the apportionment of punishment, in the very wide field necessarily left to the discretion of the justice, the discrepancies, the inconsistencies, to say nothing of the caprices and the illegalities, of local decisions, are a reproach to the whole of our judicial system. Among the highest authorities, the Judges of the land, differences of opinion naturally and necessarily exist, and the doom of a prisoner will depend to some extent on the more or less severe character and opinions of the elevated dispensers of the law. But in our petty and quarter session, the contrasts between the length and conditions of sentences in different localities, and in the same locality under different magistrates, show the absence of anything like an accordance either in principle or practice. But the extent to which the functions of the unpaid magistracy should be controlled or interfered with, is too grave a matter to be summarily discussed.

It appears to be recognized by statute law, that if labour wholly unproductive is to be admitted as a needful part of prison discipline, such unproductive labour should be introductory to, and followed by, labour of an industrial and remunerative character. In fact, the progressive movement, from the more irksome and degrading employment towards that which is more pleasant and profitable, should be the ever-acting stimulus present at every stage and step. Hard labour and unprofitable labour ought not to be considered as synonymous terms, for there are many species of labour which being hard and painful are very highly paid in consequence of their demands upon physical strength. But the more early the period in which industrial labour can be associated with proper penal discipline, the better

for the criminal and the better for the community at large.

The most popular objection to industrial training is represented by the question, "By what right would you at the public cost instruct a felon in a trade, so that, when he comes out, he is to be the competitor of the honest man?" The answer is—by every right and by every duty; by the right of society to have crime diminished; the right to have the evil-doer reformed, and to have, if possible, the means of creditable existence placed in his hands; by the duty we owe to the criminal himself, who is handed over to our custody, not only for purposes of punishment, but of reform. Teach him a *trade* at the public cost? It is indeed at the public cost that he is left in idleness, or engaged in profitless labour. Return him to society instructed in some useful employment, and with the power of earning a respectable livelihood, and there will be no cost to society, but an ample saving. Unreformed, he levies his contributions by fraud or violence. He is a destroyer of the public wealth, as well as a disturber of the public peace. As an industrious labourer he will add to the property and prosperity of the nation. It has been estimated that an evil-doer *costs* five times as much to the community as the well-doer is called upon to provide for his own support. It cannot be contended that if the expenses of confinement result in the transformation of an offender against the laws into an example of obedience to those laws, such expenses are not abundantly repaid. The felon who is convicted because he is the enemy and the interrupter of the common weal, should, if possible, be made its ally and supporter. Though labour may often be employed as a penalty for the criminal, the condemnation to utter idleness will sometimes be found to be a penalty still severer. Criminals left to themselves are known to pine and to pray for occupation. In that very desire there is the germ of improvement—a germ which ought to be carefully watched, encouraged, developed and turned to good account.

It would not be easy in a country like this, where the administrative power is so widely extended and so associated with the habits of the people, and where a great and, in some respects, a well-warranted distrust exists of the centralization of executive authority, to introduce arrange-

ments which have even the recommendation of efficiency and success in foreign lands. In Holland, for example, the labour of the prisons is yearly apportioned by the Government to suit the somewhat fluctuating demands of the army, navy and police. In Belgium,\* the Minister of War arranges for the manufacture of a certain amount of military clothing to be provided by the convicts. In France, the Minister of Justice regulates the conditions under which competition is allowed for purchasing prison labour, and it may be said that the whole prison regulations are under the direct control of the central power.† If our neighbours are embarrassed by a superfluity of centralization, we assuredly suffer much from its absence, where it is absolutely wanted to give something like harmony and unity even to the most instructive statistical returns. A general form of book-keeping and of statistical returns ought every-

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\* The merits of the reformatory system in Belgium are thus recognized by the Inspector of Prisons in that country (M. Sorlas), who says: "I can assert as the result of our experience that remunerated prison labour tends to prevent crime, to diminish re-committals, and to hinder relapses." The accounts and the returns from the different prisons in Belgium are modelled on forms prepared by the Minister of Justice. The labour of the prisons is organized under the control of the superordinate authorities. About four-fifths of the whole number of convicts are employed in profitable work; one-fifth are incapacitated or engaged in the internal service of the prisons. About three-quarters of the produce is used for the clothing of the army. In most of the prisons the labour is directed to particular trades. The Antwerp prison is a great manufactory of woven stuffs for exportation, the value of the articles being about £35,000 a year, the raw materials principally the produce of Belgium; and the Minister of Justice states that the superiority of the fabrics had obtained so high a reputation, as to have increased the general demand abroad for Belgium manufactures. The average net profit fluctuates from £2100 to £3200. The reporter remarks that the capital of remote nations has been thus made to contribute to the reformation of Belgium criminals and to the resources of the Belgium Treasury. The plan of manufacturing for distant demand is also adopted in the Munich prison, one of the continental establishments which has been often referred to as presenting an admirable example of prison discipline, humane, reformatory and productive.

† The centralization of authority in France gives great value to the official statistics. The general result of comparison is favourable to the French system, where, the proportion of crime being about equal, the cost of prisoners to the State is about half that in England. The re-committals are much less frequent than with us—from the convicts employed in manufacturing prison labour they are 6·59 per cent.; of those engaged in agricultural labour only 1·32 per cent. The receipts in 1864 for profit on prison work were £133,780. The average gain of the whole of the prisoners, 5½*d.* per day; smiths, 9½*d.*; cabinet-makers, 8*d.*; shoe-makers, tailors, brush-makers, weavers, 7*d.*; agriculturists, 5½*d.* Women employed in shoe-making gain 1*d.* per day more than men.

where to be enforced on our prison authorities. Such a form once introduced and understood would diminish, instead of increasing, the labour of those concerned, and furnish information of the highest practicable value in its most instructive forms.

It would add to the profits of prison labour, and increase the efficiency of prison discipline, if particular trades were carried on in particular prisons. This would lead to greater economy in the management, and to greater perfection in the work. In Holland this plan is adopted with success. Tailoring and shoe-making are the main employments in the Leyden gaol; spinning and weaving in that of Hoorn. In Leeuwarden, all are engaged in shoe-making. In Rotterdam, the greater number are employed in turnery, toy-making, working in metals, lithography and bookbinding. In Alkmar, a large proportion are occupied in skilled work, and nearly one-third of the whole are engaged outside the prison walls. Even for the interchange of articles required for the use of the gaols there would be a great saving, if one gaol were allowed to supply others with the articles most cheaply and most perfectly produced. In many of the prisons of Germany the system of task-work is carried out in great details. A fixed number of days, weeks or months is allowed for the acquirement of a trade, after which a certain quantity of produce, or the dedication of a certain number of hours, is required from the prisoners. The minimum time is ten days for learning the least complicated classes of labour, the maximum eight months; but it may be extended in exceptional cases of skilled workmen. The regulations of the Bruchsal prison, where the solitary system is established, are among the most satisfactory. There are four classes into which the convicts are divided, which regulate the requirements of labour; there is no species of unproductive labour—weaving, tailoring, shoe-making, coopering, lock-making and bookbinding, are the principal trades. Fourteen and a half hours are required to be devoted to labour, with the intermission of meals.

In many of the States of America, the tabular forms in which the prison statistics are to be recorded are regulated by Acts of the Legislature, and for the most part they are very complete. It may be stated generally, that in America the schemes for making labour profitable have

been sometimes carried so far as to interfere with the desirable discipline of the prison; and that associated work has been made productive enough in some of the States, not only to pay all the prison charges, but to leave a considerable profit to the State. The returns of the State prisons of California, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Vermont, give as the average year's gross cost of prisoners, £19. 3s. 1d.; the average net cost, £4. 9s.; the average earnings, £16. 3s. In New Hampshire the earnings were £27; in Massachusetts, £23; in Rhode Island, £19; in Pennsylvania, £10. As this State has been frequently referred to as of the highest authority on questions of prison management, and as the separate system has there been rigidly carried out, I shall venture upon some quotations from its latest Reports, and produce some of the statistical facts which appear most instructive. The State penitentiary of Eastern Pennsylvania presents the experience of eight-and-thirty years. The Directors invite comparisons not only with the past among themselves, but with the present among all civilized nations. They properly deem the study and the application of penal science as among the responsibilities of citizens and the necessities of Christian nations. They insist that the teaching and the training, the reforming, the improving, the elevating a human being, is a paramount and peremptory social duty, even when crime and folly have incarcerated him within the walls of a prison;—nay, that the highest responsibility exists when, deprived of his liberty, he is delivered over to the action and to the influences of the administrators of the law. Hardships on the one side, education on the other—reformation to be the result of both. They repudiate equally those who clamour here for “punishment—punishment,” and those who contend for “profit—profit” alone. They assert that the separate system best allows the adaptation to the individual of the most appropriate moral and industrial instruction. Every prisoner can be taught a handicraft trade and receive a fair education. The cases of hardened, unteachable human beings, of a passion for crime identified with the very nature and wholly ineradicable, are comparatively few, as the statistical tables shew. The personal returns give the per-centages of colour, sex, age, social rela-



tions (parental and conjugal), industrial position, employments before and after conviction, re-committals, crimes, education, moral condition, physical condition, &c. Of 4271 prisoners, the re-committals (1863) were 405 = 9·55 per cent. The Report of 1865 declares emphatically that the moral diseases which generate crime can only be treated by remedies applicable to individual cases, and that the separate system alone allows of such application. The tables with this Report shew that nine-tenths of the prisoners were employed on productive labour; of 5063 committals since 1829, the re-committals were 499, or 9·86 per cent.

The inspectors report that of 183 committed prisoners, 103 were untrained to handicraft labour; of these, 84 were taught a trade in prison. The Report of 1867 suggests the establishment of a special department to collect and to group the separate statistics bearing upon all the conditions of crime, to serve for penal legislation, as the statistics of property serve for the distribution of fiscal burdens. After deducting the cases of mortality and the re-convictions, the Report estimates that 85 per cent. have been transferred from the convict to the useful class of society.

For the year 1866, the cost of the prisoners was 51,226 dollars, 57 cents; the produce of labour 28,931 dollars, 63 cents; the average number of prisoners 510, making the gross cost about 100 dollars, the net cost about 44 dollars per head. The educational statistics for 1866 are thus given:

As introduced,	Per cent.	Under prison instruction.
Illiterate . . . .	21·35	2·56
Spell and read . .	18·54	8·95
Read and write . .	57·55	42·84
Arithmetic added .	—	39·26
Good education . .	2·59	6·39
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100	100

The Reports give tabular returns as to the causes and motives of crime, but it is acknowledged they are multiform and so interblended that they can but imperfectly serve any administrative purpose.

Statistics, indeed, like any other machinery, once set properly in order and arranged under proper heads, will be easily made to present intelligible results. When the forms are judiciously provided, the facts may be easily located,

and information acquired or communicated with great facility and correctness. Not long ago it required many weeks of intense application and a most elaborate correspondence to obtain a balance-sheet of our national receipts and expenditure. A more complete and centralized system of book-keeping introduced at the Treasury, now enables the Chancellor of the Exchequer to ascertain the exact position of the public finances a few hours after the close of the financial year. It is impossible to estimate the benefits which have resulted to society in general, the aid given to legislation, the light thrown upon all the relations of life, by the greater accuracy of statistical records. No thoughtful person will depreciate their value when they are collected with care, caution and truthfulness, and grouped not to favour or to establish a foregone conclusion, but with an honest purpose of ascertaining what *is*—to be turned to a proper account by instructing us as to what *ought to be*. And it is hoped the time is not far distant when, at least, where official documents are concerned, the old joke will cease to be repeated, that “nothing is so deceitful as facts, except it be figures.”

Statistics of profit, as far as profits are reducible to money estimates, may be satisfactorily reported; and the columns of pounds, shillings and pence, which represent the cost of production, as compared with similar columns recording the results of sale, are without much difficulty and in a satisfactory shape producible under a proper system of accountancy; but the statistics which represent results in the moral field of inquiry must be to a great extent imperfect, as they involve many considerations scarcely reducible to an arithmetical form; and it is extremely difficult, in different localities and under multitudinous and varying conditions, to find exactly the same elements for comparison. But the statistics of loss, whether pecuniary\* or moral,

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\* No estimate, even approximative, is possible which should represent the money losses which crime imposes on the community. Miss Carpenter mentions one man (Thompson) who in five years had plundered £18,000; another (Bohanna), who in seven years had stolen to the value of £15,000; another (Kelly), a professional thief from the age of ten, whose robberies amounted to £11,570; those of a family (the Clarks) of whom the oldest was under twenty, were £6,520. But the forgeries and frauds of a different order of misdoers, associated with joint-stock companies, banks, and the wider fields of felony, would have to be reckoned, not by thousands, but by millions.

which are the consequences of erroneous legislation, vicious habits, want of education, misdirection of labour and capital, and other evils the result of legislative or administrative misrule, or of social inactivity or ignorance, are too various and too gigantic for the powers of arithmetic to calculate. We may estimate the money cost of a war, but what figures can represent its associated banes or blessings—if blessings there be? We can show to some extent the exactions which monopolies, restrictions and prohibitions have or had for a long series of years imposed upon the purses of the people; but who can trace the multitudinous evils, personal, social, national, which would represent the fruits of erroneous political economy? We are staggered when we contemplate the money cost of intemperance in the consumption of intoxicating drinks; but what statistics can follow that expenditure into all its moral ramifications and consequences? Our maps can mark out, by colouring of a deeper darkness or a lighter shade, the state of popular instruction; we can contrast in various localities the funds devoted to, the scholars taught by, their educational arrangements; but in no tabular form can we gather together anything like an exhaustive statement of the evils and the sacrifices, the errors and the crimes attributable to our neglect of the prominent social diseases which afflict our labouring, or even to some extent our more cultivated population.

It was more than sixty years ago that Jeremy Bentham, under the auspices of Pitt, Dundas, Wilberforce and others, launched his Panopticon project, whose great object was to diminish the cost of prison management by turning the labour of the prisoners to profitable account, to create among them habits of industry, and to carry out to its fullest extent an industrial and reformatory discipline. The contract was signed by which Bentham engaged to take charge of 1000 prisoners—the extent of the first experiment—at £12 per head yearly. This was about two-thirds of the then cost of the prisoner, and is about half of the cost at the present time. To the State the saving would have been £6000 a year on the first initiatory contract, and on the success of the experiment it was hoped similar arrangements might be made on a far wider scale. But those were days in which political passion and persecution were sufficient to thwart any plans, however wise and benevolent, which

emanated from a quarter then believed to be disaffected or disloyal. Bentham had by his writings offended the majesty of George the Third. The King interposed his *veto*, and insisted on the abandonment of the contract. In 1813, the Parliament was called upon to vote, and voted £23,000, which was paid as compensation to Bentham for the violation of the contract. The Millbank Prison was built on the ground originally destined for the Panopticon. The millions upon millions of money in the shape of pecuniary loss which the obstinacy of the monarch entailed upon the nation may be a matter of approximative estimate; but who shall furnish the statistics as to the amount of misery and crime with which an imperfect and erroneous system of prison discipline has afflicted the community?

Encouragement to productive labour provided for by central inspection—an omnipresent eye watching over not only the general organization, but all the details of organized labour—are the great elements of the Panoptic system. This is not the place to show how much its anticipated workings were grounded on the profoundest study of the philosophy of mind, nor to report how much the Panopticon architecture has become a condition of the best constructed prisons at home and abroad. As in questions of Free Trade, Poor-law management, Rationale of Evidence, Interest of Money, Bentham was in advance of his generation, and did not live to see his great teachings transformed, as they have been, into English law, so the time may not be far distant when his views as to Prison Discipline will have the sanction of Acts of Parliament.

Still, the teachings of this great legist on Prison Discipline demand some attention, characterized as they are by that searching analysis which he brings into the field of philosophical observations, and which he always seeks to make exhaustive. When he published his Panopticon, Prison Reform had been regarded principally from the humanitarian point of view, and, led by the illustrious Howard, a band of Christian men penetrated into "the secrets of the prison-house," where the divulged abominations, cruelties and abuses, were sufficient to shock and stagger those who listened to the revelations. Bentham was the first writer who brought any really enlightened and practical views to bear upon the architectural construction

of prisons, and the influences, whether punitive or remunerative, or, to use his own phraseology, the action upon "fears and hopes," which might be most successfully used for the reformation of criminals and the prevention of crime. Bentham used the powers of ridicule to correct the narrow-minded prejudices and the absurd practices which had currency in his day—the employment of blunt saws, made blunt on purpose, for cutting the wood to be used in the prison—the task of carrying heaps of stones from one to another portion of the prison-yard and back again. Cranks and tread-mills are for the most part only more complicated and elaborate applications of the art of wasting labour, and they have, sad to say! obtained some new authority from the Prisons Act of 1865, which sanctions their conditional employment, though it must be allowed mainly as a preparation for more profitable industrial labour. The removal or diminution of suffering in its many shapes, and in its stead the substitution of satisfaction and enjoyment, are the contrasted elements of universal influence wherever we have to do with man and the nature of man. The infliction of punishment, whether by the exaction of hard and degrading labour, the denial of accustomed gratifications, the irksome monotony or enforced solitude of prison life, are only a part, and the least important part, of the machinery at the disposal of the legislator and the magistrate for carrying out the highest objects of prison discipline. In order to give to the reformatory its greatest momentum, it will be found that progressively profitable work is the most potent means.

In the management of our prisons, the great axiom, that the interests of men should be associated with their duties, seems to have been forgotten. As regards the magistrates, the interests they possess are the exercise of power, almost without responsibility, and any amount of reputation growing out of its beneficial exercise. Pecuniary interests they have none. In the case of governors of prisons, special rewards seldom accompany special services; yet neither they nor any other class of men, without motives to extra exertion, will bring extra exertion into the field; the interests of ease will predominate over those of action, when no rewarding results are attached to the latter; and the same observation applies to every functionary in a prison.



The objects to be constantly kept in view are—and for these all the machinery of penal legislation should be employed—1, to create habits of industry ; 2, to prevent the sentence of the law from being either mitigated or augmented by bad management ; 3, to produce reformation of character ; and, 4, to attain these objects at the smallest possible expense. Every one of these heads might be emphatically insisted on and elaborately advocated ; but it is our object rather to present materials for consideration with a view to practical reforms, than to enter upon the whole theory of Rewards and Punishments, to which one is naturally invited when attention is called to the writings of so great an authority as Bentham.

In prison statistics there are certain particulars which do not very considerably differ ; such are the average ages of criminals, the proportion between the sexes, and their social condition previous to committal. The cost of dietary and clothing, being now subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, cannot vary much in different localities ; but the internal administration of gaols, the number of officials, their duties and their salaries, the trades to which prisoners have been brought up, the modes in which the accounts are kept, the length of sentences to which convicts are condemned, the employments in which they are occupied, the more or less judicious selection of these employments, exhibit the most startling contrasts, and show how little of accordance exists among magistrates either as to the objects of prison discipline, or the means by which those objects can be best effected. It was an admirable suggestion of Chief Justice Erle, that governors of prisons should be allowed to take counsel together, to compare the results of their own particular experience, and to suggest for adoption such arrangements as had been found satisfactory. And if visiting justices broke down their own habits of isolation, and were more willing to persuade themselves that there are Nazareths, both at home and abroad, out of which some good might possibly come, if it were diligently sought, there would be less of stagnation than we have now cause to deplore. As a hopeful symptom of improvement, we have seen of late that deputations of magistrates from other localities have visited some of our best-conducted prisons, and their reports have led to the adoption of many improvements.

The diminished number of convicts in most of our county prisons, and the consequence following that most of those prisons have now a no small proportion of unoccupied cells, have led magistrates to the conclusion that this satisfactory state of things is mainly due to the excellence of their administration, and to that particular discipline which they have adopted. They have not taken into account the circumstance that an immense multitude of cases formerly left to be dealt with by the Quarter Sessions or the Assizes, are now disposed of by summary jurisdiction; nor of the still more important and consolatory fact, that the demand for labour, the increase of wages, the extension of trade, emigration to the colonies and foreign lands, the increase of wealth, and the development of the national prosperity, have wonderfully diminished the pressure of want and the consequent temptations to offence. Whatever may exist of barbarism and brutality to incite to deeds of violence, however clever or professional roguery may have organized schemes of fraud, there can be no doubt that education and civilization have been making their silent way and diffusing their improving influences, checking to some extent the hand of violence and correcting the calculations of crime.

The judicial statistics for 1866 present some remarkable results—an increase in the cost of prisons, with a diminution in the number of criminals, notwithstanding the growth of the population. The number of the criminal class at large in 1866 is estimated at 113,566, against 116,626 in the previous year. Of those in prison, 31,049 contrasted with 31,373 in 1865. Of indictable offences reported, the number in 1866 was 48,865; in 1865, 57,593. The returns for 1865 were more favourable than those of 1864, shewing a progressive improvement. It is satisfactory to find from the tables which have been published that this improvement is not only traceable in the general results, but is most marked in the diminution of the more heinous offences.

The gross cost of prisoners has gone on increasing from £29. 14s. 1d. in 1864 to £30. 15s. 3d. in 1865, up to £34. 8s. 8d. in 1866. While in some prisons the gross annual cost is only from £16 to £18 per head, in others it is five or six times that amount. The transfer of the inmates of small and expensive prisons to large, well-managed and

less costly establishments, would not only be a relief from local taxation, but might be made instrumental in organizing the best schemes for penal and productive labour. The architecture of small prisons is less adapted to classification and to other means of reform than is that of larger edifices. The enormous cost of construction, the superfluity of administration (to some extent necessitated by our penal laws), but attributable still more to habits of routine, fear of innovation, local interests and prejudices, and, above all, indistinct notions of the objects of penal legislation, and the means of accomplishing those objects, have been the causes of the augmented expense of our convict system, and have prevented the full development of reformatory action. Nothing, indeed, can more strikingly exhibit the want of a thorough understanding, or, at all events, of a proper application of the very elementary principles of prison reform, than the contrasts presented by the results of penal discipline, not only between this and other countries, but between the different gaols in our own.

In England, the annual cost of the prisoner to the State is double the cost in France, treble that in many of the countries of Europe and in the United States of America. The Recorder of Birmingham (Mr. M. D. Hill) says that the average cost to this country of prisoners, taking the average of the terms of imprisonment, was £120 per head. The cost in France is £42 per head, and the results far more satisfactory. In other words, the reformatory work is carried on in France much more efficiently than in England, and at about one-third of the expense.

The questions of a general character which were submitted by the Devon Committee to those whose opinions were deemed most valuable and authoritative, from their having devoted special attention to, and acquired much experience in, questions of prison discipline, were the following. A resumé of the answers with which we were favoured follows.

“1. Has prison labour when simply punitive and deterrent been on the whole more influential in the prevention of crime, than labour when made productive ?

“2. If productive labour is recommended, what species of work, and under what conditions should it be imposed ?

“3. Is it possible to adopt remunerative labour in prisons where the principle of non-recognition is fully carried out ?

"4. How far can a system of task-work be adopted? Is it desirable that a convicted prisoner should be allowed to exceed his task, and what is the fittest appropriation of the produce of his extra labour?

"5. If absolute isolation of the prisoner be considered a *sine quâ non* of discipline, what are the employments to be recommended as most compatible with that discipline, and at the same time most remunerative and reformatory?

"6. Do you approve of the use of the tread-mill either generally or partially, and under what circumstances should it be employed? (Same question as applied to the crank.)

"7. Is it your opinion that stone-breaking and oakum-picking are judicious applications of prison labour; if not, what should replace them?

"8. Any information, observations, or suggestions, throwing light on our inquiry, will be welcome."

1. As regards the first question, the opinions are quite unanimous as to the greater efficiency of productive over unproductive labour in the prevention and diminution of crime. Sir Walter Crofton, whose services, as we are informed by the Home Secretary of State, have been "specially retained by the Government for the purpose of giving effect to the hard labour clauses of the Prison Bill of 1865," states, that no system had ever succeeded in which the penal and deterrent has not been associated with the industrial and remunerative, and that the purpose of the existing Act was to initiate punishment with severity, but so as to lead the convict gradually into the field of profitable labour. Capt. Cartwright says, that all experience, both abroad and at home, shows that the productive administration alone is reformatory. The general testimony of our prison inspectors is that there is scarcely an instance in which labour simply punitive and deterrent has had the same beneficial effects as labour useful and productive. Miss Carpenter declares, that punitive work alone has certainly never succeeded in reforming criminals as profitable work has done,—moral discipline being ignored or forgotten when the sole object is the infliction of pain. Mr. J. P. Organ, the Inspector of released convicts, answers: "The more productive labour is, the better calculated to prevent crime." Mr. Mitchell gives the returns from the Salford gaol from 1838 to 1866, showing the reduction of re-committals under the gradual development of produc-

tive labour from about 11 per cent. to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., being nearly one quarter of the whole. By the returns laid before the Lords Committee in 1865, it appears that the re-committals under a system of unremunerative labour were 30 per cent.; under one of remunerative, 23 per cent. Mr. Commissioner Hill, the Recorder of Birmingham, states his view, that the early periods of imprisonment should be employed in irksome and degrading labour, such as might induce the prisoner to desire to get rid of it, in order as soon as possible to be admitted into the field of remunerative employment which all prisons should provide. Many other returns were received, all emphatically accordant.

2. To the second inquiry, Sir Walter Crofton replies, that there are localities where the tread-mill and the cranks have been made productive, others in which the labour is utterly wasted. Mat-making, which with the heavy loom comes under the head of the heaviest hard labour, is remunerative, especially in large prisons. The aptitudes of the prisoner, his employment in the trade to which he was brought up, should be kept in view. Agricultural labour, gardening, quarrying, might be beneficially introduced in certain localities. A great variety of trades might be carried on in solitary cells, such as shoemaking, tailoring, weaving, mat-making, brush-making, basket-making, and many others.

3. It is quite possible to associate remunerative labour with the non-recognition of prisoners. Opinions vary as to the value of absolute isolation, as a general principle. Great doubts are expressed as to the balance of good or evil which non-recognition brings with it, and Mr. Commissioner Hill thinks that in cases where it seriously interferes with the development of industry, it should be abandoned. Bentham held that properly-directed intercourse and co-operative industry should be used as valuable and potent instruments for the instruction and reformation of criminals.

4. Task-work is generally recommended. Most of the authorities think it might be and should be applied to every species of prison labour, either in the shape of time or produce of labour. Sir Walter Crofton says the practical results are beneficial to the prisoner and useful to the gaol authorities as tests of reformation. Convicts should be allowed a portion of the profits obtained from their extra



work. It is generally recommended that a portion of these extra profits should accumulate as a fund to be handed over to the prisoner at the expiration of his sentence. In France, the proportion of profits allotted to prisoners varies from one-tenth to six-tenths, under various categories. In Holland, they receive nearly half of the gross receipts from labour, with special allowances for "meritorious" industry. In Belgium, the allowances vary from five-tenths to seven-tenths, two-tenths being immediately paid to prisoners; and the general principle adopted is, that a trade shall be taught to every prisoner, and that none shall quit the prison without the means of honest livelihood. Mr. Hill says, that in his experience in Scotland, convicts would rise at three or four o'clock in the morning, that they might get the benefit of their extra work. Mr. Organ would allow to the prisoner the whole profit of his extra labour. Mr. Commissioner Hill would permit the convict to work to any extent (not to imperil his health), and allow the profits to be given to his family (if he have any), or to accumulate for his own benefit; and with this view there is a general concurrence.

5. To the fifth inquiry Sir W. Crofton says, that many branches of industry may be carried on profitably in separate cells—weaving by heavy looms, mat-making on frames, grinding by hand-mills, oakum-picking. These come under the head of "hard labour of the first or severest character." The remunerative results depend much on locality. Hand-mills are not expensive, and have been employed advantageously at Reading. In the second class of lighter labour, many profitable employments may be connected with the cellular system, but maximum profits can only be obtained by combination and association.

6. The objections to the tread-mill greatly preponderate over its recommendations. It is employed in none of the prisons of Scotland. Its use has been generally abandoned in civilized countries, and it is banished from many of our best-conducted gaols. Sir Walter Crofton approves of its use in the earlier periods of sentences (with proper medical sanction), provided it is supplemented by industrial labour; misconduct on the part of convicts to prolong their employment at the mill. Mr. Cartwright says, "The only recommendation of the tread-mill is, that it saves trouble to

prison warders. It fails as a deterrent to hardened offenders, and is unequal in its inflictions of pain ; it is cruel to those who have fallen into conviction from misfortune, or for offences not involving serious moral delinquency. The crank (useless labour crank) has even more serious objections, and is calculated to make all labour hateful. It has been discontinued generally." Mr. Hill concurs in this opinion, disapproves of the use of tread-mills or cranks under any circumstances, as frustrating the great objects of prison discipline, intensifying the hatred of labour, and wasting what ought to be made profitable. Miss Carpenter says tread-mills and cranks ought never to be used except to produce profit. Mr. Organ wholly disapproves of the employment, as representing only vindictive instead of reformatory punishment. Mr. Mitchell thinks the tread-mill may be employed for the benefit of the idler at other employments within the prison, and for the determent of the evil-doer without. Cranks are useless except when employed for flour-grinding. Mr. Commissioner Hill thinks that the use of the tread-mill and the crank is liable to great abuse from over-severity on the one side and laxity on the other. They are seldom connected with productive labour. The tread-mill is sometimes injurious when the officers are careless, and the same may be said of the crank ; but the crank, which may be made to register the amount of labour, could be employed for the punishment of offences committed in prison. Mr. Hurst wholly objects to the tread-mill ; it imposes the same amount of labour on the weak and the strong ; it teaches nothing, it produces nothing. It should only be used for the punishment of obstinate resistance to other labour requirements. The crank is preferable to the tread-mill, as strengthening the muscles and giving more aptitude for laborious exertion. In localities where there is a demand for broken stone, Sir. W. Crofton thinks stone-breaking by task may be usefully employed as hard labour of the first class ; so may oakum-picking heavily tasked, in cases where the tread-mill is physically objectionable. Where the sentences are too short to enable the prisoner to learn a trade, stone-breaking and oakum-picking are recognized generally as fit applications of prison labour.

Of the general observations with which we were favoured,

the following appear particularly deserving of attention. From Sir Walter Crofton :

“I consider that the Prisons Act of 1865, and the explanatory Home Office Circulars of the 9th Dec. 1865, and of 23rd March, 1866, indicate a system of prison discipline which, while it secures the punishment of the criminal, is at the same time calculated to enlist his co-operation in his own amendment.

“The distinction drawn in the 19th section of the Prisons Act between hard labour of the 1st class and hard labour of the 2nd class, points out the progressive improvement in the position of the prisoner which it is competent for the Justices to institute, and thereby to create a motive power to exertion and industry on his part which is of great value.

“In several of the large as well of the minor gaols, the introduction of a system of classification, based upon the power thus obtained, has proved a strong stimulus to industry and good conduct.

“With regard to labour, it is obvious that what has proved profitable in large gaols need not necessarily be so in gaols which have comparatively few inmates.

“In the smaller prisons, consistently with a due regard to discipline now insisted on by Statute, it will be more difficult to make any branch of trade profitable. Mat-making on frames, which is hard labour of the second class, appears to require less instruction than other trades. I have generally observed that in small gaols one of the discipline officers has a sufficient knowledge of this trade to supervise a small class, and thereby save the expense of a trade instructor.

“In some of the large gaols, which carry on manufactures on an extensive scale, hard labour of the first class is thus subdivided :

“1st period. Tread-mill or crank—power utilized.

“2nd period. Weaving matting with heavy looms.

“If the prisoner is industrious, he is at a certain hour, depending on his conduct, transferred to hard labour of the second class, i.e. mat-making and other trades. In the smaller gaols the same principle is carried out, but there is of course not the same development of trade.

“In both cases the time not occupied on the tread-mill or crank (for by Statute it is only imperative that prisoners sentenced to hard labour and fit to undergo it should work at hard labour, 1st class, for eight hours daily during the first three months of their sentences) is generally employed at oakum-picking by task : for instance, if a prisoner is six hours on the tread-mill,

he would have a task of oakum to pick adequate to the remaining four hours' labour of the day.

"It is by the performance of this daily task that the prisoner's industry in the early date of his detention is tested and recorded, and his promotion to a higher class, in which his labour would be less severe and of a more industrial character, is regulated."

Mr. Frederick Hill says :

"I regard useful and productive labour as the mainspring of every kind of good prison discipline, and am strongly of opinion that every prison in the country ought to be self-supporting — an object to be attained partly by rendering the work of the prisoners more profitable than at present, and partly by discontinuing the practice of imprisoning for short periods. When a long process of discipline and training is not necessary, the offender should not, in my opinion, be sent to prison unless he be unable either to pay a penalty or to give security.

"The order, regularity, early rising, hard work, frugal meals and cheap but durable clothing, which are necessary for making a prison self-supporting, have all a very beneficial influence on the prisoners.

"If I had to arrange the prisons with which I am best acquainted in their order of excellence, I might with general correctness place them in the inverse order of expense ; and I should expect to find that the same rule holds good now and in every part of the country.

"For the successful management of a prison as respects work, it is, in my opinion, essential that the Governor and Matron should be strongly impressed with the importance of productive labour, and that with at least one kind of such labour every subordinate officer should be practically acquainted."

Captain Cartwright says :

"In the county of Suffolk, at Ipswich, Swaffham, Reading, Nottingham and others, the tread-wheel and crank labour are unknown ; at others, though the crank has been discontinued, nothing but the tread-wheel, applied or not to useful results, is considered as hard labour. The principle of 'progressive labour' must be enlisted for the improvement of prison discipline. Under existing statutes may be combined penal labour and industrial employment, a full apportionment of the former as a deterrent in the early period of servitude, with a gradually increasing recourse to the latter as the prisoner evinces the good conduct and inclination to industry allowed to be corroborative (if not of repentance) of a desire to improve his condition — and under progressive

labour a man soon is made to feel that he has it in his own hands to gain something by industry."

Miss Carpenter :

"My observations of gaols in England as well as in India leads me to attach great importance to the *proper development* of labour in prisons, under *judiciously arranged conditions*. The moral improvement of the prisoner and the profit of his work will then greatly correspond. I would beg to refer to the complete account of the Irish convict system, given in the second volume of my work, 'Our Convicts.' I consider the views worked out by Sir Walter Crofton in those prisons, and his present application of them to English prisons, perfectly sound both in theory and practice."

Mr. Hurst :

"The greater proportion of criminals are unskilled and without a character ; on being liberated from prison, can seldom obtain employment ; and have no alternative but of returning to their former evil courses. If you teach them some handicraft, you give them the means of obtaining an honest living besides teaching them industry, and thereby in a multitude of instances reformation of life may be produced.

"Why should not different trades be carried on in the various prisons, and the labour of each be voted to supply the requirements of the others ; and why should not police clothing and articles required for the public institutions of a county be manufactured in the prisons ?

"If this were done, it would obviate the universal system of favouritism and bribery that determine the contracts in the public establishments throughout the country.

"The less remunerative the labour of a prisoner may be, the more he punishes the community, while he is himself suffering punishment.

"If a man has an imperfect knowledge of any handicraft, employ him in the same, so that he may become a more perfect workman, and better enabled to compete with others after his liberation."

The questions submitted to the governors of prisons were intended to cover the whole field of inquiry as regards the construction and interior arrangements of the different gaols ; the statistics of receipt and expenditure, especially as connected with the results of prison labour ; the opinions of the gaol authorities as to existing defects and the appropriate



remedies ; and suggestions were invited not only as regards the general topic of prison discipline, but any of the minor details to which special attention had been given. It would be difficult to imagine results more incongruous, and in some cases contradictory, than the various returns presented. Some were admirable for their completeness and correctness ; others slovenly and unsatisfactory in the highest degree ; but it may be stated generally, that wherever the prison management was the most worthy of approval, there the accountancy was the most complete. No general system of book-keeping has been introduced into our gaols ; in some of them the control over expenditure or incomings is most imperfect—the audit sadly neglected. Surely some model forms might be enforced in Great Britain, as they are in most civilized countries ; but the vague and careless manner in which the expenses and the results of our criminal legislation are recorded in too many of our gaols, is disreputable to our national character, and fails to afford those points of contrast and comparison which are needful to direct the legislator, however well-intentioned he may be. We cannot afford space for the detailed statistics of fifteen prisons which, as a fair specimen of the whole, were selected by the Committee for their Report. The tables were constructed not from Parliamentary Blue-books, but from the returns of the gaol authorities.

Eleven of these prisons have adopted the system of entire separation ; in three, the separate system is only partially adopted ; and in only one is it wholly neglected. The annual gross cost of prisoners per head varies from a minimum of £16. 0s. 1d. to a maximum of £35. 12s. The net cost varies from £8. 19s. 9d. to £25. 11s. 1d. Five of these prisons have no tread-mills ; eight have them, more or less used ; in Devon and Kirkdale, tread-mills are in process of erection. In the cases of Salford, Leeds and Bedford, the returns are the most perfect and the pecuniary results the most satisfactory. In the two latter, the system of entire separation is carried out. In Salford, association is allowed. Neither in Leeds nor Bedford is any tread-mill in use ; in Salford it is employed. The prison in which the requirements of the Prisons Act are most rigidly carried out, under the Chairmanship of Lord Carnarvon, is that of the county of Hants. The net cost of prisoners in Devon county gaol

appears by the returns furnished to exceed by 50 per cent. those of the Hampshire gaol. Lord Carnarvon writes that their arrangements have been carried out in consultation with Sir Walter Crofton, of whose opinion he speaks in the highest terms, and that the results are altogether satisfactory.

From the opinions which have accompanied the statistical returns, some appear worthy of special attention. The Bedford tables convey the very favourable testimony of Chief Justice Erle and Judge Byles to the admirable working of the systems there in action, and a testimony of nine magistrates of Middlesex, dated July 5, 1867, to the highly efficient arrangements for the profitable employment of the prisoners. The governor of Birmingham gaol states that the profits from prison work have been raised within a few years from £400 to £500, up to £1500 a year; that productive labour, if criminals are to be reformed, is the most efficient instrument; that task-work should be always employed, but a great discretion left to the governor. From Bristol, the governor says there should be no unproductive labour; unproductive labour has many bad results on the dispositions of criminals. He does not approve of task-work, but thinks governors should have the power of punishing for neglect. The Gloucester governor says that labour is reformatory in the very proportion of its productiveness. Task-work is necessary, and should be distributed daily. The governor of the Hampshire county prison encloses the Report of the Visiting Justices, stating that they have carried out Sir Walter Crofton's recommendations with the greatest success. The governor of East Sussex approves of the use of the crank for short sentences and introductory to industrial labour.

The Chairman of the Visiting Justices at Liverpool writes that they propose to apply a powerful tread-mill to looms for the manufacture of matting, a manufacture which has been found very profitable. The reward they give for extra labour is mostly extra food, as they think the public has a right to all the pecuniary earnings of prisoners; but they award special grants in special cases, frequently to pay for released prisoners the passage-money to other countries. He states that, except with a large momentum of tread-mill power, it is not thought the instrument can be made profitable.

The governor of Holloway prison states that there has been a growing increase in the profits of prison labour. He does not object to workshops where silence is enforced, and the advantages of association are obtained. Non-recognition may be secured by wearing masks and by the presence of officers. He objects to any system which is undistinguishing; and while he thinks hardened offenders should be visited with the severest discipline—solitary confinement and unproductive labour—he has known many cases in which convicts have been reformed by the encouragement of profitable work, have occupied a good position when restored to society, which would never have been the case had they been degraded and had lost all self-respect. In Holloway prison, of 1914 prisoners, the proportion of youths to adults is 147 to 1767; of sentences of one month and under, 1260; three months and above one month, 456; above three months, 198. The returns furnished by Mr. Weatherhead are admirable in their completeness, and leave nothing to be desired in the field of inquiry.

JOHN BOWRING.

#### VII.—C. C. J. BUNSEN.

*A Memoir of Baron Bunsen, &c. &c.* Drawn chiefly from Family Papers, by his Widow, Frances Baroness Bunsen. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1868.

THIS is far too big a book. Nor as a biography is it nearly so good and so interesting as it ought to have been, and might have been, with reference to the considerable, if not very important, part which Baron Bunsen long played in European politics, theology and literature. We wondered at its bigness till we found that Madame Bunsen was a sister of Lady Llanover, and saw there was an inevitable family likeness between the work before us and the lengthy *Memoirs of Mrs. Delany*; though the short time which has elapsed since Bunsen's death, and the delicate nature of the positions he filled in society, the author's affection, reverence, and good taste have spared us the vulgarity of those porten-

tous volumes. But the size of the book is unfair to the subject of it, who is, as it were, painted too large: a man somewhat, it may be, above the common stature, is drawn in Brobdingnagian style, so that, as in a well-known passage in *Gulliver*, the blemishes repel, the beauties even of such a character are rendered less attractive. We wish it could be once for all understood, that as neither sign-painting nor photography are the truest portraits, so this excess of minute detail in biography is an injury to the man who is gone, and the less realistic likenesses are those which are more real. The singular vein of mystic piety which breathes in so many letters in this volume, would have been fully displayed in two or three, would have been interesting, while now it is wearisome; and we might surely have been spared many descriptions of gay London life, when there was nothing in them peculiar to Bunsen; for even persons not in the sacred circle may be supposed to know something.

The widow of such a man as Bunsen is at a great disadvantage, writing too, as is inevitable, so soon after his loss. She must veil much which we would wish to know; she must have grown to take her husband at his own valuation. Madame Bunsen has accordingly been diplomatically reticent on the reasons of her husband's recall from his two great embassies, from Rome in 1838, from England in 1854, and, as he did himself, she has vastly over-estimated his influence. For this we would be the last to blame a loving and tender wife, and her touching words tell us that the task of writing was by no means self-imposed. "Write yourself," Bunsen had said to her, a month before his death—"write yourself the history of our common life. You can do it, you have it in your power, only be not mistrustful of yourself." Yet had a short sketch of that happy married life been compiled by the survivor—had the diplomatic transactions, so far as now known, together with the letters, been unreservedly confided to some trusty friend of literary power among the many whom Bunsen possessed—his wishes would have been followed, and the world would have had a better book. He will long be remembered by those who would willingly forget two-thirds of what has been here written about him, and probably more than two-thirds of what he has written.

All this we say in no unkindly spirit, but because a book

is, or ought to be, a work of art, and as such is to be criticised with little, if any, reference to the subject. We are sorry that a labour of love has not been better performed ; it would be falsehood to our undertaking if we shrunk from saying, that affection, pious memory and loyalty, a copious flow of words and indiscriminating admiration, are not the only requisites for that most difficult of all literary tasks, a good biography, rightly adapted to the importance of the life described. So much for the book : we turn to the subject of the Memoir.

Christian Carl Josias Bunsen was born nine years before the close of the last century, at Corbach, in the little principality of Waldeck, the only issue of the second marriage of a respectable pensioner of the Dutch army, by the nurse or nursery-governess of a Countess of Waldeck, who stood godmother to the son of her former servant. By his former marriage, Heinrich Christian Bunsen had two daughters, Christiana and Helene, neither of whom remained with their father ; but Christiana, who paid a visit to Corbach when her brother was seven or eight years old, exercised an influence over the child which she never lost in years of separation, and seems more than his mother to have awakened in his young heart the seeds of tenderness and love. Although the Bunsen family had been settled for many generations in Corbach and its neighbourhood, they had neither risen above or sunk below the lower middle class. Heinrich Christian lived on the proceeds of a small farm, on his pension, and such slender sum as might be obtained by copying law documents. For this last employ he was in some degree qualified by the fact that his father had been an advocate ; but even this being granted, there is much in the short account of Bunsen's life in childhood to wound our English self-complacency and make us covet our neighbours' education. Even under the blighting influences of a Buonapartist Government, then, as now, however secretly, the real enemy of literature and culture, it was possible for Bunsen to gain at a cheap rate and within a short distance of his home a first-rate elementary education, to find intellectual companions, to feel that he could as he would determine on a learned life, wherein a career should be open to him. To the son of an English yeoman living in or close to a provincial country town, such a life, such a prospect, are



simply impossible; and it will remain so till grammar-schools are reformed and education is compulsory, and even, it may be, long after that still distant time. Of the many honoured names of Bunsen's friends, nearly all are those of men born in his class, who rose as he rose, not indeed wholly unaided by his mother's patroness and friend, but with no hindrances whatever because of his birth. Among ourselves, it is true that the Stephensons and Faradays rise also; science has its openings; but of students, as such, of statesmen, of diplomatists, of lawyers, even of the few divines we have, how small a number have risen from what in our conceit we term the ranks! No wonder that when Freytag's "*Soll und Haben*" was published, it delighted Bunsen, always a great novel-reader; for its opening chapters took him back at once to that quiet German burgher-life, left so many years behind—so simple, yet often so cultivated, so plain and homely, yet free from all vulgarity, so full of idyls like Hermann and Dorothea, impossible in the same class in the land he had made his own.

There is little to record of Bunsen's early life, save that he made the best use of his excellent opportunities of learning at school, at the little University of Marburg and afterwards at Göttingen; that he was a quiet, dutiful, affectionate lad, liked by his schoolfellows, and protecting always the weaker than himself. On making up his mind to leave Marburg and enter on the more expensive course of Göttingen, he writes to his sister Christiana that he feels he has the certainty of a future provision in repayment for the outlay; he may at least hope to be made teacher of one of the upper classes in the Corbach Gymnasium. A very different career opened to him. Through the kindness of Heyne, who soon discovered his good scholarship, he was employed at Göttingen as teacher in the Gymnasium there, a clearly higher school than that at Corbach, and he became German master and tutor generally to young Astor, of the well-known American house. He soon obtained high University honours, not the least considered being a prize essay on the Athenian Law of Inheritance, which friends advised him to write in Greek, instead of Latin, in which language, however, even Heyne was satisfied of his proficiency.

The personal reminiscences of more than one friend of these college days, shew Bunsen to have been always of a

sober, serious and religious temperament, certainly above the average of University students, whether in Germany or England, in the fervour and exaltation of his spirit. But the first impulse towards any views of religion consciously held, was given by a little book called *Theologia Germanica*, "which made," says Professor C. A. Brandis, "a profound impression upon us," and of which in 1851 the charm and the value were still deeply felt by Bunsen, whose letter on it to the translator was published as an Introduction. In spite of Luther's editing and high commendation, of the care taken with the English edition, and of the power it once exercised, the book is not one which has taken hold of the modern mind. It and Tauler, whose doctrine it formalizes and epitomizes, are, as Bunsen well said, "the Germanic counterpart of Romanic scholasticism." It is undogmatic *theology*, by which we mean a science of God, endeavouring to be at once definite and yet escape from the mediæval terminology, and the doctrines involved in that terminology, which had become a burthen to the human soul. It became mystical; that is, it over-valued feeling, while it tried to systematize it, without believing the background of fact which lends such precision to the no less mystical and far more popular book, the *De Imitatione Christi*. And therefore, in spite of Bunsen, it has in so small degree moulded the thought of these days, which takes a different mode of escape from the subtleties of the schoolmen. Of ways of escape there are in fact three, though it may be that not all men are quite clear in their own minds which way they may be following. One is that pursued alike by Lutherans, Anglicans, and in fact all Reformed churches having creeds, confessions or articles—to hold certain fundamental doctrines as fixedly as did the mediæval church, and to hold them according to their own view in the same sense, but on these doctrines to build up another system of church polity, and to draw in detail different doctrinal conclusions. Another—that mainly followed by Bunsen and certain of our own theologians—is to veil the differences between earnest Christians, so far as may be, in a mist of words, so that it may seem by a studied vagueness that all who love God are really meaning the same thing, to reject all Roman doctrine, and to say that the best Romanists and those great Christian doctors whom Rome has canon-

ized were really Protestants. A third class of men cast aside equally church organization and doctrine, as having in themselves no necessary sanctity and truth, do not consider that the thought of the past and the future can, save perhaps as far as profession of simple Theism goes, be reduced to the same terms, and look to discovered facts, not to any "revelation," as that which shall ultimately guide men to so much of truth as it shall be given them to attain. And since to some such view as this, opinion seems slowly but surely tending, theology, whether Catholic or Protestant or mystic, has so small influence on the men of our day.

The impressions made by the *Theologia Germanica* were deepened, and for the time, as it would seem, rendered more dogmatic, by a visit to his sister Christiana in Holland, a woman "of strongly defined opinions," whom Madame Bunsen did not like. She was no doubt an eminently disagreeable person; but the singularly harsh and repulsive character given of her by her sister-in-law, is hard on one whom Bunsen loved with a son's love, whom he supported so bravely in his own poverty, who gave him what no man can despise, even though he drift away from it, his early religious faith, and who never lost his confidence and affection.

So furnished in scholarship and faith, he held a prominent position among the younger men at Göttingen, and it was long remembered how he quitted a lecture-room because religious, or at least biblical, matters were handled somewhat freely by the teacher. It would be interesting to know what was the line of treatment which seemed to call for such a protest, and see if indeed it differed widely from his own later views on such subjects, or was then the product of his recent intercourse with Dutch Calvinists. Probably neither they nor he would have been as offended in 1860 as he was in 1815.

Another year of intellectual labour put far away out of sight the hope of being merely a teacher in a gymnasium. The study of philology, as bearing on history and religion, that it is, in fact, the master-key to unlock the secrets of the human race and the human mind, had taken full possession of Bunsen's imagination, and to it he resolved to devote himself. Even as a boy he had talked about India to his friend Schumaker, who connected with that name no

more than a geographical conception. But to the speaker it was already as the cradle of thought, literature and nationalities, that the East was revealing itself; and oriental researches at Paris, Oxford, and in Calcutta, formed an essential part of a plan of life-study which he drew up and submitted to Niebuhr. It was this paper which, in fact, became the turning-point of his life into a course quite other than he then projected, for it drew from Niebuhr the opinion that Bunsen was perhaps the most distinguished of his younger countrymen. At Paris, whither he went to join his former pupil, Mr. Astor; at Florence, where, after Astor's unexpected recall to America, he was fortunate enough to find another equally munificent pupil-patron; at Rome, with Niebuhr, then Prussian Ambassador,—his linguistic and historical studies found full scope. Unconsciously, the statesman as well as the scholar was maturing his powers and rendering definite his convictions. He saw already, what has only in quite these last years become the settled conviction of men, that Germany would not be united by means of a Bund or Confederation of States, but by the absorption into Prussia of the smaller Principalities. Of Prussia, Niebuhr had written to Brandis, "That State in Northern Germany which gladly receives every German, from wheresoever he may come, and considering every one thus entering as a citizen born—is *the true Germany*." And on this, as a comment, Bunsen says, "There in Prussia, I am resolved to fix my destinies." Again, he writes to his sister,

"Prussia can alone become my country. . . . Here alone are found near the seat of power men who have the intention and the energy to carry out great plans, and only in such a truly great State, where the highest achievements of science are possible, can I hope for a good result in labouring for my anticipated discoveries."\*

These are noble words, not the less noble because the Prussian Government was able to grant him a subsidy to prosecute his labours, because it was possible for him utterly to divest himself of the provincial feeling that he was working for an alien Government. It was the true conviction of the citizen of the world, who holds to that which is

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\* Vol. I. pp. 84, 85.

real in the sentiment of nationality, but rejects utterly all in that sentiment which is petty and absurd. It was the direct and formal opposite of the county pride of our English landowners, of the municipal Philistinism of our towns, of the absurdity which makes a distinguished Scotchman count it a higher honour to have been born a Scot than a citizen of England.

This same cosmopolitan temper made him also sympathetic to a very remarkable and unusual degree with men of other countries. We have seen the way in which he was drawn to and affected by the religion of Holland, and to this sympathy Madame Bunsen is inclined in part to attribute the freedom of thought shewn by the Dutch Church of to-day, thinking that it has been largely affected by him it once influenced. However, that may be, there is no doubt that he realized far more than most men that each nation has its own distinct work in the world, that no people or church is above the need of learning from others.

"He regretted and never failed to reprove the spirit of exclusiveness, which he considered to be gaining ground in the world. The high value which he entertained for the English mind and the English nation is too well known and too often expressed by him to need further dwelling upon in this place, but he entered with fulness of interest into the characteristic excellences of every nation; and alien to his character and convictions as were what are termed French tendencies and principles, he had a high estimation of the intellectual and moral power and perspicuity of the French mind, and ardently desired and anticipated that the debt due to human society would be splendidly paid, and the full contribution made which France is capable of making to the sum of good in the Christian social system. . . . The image he was fond of using with regard to Italy, of the absence and the need of the Italian chord in the musical harmony of Europe, in which as yet only the vibrations of the German, the French and the English chords are heard, might have been extended further, had but the mental conditions of all nations answered to his demands on the universality of intelligence in all its varieties of form. . . . He took the most affectionate interest in American progress, . . . holding in highest estimation the capabilities of development, for the best purposes of the young giant state."\*

Such were the political convictions which, growing ever

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\* Vol. I. p. 112.



deeper in intensity, were formed into full life during that early residence in Rome. It is one of the proofs of the curious way in which new truths spring up in no one mind alone, that alien as was Bunsen to all French tendencies and feelings, these words of his might be adopted by Comte, or by any one of his followers, as expressing their views of the great future federation of the West,—views which surely are spreading with wonderful rapidity among minds of very different calibre and very different theological opinions.

At Rome, Bunsen met an English family named Waddington, and after a very short acquaintance one of the daughters became his wife. He thus improved his own financial position, for Miss Waddington was, as he writes to his sister, “a girl of fortune.” He became a tender husband and father, and remained through life in the most cordial relations with the whole of the Waddington family. Mrs. Waddington seems to have been well worthy of the affection with which he regarded her, and must have been a woman of great discernment and trust, free from all vulgar insular prejudices, when she allowed the engagement of the English heiress to the poor German scholar. At Frascati, in the year 1817, at the age of twenty-five, Bunsen entered on the full life of his manhood, of which twenty-one years were to be spent in and near Rome.

How these were spent it is not our part to tell; we do not wish to write a *précis* of a book which many of our readers already know or will know, but to touch only on certain points of it of special interest in regard to modern thought. On the retirement of his friend Brandis from the post of Secretary of Legation at Rome, Bunsen was the person to whom Niebuhr at once turned to fill the place. It was accepted, but with no thought on the new Secretary's side that diplomacy would become the real occupation of his life. It was a bold choice which Niebuhr thus made, one by no means likely to be pleasing to the Roman Government. For only the month before, when the Reformation Jubilee was to be celebrated in Germany, and the German Protestant residents in Rome wished also to mark the day, when Niebuhr, lest he should give offence, shrunk from having the festival in his house, or making the oration due to the occasion, on Bunsen fell the labour and the responsibility of drawing up a service for the occasion,

of receiving the meeting at his house, and reading the discourse. In this he seems to have declared that, since the great schism in the Church, the two sides "are entirely parted, and salvation can only proceed and develop on that side which worships God in spirit and in truth, and is filled with His Spirit."\* A bit of religious intolerance in singular contrast with the views so lately quoted, and by no means likely to be pleasing to the Papal Court. However, there he was, a man not easy for Rome to understand, liturgical and antiquarian in his tastes, with a soul directed to art and music, collecting and translating the Hymns of the Church, observing Christmas with customs which to stern Protestants savoured of Popery, yet becoming ever more and more a free thinker.

It was in this same year 1817 that Frederic William III., King of Prussia, took occasion in his own way to bring about, what seemed to him at least, a part of the union of Christendom, by welding together in one, in his kingdom, the two Protestant Confessions; and Bunsen, so soon as it was done, set himself to work to construct a Liturgy which might one day, he trusted, be used in the Protestant congregation, on the model of the English services. The appointment of a Chaplain to the Legation at Rome, a man quite ready to fall in with his enthusiastic religious, biblical and liturgical studies, was a great help to him in this matter. To frame this form of prayer was a daring measure in an employé of a King so peremptory as Frederic William III., who had himself approved and published a form, of which this could not but be a rival or a supplanter. So strongly, however, did Bunsen feel the importance of the work on which he had engaged, that in December 1822 he tells his sister that he shortly means to retire from office, and writes—

"I shall take occasion of informing His Majesty that I quit the diplomatic career, to devote myself to those liturgical labours which I had long since begun, and by which I can hope to become of more service to the State than in political affairs."†

This, however, was not to be, and he became, on Niebuhr's retirement, Minister at Rome, with ever-increasing favour, in spite of some little misunderstanding at one

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\* Vol. I. p. 128.

† Vol. I. p. 201.

time about this Liturgy, so important as it seemed to him, so all-unimportant to us. It was, however, well there should be a man who would now and then venture to run counter to the King's religious opinions. He was able to bring before his Majesty and obtain an alteration in an iniquitous order, by which soldiers of all religious persuasions had been compelled to attend the Protestant services; and perhaps only one who could shew that even a sincere Protestant was unable to acquiesce willingly in the State worship, could have brought about the cessation of the outrage to the feelings of his Catholic countrymen.

It is or has been a necessity of diplomacy to work in the dark, and Madame Bunsen truly says that the archives of Rome and Berlin could alone reveal the truth of many important matters transacted between the two Courts. But she has been able to give a short sketch of the circumstances which ended in Bunsen's recall from Rome, after having caused him considerable difficulty for some years. The Church of Rome has always forbidden mixed marriages, and where she has connived at them in States in which she has been powerless to enforce her rule, has still thrown every possible difficulty in the way, endeavouring to exact a secret, and in many countries an illegal, promise that the issue of such marriages should be brought up under the Roman obedience. Prussia being in the main a Protestant State, the difficulty was felt in two parts of her territory, but with very different force. In Silesia, where there had always been a large Roman Catholic population, the people were thankful to be under Prussian instead of Austrian rule, the clergy were peaceable, and tacitly assisted the marriage of members of the rival communions. They accepted the plighted troth of the parties, though they could not give them the blessing of the Church. In the violently Catholic Rhine Provinces, the clergy would not grant this assistance without the secret and illegal promise named above, while the recent annexation of these Provinces to the Prussian rule caused a vast increase in the number of such marriages. And the zeal of the Rhenish Bishops began to stir quiet and comfortable Silesia. The Prussian Government, which, with that tendency to interfere with private life which is so great a puzzle to us islanders, thought it desirable to *promote* mixed marriages, referred the Catholic

Bishops to Rome for fresh instructions, and wished to enter into negotiations with the Holy See. If the Papal Court was willing to grant not only passive assistance, but also the nuptial benediction, to mixed marriages, the Prussian Government was ready to give up the civil marriage, enforced in that kingdom under the Code Napoleon. Both sides, however, were unyielding. Rome could not give up her point, and the King of Prussia, a not unkindly or unkindly despot, was for laying, and finally did lay, heavy hands on the Archbishop who refused to take a Prussian view of the matter. The question of Church parade—in fact, of any religious ceremony in which the members of both religions could take a common part—came up again at the same time. Bunsen, who tried to mediate, managed of course to displease both parties; the Pope refused to receive, and the King dismissed him. He would not even allow him to return to Berlin, but sent a courier to meet him at Munich, that he should make use of his leave of absence for a journey to England. So ended the Roman Embassy in the spring of 1838.

It seems strange that so wise a man as Bunsen should not have seen that the day is past in which the Catholic Church and the State, perhaps even any Church and State, can adjust the differences which will from time to time arise, by mutual concessions. The attitude of Gallio is the only one which a State should preserve. In all matters and customs of her law, let the Church look to herself, and let the State care for no such things. To provide against illegitimacy and the pauperism following in its train, for the registration of marriages and births, is eminently a State function; but how or how far such marriages and births shall have a quasi-spiritual blessing, quite as often without as with corresponding practical results, seems no concern of the civil power. Whatever the State decrees to legitimize marriage, that in the end is the ceremony the people follow; nor is it long, we believe, before the Catholic priesthood or any ministry virtually accommodate themselves to the condition under which they find themselves. But whether the Church of Rome is or is not founded on a rock, most sure it is that whoever comes into collision with her is broken, and the only way is to give her a wide berth, as we sail on our own way. She says the broad

seas lead to destruction; we trust them rather than the rock.

If Bunsen's official life thus ended in failure, the residence in Rome had been rich in much that is better than success in the shifty ways of diplomacy,—in growth in spiritual life, in intellectual work, in friendships with no ordinary men. Foremost among those whom he loved with the warmth of a most tender nature was the Crown Prince, the late King of Prussia. However this Prince came short of the promise of his youth, it is impossible not to regard with something of affection the man who was able to do what is so rare among persons of his exalted rank, find and keep friends among such as were Bunsen and Niebuhr. For us the chief interest lies naturally in the friendships through which he was drawn more and more to English life and thought, that with Sir Walter Scott, whose sun was setting so drearily, with Archdeacon Hare, with Dr. Arnold. On Hare and Arnold he had much influence, and through them, perhaps more than directly through his own writings, he has in some degree moulded the thought of a certain school of theology among ourselves. It is pleasant to find him writing to Arnold in 1835, words which even now many find a difficulty in accepting: "The Irish Church is the great problem. I do not see why education, particularly clerical, should not be a channel for spare Church money." Leaving out the words, "particularly clerical," this is what we of the liberal party are now also unable to see, and we hope to see realized that at which Bunsen and Arnold could only hint to each other. Still more interesting are passages in the letters to Arnold on the one subject which, as men's minds become made up, will do more than any other to modify their views of religion, and help them to break with the old theology, the old method of Biblical interpretation.

Not even that ghastly and immoral fiction known as the orthodox doctrine of the Atonement has so disfigured the Fatherhood of God, as has the popular belief on Prophecy discredited the workings of His Holy Spirit. It has been assumed that on the minds and voices of certain men God has played as on an instrument, so that they spake words in no sense their own; that instead of having to reveal moral lessons for their own days, they on whom the Spirit of God rested were setting puzzles for future ages. It has



been considered that the proof of being spiritually instructed lay not in being able to trace the general divine law which underlay any particular historical fact, and so vaguely at times foretelling a distant future if certain conditions remained the same, but in declaring oracularly that certain things would come to pass, which events could, however, be distinctly known only when they had occurred. Sooth-saying, rather than wisdom, has been counted as the test of one who spoke the words of God ; historic events, when understood, were to disclose an iron chain of destiny, rather than the free operations of men falling insensibly under the harmonizing influence of great divine laws. And so the Bible came to be thought a mere collection of oracular texts, of value in themselves apart from the sayer of them, his time and his character. The working of God's Spirit in the world was ignored or undervalued, a distinction was drawn between inspired and not inspired words, by which Solomon's Song became of spiritual edification, and the Agamemnon and Divina Commedia profane literature. It is no part of our intent to review Baron Bunsen's works, or to examine how far he has broken down such a superstition, and aided in building a purer faith. This was the task Dr. Rowland Williams set himself in his admirable contribution to the *Essays and Reviews*, and it would ill beseem one of vastly inferior attainments to add to that critique, even if he had, what he has not, a minute detailed acquaintance with Bunsen's works. Yet, to understand the devout courage of the man, it is necessary to read his letters from Rome to Dr. Arnold, or the following, written somewhat later, at Rugby, after a conversation with Arnold on the subject which had so interested the friends at Rome.

“Method I. To carry on a consistent system of explaining the prophecies in such a manner as may meet the minds which as yet cling to the letter with religious faithfulness, but without judgment or reflection.

“Interpreters of this kind deal arbitrarily with the text, applying some expressions, and not applying others. By this inconsistency they admit involuntarily that prophecy either is a delusion, or must consist of two distinct parts, one mortal, local and temporary, and one divine, not bound by space and time.

“II. Examination of that impossible system itself.

“Is that sort of prophecy which they consider the only one

worthy of the name, the most appropriate to the nature of God as revealed in and by Christ? Is it not rather tainted by the admixture of the very principle of paganism, that is, of the power of nature over the mind, of necessity over mental freedom? Is it not the tendency of the system to make the man favoured of God a mere mechanical instrument, not knowing what he utters, and uttering what has no meaning for himself or for those who hear him? Those interpreters profess to uphold the prophecies as from God, yet they establish against their will the demoniacal magic and the ecstasies of the somnambulist.

“III. Philosophical inquiry into the nature of prophecy according to the principles laid down in the gospel.

“Distinction of three things :

“1. Prophecy : agency of God (inspiration) causing the favoured spirit to discern the divine in the human, eternity in time, the truth everlasting in the passing shadow, the Christ (that is, God eternal become man) in the Saviour of God’s chosen people beset by enemies, the kingdom of God in the political and religious establishment of Judah.

“2. Magic : the demoniacal devilish *possession*, by demoniacal communication of the powers of nature as opposed to the Spirit, to which powers man is subject in so far as he is merely the *natural* man, not the new-born of the Spirit.

“3. Somnambulism : the individual psychic possession, excitement, sway of the nervous system, the free agency of the Spirit being suppressed and as it were buried in stupor, and natural life being by that stupor brought into contact with and in subjection to the whole natural principle of creation, as far as it is unconnected with man’s spiritual nature.

“IV. The consequence of this theory :

“1. Real prophecy must have a human and earthly substratum.

“2. It proceeds not from an exalted state of nervous excitement, but from a clearer view of things human than what is proper to the judgment of the understanding, as directed only to the things visible and tangible. The prophet views both the past and the future from his station in the present.

“3. It is essentially no revelation of things external and accidental, of time, space or name.

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“5. What is generally called a real fulfilment of prophecy as relating to single temporal events is the lowest degree of prophecy ; but it exists (for instance, the seventy years’ captivity, the destruction of Jerusalem).”

We need not quote more which goes into detail ; the

above discloses Bunsen's method, which had, as we think, so considerable a bearing on Arnold and Hare, and through them on the thought of the day. They and he were the advanced thinkers of their time, and as such deserve our cordial thanks; even if in some things we have outrun our teachers, each wave of thought can be but a slight advance on those which have gone before. It may be that we should prefer even the pseudo-Athanasian phrase, "the taking the manhood into God," to Bunsen's definition of the Christ, "God eternal become man." We should certainly reject, with the notion of a personal devil, all that he says of demoniacal possession and communication. And we should certainly agree with a word in one of his letters to Arnold about the real fulfilment of prophecy, more than with this his deliberate judgment. There he says there is perhaps not one literal prophecy, "*mit Haut und Haar*;" here he is inclined to think such literal fulfilment exists. But the instances he gives are unfortunate, and the prophecies, so far as they have any definiteness, as, e.g., one at least of those of Jesus on the destruction of Jerusalem, were probably made far more distinct after the event.

The visit to England of which we have spoken is interesting now to us, for Bunsen's judgment on Mr. Gladstone. He writes, "Gladstone is the first man in England as to intellectual power, and he has heard higher tones than any one else in this island." It says much for the penetration of the wise foreigner, whose opinion is now so abundantly confirmed, that he should have divined what was in the great statesman, in a day when it was still to be said of him, that "he walks sadly in the trammels of his Oxford friends in some points." How few men in 1839 would have written, "Then went to Gladstone with Tom, and was delighted with the man who is some day to govern England, if his book is not in the way." The time draws near now; God grant it may come speedily, for the sake of Christ's Church and Christ's Poor!

Bunsen's retirement in Switzerland after this English visit was marked by the death of the King of Prussia, Frederic William III., and his summons to Berlin by the new King, who desired to send him on a temporary mission to England. The object of this embassy was the Jerusalem Bishopric, once the centre of such strong religious feeling

here; now, however, scarce stirring the faintest pulse. Bunsen's own sense of the matter can be best expressed in his own words. Not of course without some previous notion of what might happen, he writes to his wife on his way to Berlin :

“Early in the morning the thought was clear and living before my soul, that the King had called me to do something in the Holy Land, and that it might be the will of the Lord, and probably would be that of the King, that in Jerusalem the two principal Protestant Churches of Europe should across the grave of the Redeemer reach to each other the right hand of fellowship.”

In fact, the King, whose vein of religious fervour found a corresponding enthusiasm in Bunsen, wished to raise the condition of Eastern Christians by setting up a Protestant Bishopric on the Church of England pattern, and connected with that Church, to which other Christians could ally themselves. The existing English Mission to the Jews was to be made the basis of the Bishopric, and many influential people in England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the strength of the Evangelical party, threw themselves into the plan with energy. We ourselves entirely fail to see that the Jerusalem Bishopric has or has had any real life in it: it has not taught the Jews Christianity; it has not been a meeting-point for Eastern Christians; it has not, so far as we can judge, improved the Eastern Churches by their contact with Western Protestant Episcopacy. It has been a failure and a mark for scorn from beginning to end. Madame Bunsen speaks vaguely of “abundant blessings diffused from the centre of Christian life established in Jerusalem,” but she omits to state what they were or are; but says also, with a semi-consciousness of failure, that “the more real, the more spiritual, the more belonging to the ‘deep things of God,’ that work has been, the less is that establishment calculated to be ‘a renown in the earth.’ The day which shall ‘reveal the thoughts of all hearts’ will reveal the work of revival and sanctification which it has been allowed to effect.”\* Those who remember—and who does not?—how this matter shook Newman's faith in the Church of England, and what were the objections he and his party felt to the scheme, will remem-

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\* Vol. I. pp. 600, 601.

ber also the words in which he endorses our own opinion of its worthlessness, and the importance of which it then seemed: "As to the project of a Jerusalem Bishopric, I never heard of any good or harm it has ever done, except what it has done for me, which many think a great misfortune, and I one of the greatest of mercies. It brought me on to the beginning of the end."\*

It shews Mr. Gladstone's freedom from the trammels of mere party, and the way in which he has ever striven to sympathize with any genuine enthusiasm, that he, the avowed High-churchman, joined the scheme heartily, and at a farewell dinner to the first Bishop of the hybrid Church, proposed the toast of "Prosperity to the Church of St. James at Jerusalem, and to her first Bishop." It was much that he should assist what was meant to hold out friendship and fellowship to other Churches, whether they had or had not the spiritual virus called Apostolic Succession, or, on the other hand, were or were not affected by vague and forgotten heresies.

The moment that these negotiations were brought to a successful conclusion coincided with that in which Bunsen was desired to remain here, as Prussian Ambassador, when it was agreed also that the King of Prussia should come to England to stand godfather to the Prince of Wales; so that, taking all things into consideration, Bunsen seems to have thought the time as wonderful as that of the creation or the birth of Christ.

"London, Thursday, 9th December.—The King does come, and, if necessary, in the middle of January. I am to go in an English man-of-war to fetch him, probably to Rotterdam.

"The articles are signed to my entire satisfaction.

"God be praised eternally! He is a God of wonders now, as he was two and four thousand years ago!

"Ever your own, BUNSEN."

The Embassy to England lasted from 1842 to the spring of 1854. Stormy as these years had some of them been on the continent, they had passed peaceably here, and the great wave of Revolution in Europe sighed itself to its rest on these shores in the harmless gathering on Kennington Common. The record of these years in Bunsen's career is poli-

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\* *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, p. 253.



tically without interest, while the account of his recall is so obscure, perhaps so impossible to write, that it is better not to touch on it at all. Till the secret history of the Schleswig-Holstein transactions is opened, and possibly till the still more secret correspondence between those in high position in England and the Prussian Court before the Crimean war, it will be useless for any but professed diplomatists even to guess at the part Bunsen played, and wherein he differed from the policy of his rulers. We turn, therefore, to subjects more suited to the special interest of this Review.

And first to his literary work, of which this English sojourn was most prolific. There comes out in ever-increasing prominence the two defects which, as it seems to us, mar Bunsen's influence on theology and on his age, which necessarily made him wordy, difficult to understand, and dictatorial,—his enormous power of hasty work, and his self-sufficiency. That he had been a student of the most laborious and painstaking order in his earlier life is clear; it is not equally clear from this book that he continued to study or to think. It rather seems to us that in the haste and stress of his London life, with his reputation and his popularity, the sort of high-priesthood of intellect he enjoyed among many, he made the thought and study of the past do duty for the present, without sufficient reconsideration, without taking the time necessary to put them into form and to condense them. It is far easier to write at length and wrap up less meaning in many words, than to make each short sentence pregnant with meaning, the outcome of hours of concentrated, unbroken work. And this same fluency, the readiness with which he could refer, as it were, to matters pigeon-holed in his mind, tempted him to a dogmatic statement on almost any point, with a haste which borders on the ludicrous, when one remembers how many of these very matters are still disputed, and likely to be disputed for ages to come. No time seemed too short for the most enormous labour. Thus he writes to Archdeacon Hare after Dr. Arnold's death :

“Arnold had a favourite idea : a critical and orthodox edition of the Greek text of the New Testament. His plan was this : Each of his chosen friends was to take one or more of the sacred books ; he intended himself to take the Gospels. I propose that this work be done as *Editio Rugbyana*, dedicated to *Piæ Memo-*

riæ Arnoldi. If you could undertake it, the thing would be done. I would give what I promised Arnold,—the Epistle of James, the two of Peter, and that of Jude, of which I have already written out the text, and sketched the commentary and introduction.”\*

An extract of a letter to Professor Max Müller places the same weakness, which he mistook for strength, in a yet clearer light.

“Such attacks rouse in me at once both rage and courage; and since on the day of receiving the intelligence of our thorough defeat (20th November, 1850), I determined to complete my Egyptian work, God has graciously imparted to me such courage abundantly. Never have I worked with such a satisfactory result, since the time when, besieged on the Capitol by the Pope, and left to my fate by Berlin from the 6th January to Easter Sunday, 1838, I first designed the five books on Egypt. Not even the Great Exhibition, nor the visit of the Prince and Princess of Prussia, have caused a break; the fourth volume was closed on Sunday evening, 27th April, and early on Tuesday, the 29th, I wrote at Dover the first chapter of the Traditions of the Earliest Times, after the Preface, mentioned already, had been granted to me on Easter Sunday. . . . I have now advanced as far as Leibnitz in the historical view, which will be closed with Schelling and Hegel, Göthe and Schiller, and which began with Abraham.”†

He was in some degree aware of his “foible of omniscience.” Thus he writes to Hare:

“I am afraid that when you come to see the Index of my Hippolytus, you will say with a smile that I have crammed into it an Universal and Church History, *cum quibusdam aliis*. Still you will find that I have done justice to the title within the smallest compass possible.”‡

These passages seem at once to explain Bunsen's great literary influence, apart from his personal charm. He could write and talk by the hour on every conceivable subject; but they explain also why in these volumes there are so few pregnant sentences, which are wont to fall from the lips of a wise man. He was too diffuse to be epigrammatic, too discursive and indefinite. And there is another strange fact in his mental constitution which rises into greater prominence during this English residence, the use apparently of

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\* Vol. II. pp. 18, 19.

† Vol. II. pp. 267, 268.

‡ Vol. II. p. 268.

the most orthodox evangelical shibboleths, while he held the most unorthodox and free sentiments. This seems to have sprung from an earnest wish to be at one with all devout souls, but results in a confusion which is distressing and inimical to religion. That the love of God in the soul and the true Christian life may and does underlie all differences, is a profound truth; but it does not seem to us true that beyond a certain limit very different convictions can express themselves in the same religious phraseology, or that the same words can mean two wholly opposite things. Thus he writes that Puseyites "feel not, understand not, indeed believe not, *the atonement*, and therefore enjoy not the glorious privileges of the children of God,—the blessed duty of the sacrifice of thanksgiving through Him who atoned for them."\*

Now though the word Atonement does not occur in the formularies of the Church of England, the orthodox view of it is set forth most plainly in the 2nd Article, which asserts "that the Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father . . . truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men." In other words, the death of one who was Deity from all eternity, is involved in the ordinary use of the word Atonement. But Bunsen must have meant something quite other, for we find him speaking of "my axiom, Christ is *deified* by his unique and unapproached sanctity."† Again: "Is it less divine to reveal the essential nature of God in the purest, most universally intelligible form of human reality, than in a (supposed) supernatural mode of appearance?" Very true, perhaps; but it is certainly further from the orthodox view of the Atonement and the *Deity* of Christ, which depends on the miraculous incarnation, than any view held by "the Puseyites." Not by wrapping up opinions in a mist of words, which mean one thing to one person and another to another, but by rigidly, so far as may be, defining and shewing wherein the old creeds differ from new thought, will come the true agreement in spirit, if not in word, after which true

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\* Vol. II. p. 19.

† Vol. II. p. 221.

men should strive. It may be needful that men brought up in bondage to Articles should strain the forms even to bursting rather than cease to use them; but Bunsen was one who was not so bound, and much as he did for the independence of human thought, might have done more.

But he faithfully represented the spirit of the age in theology, the age which is emphatically one of transition, but not one perhaps which will leave its own strong impress on those which are to come. Bunsen's own views were always in transition; but he was not aware of his own growth and change, and clung to the words of the past when he had drifted widely away from the opinions they originally symbolized. He would no doubt have said, as he believed, and as some who most think with him in England believe, that his theology is the only orthodox, and which really fits the words others use; but such is not the judgment pronounced by men in general, nor is it ours. Bunsen's Church of the Future, and ours also, stands on quite other foundations than stood the Church of the Past.

Of Bunsen's outward life there is little more to say. He who was in middle life the dear friend of Arnold and Hare, in declining years encouraged and set forward Professor Max Müller, and had a somewhat more than mere literary acquaintance with MM. Renan and Réville. The pleasant home on the Capitol, wherein Art and Thought had met together, where under the Italian sky Neukomm and Niebuhr, Arnold and Sir Walter Scott, had found one capable of entering into their varied interests and researches, had been unchanged in its change of place to London. There it was still a centre of intellectual and artistic light and life; it was the same at Heidelberg and at Cambray, so far as the distance in place from so many who were dear allowed. But over these homes, and still more over the last of all at Bonn, there brooded the shadow of coming death, bringing with it much physical, but happily no mental, suffering. The account of the end itself brought to our mind one of the most beautiful scenes in one of Miss Bremer's beautiful tales, where a mother, sitting by her dying child's bed, and singing to him a hymn, sees him pass away, and sings on still, because death was indeed swallowed up in victory. Here it was a daughter and son whose music soothed a father to sleep.

"The 26th and 27th November were days of misery indescribable ; a degree of composure with a mournful smile and gaze was only obtained on two occasions, when Emilia played on the orgue expressif just beyond the door of the next room, while Ernest sung several favourite hymns—Jesus meine Zuversicht ! Wachet auf, ruft aus die Stimme ! Jerusalem du hochgebaute Stadt, and others."\*

Again, when all was over, and Bunsen was borne to his rest,

"The sounds of a favourite hymn-tune, proceeding from the same orgue expressif, to which the loved departed had been so fond of listening in his lifetime, accompanied the coffin as it was being borne down the staircase, and ceased not till it had left the house."†

Much which might have been said, has been left unsaid. It has been difficult, we confess, to track the thread of the real course of the man in the web which has been woven round it in these ponderous volumes. Others may, and we trust will, in reading them for themselves, find much else to dwell on, which we have missed or passed by as unsuited to our purpose. But we have striven to give our readers some clue to the understanding the character of one whose undoubted services to the human intellect must perhaps be left to the judgment of the future—whose high place in European society was fully deserved—who deserved that place much by the great gifts of his mind, and still more by the abounding love of his kindly heart.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

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\* Vol. II. p. 576.

† Vol. II. p. 579.



# THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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## I.—ANCIENT TOMB INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CRIMEAN JEWS.

IN 1839, the Governor-General of Odessa and President of the Archæological Society, Prince Woronzoff, addressed a letter to the Governor of Sympheropol, asking him to obtain some information about the origin of the Karaites in Eupatoria. The latter appointed their communal teacher, Abraham Firkowitsch, to go in quest of documents, manuscripts, grave-inscriptions, or anything ancient that might throw light on their origin. The commission was readily undertaken by the most learned representative of his people, who repaired in the first instance to Tschufutkaleh, the seat of a very old Karaite community, proceeding thence to Kaffa, Mangup, Solchat, and other places. The result of this journey was fifty-one ancient Bible MSS. and fifty-nine copies of old grave-inscriptions.

The account of this treasure attracted the attention of learned Jews, some of whom doubted the authenticity of the monuments discovered. Even in Odessa it was suspected that the copies taken by Firkowitsch were not accurate; none venturing to question his personal integrity. Hence the Archæological Society of Odessa commissioned Dr. Stern, director of the Jewish school there, to verify the copies and submit the whole collection to a careful examination. This scholar accordingly repaired, in 1842, to the Crimea, examined not only the MSS. discovered by Firkowitsch with their epigraphs, but the grave-inscriptions, and found the copies correct. Stern himself discovered a few very ancient MSS., with seven grave-inscriptions at Tschufutkaleh.

Encouraged by his great success, Firkowitsch, accompanied by his son-in-law, made repeated journeys to the

Karaite congregations in the Crimea, where he found many valuable MSS., re-examined the old Jewish burying-places, especially that of Tschufutkaleh, and got much older inscriptions than he saw at his first visit. In the year 1853, the two Firkowitschs brought to St. Petersburg no less than 700 copies of grave-inscriptions taken from Jewish burying-places; and about 150 copies of epigraphs in different MSS. A. Firkowitsch was advised to take paper impressions of the most important of the grave-inscriptions, which he did to the amount of a hundred. In the course of 1863, he undertook a fresh journey to the East, and while passing through the Crimea had the parts of eight stones containing inscriptions sawn off and sent to St. Petersburg. These stones were all in the old cemetery of Tschufutkaleh.

Before examining these Jewish monuments more closely, it may be desirable to say a word or two on the chief place where they were discovered.

Tschufutkaleh (Jews' fortress), not far from Batshisarai, is situated on a high chalk promontory eastward of Sevastopol. It is on the way from Balaklava to Batshisarai. At the entrance into a valley in the neighbourhood of the two towns is an ancient Jewish cemetery, which the Karaites call "the Valley of Jehoshaphat." Here many sepulchral stones lie in rows, shaded by lofty trees, but deeply sunk in the ground. Their shape is different from that of others in Jewish burying-places, since they are almost all flat, arched at the top, or with horn-shaped prominences at the corners. The inscriptions are not usually on the arched part of the top, but on the broad sides, in a cavity which conceals them. Cut in such heavy masses of stone so deeply embedded in the ground that the tops alone were visible, they might readily have escaped notice had not Firkowitsch been sharp-eyed or fortunate. Tschufutkaleh is mentioned in history. During the middle ages it was inhabited exclusively by Jews, who defended it gallantly against the Genoese in 1261. Here is the tomb of Isaac Sangari, belonging to the eighth century, whose influence was so powerful in the kingdom of the Chazars as to gain over the court and many nobles, with not a few of the people, to the side of Judaism. There is no doubt that this notable Jew, who was the instrument of converting a Chazar king, lived and died in the Crimea. He is men-

tioned by Judah Halevi in his "Cozri." His tomb bears the inscription, יצחק סנגרי פֿג; i.e., his name with the difficult letters פֿג, which may either along with the name signify 4527, corresponding to 767 A.D.; or, as Geiger thinks, פֿג for פה נטמן, "here rests;"\* or rather, פה גנוז, "here is preserved." A son of Isaac's, David, appears elsewhere. In the inscription of a Bible MS. dated 789 A.D., he is mentioned as witness to the deed of making over the copy. In the case of another Pentateuch roll, dated 798, he is also mentioned as witness to its sale. There is no good reason for doubting the authenticity of the inscription on the grave of Isaac, or that he was buried at Tschufutkaleh.

The twelve oldest grave-inscriptions are the following:

- (1) זאת ציון בוקי  
בך יצחק כוהן לע  
עת ישועת ישר  
אל שנת תשכ  
שנים לגלותנו

"This is the grave of Buki, son of Isaac the priest; may his rest be in Eden; [he died] at the time of the deliverance of Israel, in the year 702 of our captivity."

- (2) ר משה לוי מת  
שנת תשכו לגלותנו

"Rabbi Moses the Levite. Died in the year 726 after our exile."

- (3) צדוק הלוי בן משה  
מת דא ליציה  
תשפח לגלותנו

"Zadok the Levite, son of Moses, died 4000 after the creation, 785 of our exile."

- (4) זה מצבת  
קבורת פרלק  
דלת אלפים וצאד  
ישועם [ל]יצרה

"This is the grave-stone of Pharlak (who died) 4090—may he go into peace (and) rest in his bed—after the creation."

(5)

זאת  
מצבת קבורת  
גולף בת שבת  
נפטרה שנת  
לא קח' הנצלה  
ליצירה

"This is the grave of Gulaph, daughter of Shabtai ; she died in the year 4108—may her soul be bound in the bundle of life—after the creation."

(6)

זאת מצבת  
קבורת טוקטמיש  
בן בכשי נב"ה  
הנפטר דא"ק  
ע"ה ליצ' הנצלה

"This is the grave of Toctamish, son of Bachshi—may his soul rest in happiness—who died 4173 after the creation—may his soul be bound in the bundle of life."

(7)

וזאת המצבה של  
הלל בן ר' משה נ"ע  
בכ' בשנת דר"ו תחי  
נפשו צרורה בצרור  
החיים את ה' א' והיתה  
מנוחתו כבוד

"This is the grave of Hillel, son of Rabbi Moses—may his rest be in Eden, in glory ; [he died] in the year four (thousand) 216 ; may his soul be bound in the bundle of life with the Eternal, his God, and his resting-place be [in] glory."

(8)

וזו האבך אשר שמתי  
מראשותיו על קבר ר'  
יוסף ב"ר אליה שנפטר  
שנת דא' ר"פ ליצירה  
אס"ה לגלו' נב"ה

"And this is the stone which I have put at his head, on the grave of Rabbi Joseph, son of Rabbi Elijah, who died [in] the year 4280 after the creation, 1065 after our exile. May his soul dwell in bliss."

- (9)      וזה מצבת של קבורת  
 אסתר בת שלמה אשר  
 שמתי מראשותי שנפטר  
 בשנת תקל"ו תהא  
 נפשה צרורה בצרור  
 החיים ליצירה  
 היא שפה למטרכיי

"And this is the monument of the grave of Esther, daughter of Solomon, which I put at her head; she died in the year [4]536—may her soul be bound in the bundle of life—after the creation, that is, [4]385 according to [the reckoning] of the Matarkians."

- (10)      זו מצבת קבורת  
 מרת סורגלין בת  
 ר' לוי שנפטרה  
 בשנת תקפ"א ליצירה  
 תשהעמ

"This is the grave-stone of the lady Severgelin, daughter of Rabbi Levi, who departed in the year [4]581 after the creation; may the dew rise above her grave."

- (11)      הענו תוכתמיש  
 בשנת תקפ"ט ליצירה

"The pious Toctamish (died) in the year [4]589 after the creation."

- (12)      וזה המצבה  
 של עיני בן  
 אליסף הנצ  
 בה בתר"ל  
 ליצירה

"This is the tomb of Aini, son of Eliasaph—may his soul be bound in the bundle of life—(he died) in the year [4]630 after the creation."

Excellent fac-similes of these and some others are given by Chwolson.\* Ten of them are also represented by Neu-

\* Achtzehn Hebräische Grabschriften aus der Krim, 1865.



bauer\* in the same way. All that European scholars out of Russia know of the Firkowitsch collection is due to the publications of the two learned Judaists we have mentioned. Chwolson had the best opportunities for obtaining an accurate acquaintance with the whole ; and he has not failed to examine the most interesting portion.

Three eras occur.

1st. After our exile, לגלותנו. 2nd. After the creation, ליצירה. 3rd. According to the reckoning of the inhabitants of Matarka, למטרכי.

1st. The first can only refer to the Assyrian exile, that of the ten tribes. The Babylonian captivity is unsuitable, and none other is known, except that of Israel. This date is assumed to be 696 B.C., which differs about 30 years from the usual Jewish one.

2nd. The third and eighth inscriptions afford the means of determining the era of the creation. In the former, 4000 after the creation is 785 after the exile ; in the latter, 4280 after the creation is 1065 after the exile. The common Jewish reckoning makes 3760 years precede the Christian era ; here 3911 precede it, the difference being 151 years.

3rd. The ninth inscription represents 536 after the creation as identical with 4385 of the Matarkian computation ; that is, the year 4536 corresponds to the Matarkian 4385. Hence the Matarkian is the common one.

In conformity with the preceding computation, the dates of the twelve oldest inscriptions are these.

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| No. | 1. | 702 of our exile is 6 A.D.   |
| „   | 2. | 726 of our exile is 30 A.D.  |
| „   | 3. | 4000 after the creation, 785 after our exile, is 89 A.D.               |
| „   | 4. | 4090 after the creation is 179 A.D.                                    |
| „   | 5. | 4108 after the creation is 197 A.D.                                    |
| „   | 6. | 4173 after the creation is 262 A.D.                                    |
| „   | 7. | 4216 after the creation is 305 A.D.                                    |
| „   | 8. | 4280 after the creation, 1065 after our exile, is 369 A.D.             |
| „   | 9. | 4536 after the creation, 4385 according to the Matarkians, is 625 A.D. |

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\* In the *Melanges Asiatiques tirés du bulletin de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St. Petersbourg*, tome v. 1865.

No. 10. 4581 after the creation is 670 A.D.

„ 11. 4589 after the creation is 678 A.D.

„ 12. 4630 after the creation is 719 A.D.

In the 31 oldest grave-inscriptions brought from Tschufutkaleh, which come down no later than A.D. 555, the old Crimean era of the creation is used almost exclusively. There are but four exceptions, viz. Nos. 1 and 2, which have the exile era only, and Nos. 3 and 8 which have it with that of the creation. Of the 36 which embrace the period 583—735, eleven reckon according to the Matarkian or common era of the creation, and twenty-five after the old Crimean one. The former era appears for the first time on a stone belonging to A.D. 583, and disappears after 735.

In a palæographical view these inscriptions are important, shewing that the square or Assyrian character was in use in the first century of the Christian era. The fact is known from other recent discoveries in different places; here it is confirmed. Thus it is known from the grave-inscription discovered on the alleged tomb of St. Jacob at Jerusalem, and published by De Vogüé,\* as to the date of which his opinion and that of De Saulcy differ so widely. Neither of them, however, puts it later than the time of Christ; De Saulcy† much earlier. It is also known from the inscription on the sarcophagus discovered by De Saulcy in the curious place near Jerusalem called the “Tombs of the Kings,” probably belonging to the first century.‡ It is known from the two inscriptions communicated by Renan from the synagogues at Kefr-Bereim, in Galilee. The prevalence of the square character at the time of the second temple is certain. How long it was in use before Christ, we will not venture to affirm, though Chwolson puts it some centuries prior;§ and Nöldeke|| makes it ante-Maccabean. The former seems even disposed to trace it to Ezra, denying its gradual development out of the old Samaritan character. But many of his statements betray a desire to carry up its origin too high.

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\* *Revue archeologique* for 1864, tome ix. p. 200, &c.

† *Ibid.* for 1865, tome xi. p. 137, &c.

‡ See Renan in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1865, Vol. I. p. 550, and following.

§ *Hebräische Grabinschriften*, p. 81, &c., p. 129, &c.

|| *Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xix. p. 640, &c.

How the Crimean Jews became first acquainted with the square character can only be conjectured. Jewish teachers from the central seats of culture must have carried it to them.

The character in these inscriptions, though substantially the square one, varies considerably according to the dates. The oldest is coarse and rough, becoming more regular and finer with the course of time.

The language is Hebrew, with a slight admixture of Rabbinical expressions. To the latter belong the use of פטר, for "to die;" the titles מר, מרת, מרנו; ר for רב and רבבו; תהא for תהי, and של as a sign of the genitive. The nature of the diction employed in the older ones agrees with the natural supposition that the Jews of the Crimea were never isolated from Babylon and Palestine.

The dwelling-place of the ten tribes in later times has been a question answered by inquirers in the most different ways. The biblical account itself of the places to which they were transported is obscure. We learn that there were two deportations, the second twenty years after the first; but it is impossible to tell with certainty whether the exiles were taken into the same district both times. Perhaps it is intimated in Isaiah xi. 11, that the one transportation was to Elam, the other to Shinar. All that can be made out from the brief notices in the Kings and Chronicles is, that the Israelites were carried away to the Upper Tigris, near the river Sambatyon celebrated in the Talmud, which is none other than the Zab. From the localities of their first settlement, they spread into Media, Armenia and Georgia. Generally speaking, their direction was westward or north-west, till they got into the Caucasus and the Tauric peninsula. It is not our purpose to re-investigate anew the situation of the places to which the exiles were transported at first, after the able researches of Herzfeld\* and Rapoport.† What concerns us now is the principal seat of their settlement from the time of Christ and onwards. The inscriptions before us bear directly on the point, shewing that an important part at least of the descendants of the ten tribes dwelt for ages in the Tauric peninsula. When and how

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\* Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Vol. I. p. 356.

† In Vol. V. of the Kerem-chemed.

they came thither is unknown. Various motives may have impelled them ; commerce, the love of adventure, the severity of heathenism, &c. In these parts they could not have had much connection with their native land. They took no part in the subsequent disputes between the Jews and the Samaritans. Instead of favouring the latter, which we might have expected from their relationship, they remembered Judah with affection, especially as that kingdom was in a measure resuscitated after the rebuilding of the second temple. Yet they retained the memory of their expulsion from Judea in dating from the era of their exile—a fact shewing them to be the proper descendants of the inhabitants of Israel whom Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser had transported seven hundred years before Christ. The fact that there were many Jews in those localities at an early period is corroborated by ancient Greek inscriptions. After the destruction of the second Jewish state by the Romans, it is natural to suppose that fresh wanderers out of Judea repaired to the countries we have named, carrying with them new traditions and culture. We learn from the long epigraph of a MS., found with two others by Firkowitsch in the wall of a synagogue at Mangelis near Derbend, that Greek-speaking Jews, descendants of those driven by Titus from Jerusalem, came in the latter half of the fourth century to Matarka.\* These Jews had doubtless an important influence over those already settled in the Crimea. Owing to them the old Crimean era and that of the exile were gradually superseded, so that the common Jewish era, called the Matarkian, was used in the sixth century. The Greek language also superseded that which the Matarkians had before spoken. The number of the immigrants into Matarka in the fourth century must have been considerable, else the memory of it would not have been preserved till the tenth, when they had dwindled down to a few. Towards the close of the ninth century many went from Matarka to the fortress Mangup ; among them the learned Jacob, who did much to diffuse Jewish culture among the Crimean Jews, as we learn from his tomb-inscription. Epigraphs also intimate that noble priestly families went to Mangup and Kaffa,

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\* The originals and German translations of the three documents are given by Chwolson.

probably from Matarka. There are also traces of Matarkian Jews in Sulchat, Onkat, Tschufutkaleh, in the tenth and following centuries. Nor was Matarka the only centre from which Greek-speaking Jews spread over the Crimea; two oriental historians, Masudi and Ibn el Athir, state that many came into the land from the Byzantine empire, in consequence of a persecution set on foot by a Greek emperor, supposed to be Leo the Isaurian (A.D. 723). These must have been Pharisaic Jews. The territories of Islam also furnished the Crimea and neighbouring lands with Jews who did not speak Greek towards the close of the eighth century; as we learn from various proper names current among the Crimean Jews about that time. Thus, from the fourth century and onward, if not earlier, there was a constant influx of settlers in the Crimea, Caucasia, and Chasaria, from different regions. The population was a mixed one. Though the old stock was overpowered by new immigrants, they clung to many of their old traditions. If the remains of the ten tribes are to be sought in one or more regions not very remote from each other, they should be found in Caucasia and the Crimea, where the Israelites preserved the memory of their captivity, as old grave-inscriptions testify.

Thus these tombs reveal new facts and open up a wide field of discussion to Hebraists and antiquarians. But some doubt their authenticity. Without impeaching the credit or veracity of the Firkowitschs, which is safe enough,—not denying that the graves were found in the places indicated by the discoverer, that he brought the stones from the Crimea and made accurate copies of inscriptions on slabs which he did not remove to St. Petersburg,—some believe that the inscriptions are not so old as they represent. And it must be confessed that several points about them raise suspicion. We shall mention the most apparent.

1. One Moses of the year 30 A.D., and one Joseph of 369 A.D., have the title Rabbi given to them. Such a title could not have been in use so early, according to Zunz, Steinschneider and others. Why Rabbi could not have been employed as an honorary title in the first century, we are unable to see. It is simple and suitable, corresponding to the language employed on the oldest grave-stones. Later epitaphs, especially from the ninth century and onwards,



deal in praises of the deceased, have artificial expedients to designate the time of death, employ rhyme, &c. &c.; but that does not militate against the sparing use of simple titles of respect at an earlier date. If in the year 670, as we learn from No. 10, one Severgelin is honoured with the title *מרת*, *lady*, and in 687, *הענו*, “the pious,” is applied to one Toctamish, why is it thought remarkable that Joseph and his father are termed *Rabbi* in 369? We confess that no weight attaches to this objection to the age of the inscriptions before us in our view, though Zunz and Graetz think otherwise. The latter scholar asserts too positively that *Rabbi* was not used till after the destruction of the second temple; and consequently its appearance in the Gospels is an anachronism.\* This is a bold statement, which the inscriptions overturn. Geiger, no mean judge, allows that the title may belong to the first century.† He attributes as little importance to it as we do ourselves.

2. Eulogies appear in these inscriptions which are not easily explained. So usual are certain formulas that they are abbreviated, as if they had been long current and were understood at once. They occur on very old graves. Thus we find *נַע* = *נוחו:עדין* so early as A.D. 6 and 305; *נבֿח*, “may his soul rest in bliss,” *נפשו בטוב תלין*, as early as 262 and 369, though otherwise unknown till the twelfth century; and *ישועם*, “may he go into peace, (and) rest on his bed,” *יבוא שלום ינוח על משכבו*, which occurs first in Tr. Ketuboth, f. 104a, and in Pirke R. Elieser, cap. 34; in A.D. 179. Yet all these phrases may be accounted for without any just suspicion that they betray the non-authenticity of the inscriptions of which they form a part. If they became current at a later period, they may have been employed earlier. The stone-mason may have abridged them to save space. Be this as it may, one formula, which is also an abbreviation, scarcely admits of satisfactory explanation. It is in inscriptions of the years 640, 670, 92, *תשהעמ*, i.e., *תעל שכבת הטל על מלונו*—“may a bed of dew rise upon his (or their) resting-place.” This formula bears some likeness to Exodus xvi. 14, but it has not the least reference there to death and the resurrection. Though it occurs so

\* Geschichte der Juden, Vol. IV. p. 500.

† Jüdische Zeitschrift, Vol. IV. p. 227.

early, it does not appear till the time of the Karaite Hadasi in the middle of the twelfth century, after whom it is often used.\* The question is, how did it get into the literature of these Crimean Jews so soon as the first century, or even before? Did they bring it from their native country? That is altogether unlikely. Did they originate it? Probably not.

No. 1, belonging to the year 6 A.D., excites great suspicion, not merely on account of the eulogy, "may his rest be Eden," which does not occur till the time of Saadia in its application to the departed, but because of the words that follow, *עת ישועת ישראל*, "at the time of the salvation of Israel." How can the date which follows, 702 of the Assyrian exile or A.D. 6, be the time of Israel's salvation? The Christian origin of the inscription does not harmonize with the mention of the Assyrian captivity, or with the year 6. It may be, as Geiger ingeniously suggests, that 702 after the captivity, i.e., 3917 of the creation, arises from the belief of the Jews respecting the introduction of the Messianic age at the close of four thousand years, so that the last century of the three thousand might be called "the time of Israel's deliverance." But this is a conjecture which Chwolson rejects.

No. 5, which has the abridgment *תנצבה*, "may his soul be bound in the bundle of life," *תהי נפשו צרורה בצרור החיים*, and is dated 4108 from the creation (= A.D. 197), is also suspicious, since the eulogy is otherwise unknown till the twelfth century. It is true that it is used by the Karaites, and especially on the tombs of German Jews; but the formula does not occur even in Hadasi, so that it is late.

Down to the middle ages, the only eulogies met with are *זל*, i.e., *זכור לטוב*, "remembered for good," and *ע"ה*, i.e., *עליו השלום*, "peace be upon him." Early literature is silent respecting those found in these inscriptions. Yet that literature mentions many distinguished teachers and pious men, so that eulogies like those before us would have received a ready and natural application to them. Why then do they not occur? The fact that ancient Rabbinical literature ignores these phrases and formulas in relation to

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\* See Zunz's *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 361.

the deceased, and that eulogies are very unusual on grave-stones till the middle ages, militates against the authenticity of the present ones.

To remove the suspicion attaching to these eulogies or pious wishes, Chwolson draws attention to the three found on the grave-stone of Tortosa belonging to the first (?) century, remarking besides that Hagadic elements and sayings found in the latest Midrashim appear in Jewish-Greek writers who lived at least 680 B.C. The Crimea, which was colonized by Greeks since the sixth or seventh century before Christ, was not isolated from other countries; it maintained an active intercourse with Asia Minor, where there were many Jewish churches that stood in connection with Judea. Hence he supposes that these eulogies were imported.\* This answer hardly meets the case. If the eulogies in question came from Asia Minor or Judea, why have they disappeared from early Rabbinical literature, giving place to others of a simpler form? Do they not savour of a time posterior to Christ, rather than anterior to it, as they would seem to be from their abbreviations? Besides, the inscription on the tomb-stone at Tortosa is hardly older than the sixth century, as Renan supposes.†

3. Various proper names in these inscriptions are Turkish-tatar, such as גולף (Rose), belonging to 197, פרלק to 179, טוקטמיש to 262, בכשו 262, סורגלין 670. Were the Tatars already the dominant race, so that the Jews who settled among them adopted their names? That is improbable. The Jews are tenacious of old family names belonging to their domestic and social life. They are jealous of the intrusion of foreign elements into their sacred things. The early history of the Caucasus and Crimea is obscure. It is possible that the Turkish-tatar dominion may have been as extended and influential in the early centuries of the Christian era as these adopted names imply. Yet a strong suspicion must remain in the mind that it was not. If so, the prevalence of such names in Jewish families is inexplicable. Chwolson asserts that the early use of these Tatar names, which afterwards fell into disuse, attests the authenticity of the inscriptions, because the celebrated craniologist,

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\* See Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, IV. p. 317.

† See *Revue archeologique* for 1860, II. p. 345.

Von Baer of Petersburg, found five skulls in a Scythian grave, and on examining them found one completely Tataric in form, and very like the purest Tatar ones in Siberia. According to the same authority, Southern Russia contains a great number of similar skulls belonging to the fourth and fifth centuries B.C.\* Notwithstanding the eminence of Von Baer in craniological science, we must be allowed to doubt his probable identification of one particular skull many centuries old with that of a Tatar king. The fact that the names Bachshi and Toctamish occur in an inscription dated A.D. 262, implying that a race of Turkish-tatar origin had already settled in the Crimea in the second century, is doubtful; and the essay of Kunik† on the latter name tends to strengthen the doubt. Still, it is possible that Klaproth's opinion may be incorrect, since many parts of history remain to be elucidated. It may be that Turkish tribes penetrated into the country before the fifth century, and Tatar ones before the thirteenth. Chwolson, with characteristic ardour, firmly believes that both were there much earlier, and that there is nothing to prevent the belief that the Jews adopted their names.

4. The appearance of chronostichs in these inscriptions is singular; we mean the use of verses or parts of verses in the Bible, suitable to the relations of the departed or expressive of a hope of eternal life, as a date. Thus we find in No. xiii. (of Chwolson) that the aged man departed on the night of the sabbath, and was buried on the 24th of Ab; after which come the words *לא כהתה עיניו ליצירה*, "his eye was not dim," taken from Deut. xxxiv. 7, specifying [4]566 of the creation. On another (No. xv.), we find, after the word *year*, *וצדקתך בלאץ נשחיה*, "and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness" (Psalm lxxxviii. 13), the dotted terms including the date [4]658 after the creation. It may be that these chronostichs present nothing unaccountable or unexpected, because such inclination for Gematria is seen even in the Talmuds, in its incipient state; yet the ninth century seems an early period for it. The most striking abbreviation (No. xvi.) is upon the grave of a lady where the year of the creation, 4676, is indicated by *קצר ימים זר*,

\* See Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, III. p. 297.

† In the *Melanges Asiatiques*, tom. v. p. 147, &c.

taken from Job xiv. 1, the וִר standing for וְשִׁבְצֵי רֵגְוִי. Perhaps the space available was not sufficient for the entire words, so that the stone-cutter was obliged to shorten them.

5. The voice of geology respecting the grave-stones in question, ought to be weighty. And it has spoken in the person of Goebel of St. Petersburg.\* Does the condition of the stones and their inscriptions agree with the supposed duration of the latter for the space of sixteen to eighteen hundred years? The conclusions of Goebel are hesitating and uncertain. The slabs are of chalk formation. They were dug out of the earth, for the most part. According to Goebel, they must have been in very favourable circumstances as respects water, air, light and soil, so as to hinder chemical action from making great changes in them. He even conjectures that some of them may have been in a vault or beneath other stones. On the whole, a sceptical undertone appears in his cautiously worded sentences. Slabs of stone bearing inscriptions 1800 years old, inscriptions still legible, exposed to the united influences of damp, free air, light and rain, are very rare things. Mineralogy has not yet said whether this be possible. One assumption might harmonize all; viz. that the stones and their inscriptions were carefully renewed centuries ago, after their predecessors were worn out. The memory of pious descendants preserved the resting-places of the deceased. The names of distinguished persons, male and female, in a bygone period, were deemed worthy of constant record. Hence new stones were got; and new letters, faithfully imitating the old, were carved upon them. In this way, the decaying action of the atmosphere and the soil were successfully resisted. Such a solution suggests itself. If it were asked, why did the Jewish remnant in Tschufutkaleh allow the stones to be removed, contrary to the loyalty of their fathers? the only reply that could be offered is drawn from the depressing influence of poverty and diminishing numbers. Centuries of increasing misery told upon the spirit of the people, crushing out the lingering attachment to the monuments of their ancestors. Adverse circumstances are capable of extinguishing ardent memories. Traditional loyalty grows feebler with the lapse of time, unless exciting events invest it with fresh strength.

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\* See *Melanges Asiatiques*, tom. v. p. 128, &c.



But all this is improbable. The stones and their inscriptions seem to be original. We must not assume that they are copies, since all other circumstances, except their alleged antiquity, forbid the idea.

6. It is argued by Rapoport\* that the era of the creation does not occur till a comparatively recent period, when Sabtai Donolo of the tenth century first employed it. This opinion was somewhat modified by discovering that Samuel the Little of the ninth century uses it. The era of the Seleucidæ was certainly the usual one throughout Asia, both among the Jews and Gentiles; but it is by no means certain that the Palestinian Jews had none other before the tenth century. It is probable they used that of the creation, as Chwolson has shewn, in opposition to Rapoport. Very little weight attaches to this objection, which the learned Rabbanist has made to the antiquity of the inscriptions we have been considering; though Neubauer repeats the opinion.† It is sufficient to refer the reader to the reply of Chwolson.

The history of the Karaites, among whom these tomb inscriptions were found, would be interesting, if authentic records of it existed. But these are scanty and uncertain. The materials given by Pinsker, and from him by Fürst, need to be sifted. The relation of the sect to the Sadducees should be first investigated. That they are the proper descendants and representatives of that aristocratic class, as Geiger argues, is not yet proved, for the Sadducees were priestly, the Karaites are not. It is true that the Karaite doctrine approaches Sadduceeism; but we know that the father of Karaism made use of Sadducean interpretations. About the time of Isaac Sangari (i.e. the eighth century), Anan, the proper founder of the Karaites, lived, respecting whose life and works the accounts are meagre. The system he established may be looked upon as the completion and development of Sadduceeism. Under his master-hand, the opposition to Rabbanism, long existing among different parties and small sects, assumed compactness. Anan's followers exercised an important influence for centuries over the Jews of the Crimea and other countries. Setting themselves firmly

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\* Kerem-chemed, Vol. V.

† See his Premier Rapport in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1865, Vol. I. p. 535.

against tradition, and adhering to the written word alone, they made the breach wide between themselves and the Mishnaïtes, Talmudists, Saboreans and Gaons, who interpreted the law by precepts external to itself. *Karaites*, as they were subsequently styled, i.e. Bible-readers by profession, they rejected the Talmud, with its multiplied prescriptions, adhering to the simple text without Rabbinical encumbrances.

The researches of Firkowitsch confirm the Jewish accounts of the conversion to Judaism of one of the Chazar kings, called *Boulan*, with a great part of his subjects; so that the sarcasms of the younger Buxtorf, Barattier and Basnage, are proved to be groundless. Thanks to the investigations of several writers who have gone to Arabic sources, such as Fraehn and d'Ohsson, as well as to the Karaite veteran, Firkowitsch, we know that Judaism was the prevailing religion of Chazaria from the middle of the eighth century till the end of the tenth. The laws of the Chazars proclaimed full liberty of conscience. According to Arab authors, Jews, Christians and Mussulmans lived peacefully together; and even Pagans were tolerated. Though the prime minister of the king was a Jew, six other ministers, two Jews, two Christians and two Mussulmans were associated with him in the government. When the Chazar monarchy was destroyed about the year 1000, the remains of the people were driven westward, and settled on the shores of the Black Sea. It is highly probable that a remnant of the Chazars still exists among the Karaites of the Crimea, since the physiognomy, costume and language of the latter reveal a Tatar origin. This opinion is also countenanced by the fact that in Tschufutkaleh, the Jews are now divided into two communities, one of which is called that of the Chazars.

The tenth century was their most flourishing time, after which they gradually declined, succumbing to the superior influence of Rabbanism. Though they found favour among the Chazars, they were not equally protected by others; their strongholds were invaded, and they were compelled to change their abode. It is singular to find how they have preserved the memory of three celebrated teachers, as though they had belonged to the sect, whereas they were Rabbinical missionaries from Jerusalem, who came into the Crimea in

957, punctuated Bible MSS. there, and spread their doctrine in Kertsh, Onchat, Solchat and Kaffa, where they converted 200 families. The names of these propagandists, as we learn from the epigraphs of MSS., were Ephraim, Elisha and Chanukah. It was doubtless through ignorance that the memory of these three instructors was perpetuated by the descendants of those whom they taught. Looking upon them as Karaites, they were commemorated and praised in epigraphs of MSS., numbered 53, 54, 55, 57, 67, 70, all dated in the tenth century. The effect of their labours is visible in the epigraph No. 87, belonging to A.D. 1038, which has "81 years after our acceptance of the Rabbinical doctrine here in Kaffa." About a century after this inroad on Karaism, appeared Saadia, the ablest opponent of the system. At the present day the Karaites speak a Tatar dialect, which they write in Hebrew characters. In this dialect they possess hymns and versions of the Bible, printed about forty years ago at Eupatoria.

The Karaite body is small, and its historical importance belongs to bygone ages. Rabbanism has triumphed. It is a good thing to hold fast by the letter of the Bible; but unless it be done moderately, progress is hindered. Philosophy tends to supersede the letter by substituting the spirit. To reject tradition is all but impossible; and it is surely unwise to disregard the knowledge and truth it may embody. The traditions of Pharisaism have often tended to free inquiry; the rigid literalism of Karaism has stifled it. The danger is, to teach for doctrines the commandments of men, instead of using the interpretations of the Learned to discover the meaning and spirit of the written word. But it is not our intention to enter into the history of the Karaites, which has yet to be written. Pinsker,\* Fürst,† Graetz‡ and Neubauer,§ have made contributions towards it. Some abler hand, capable of separating the fictitious from the true, will correct their mistakes, applying the principles of historical criticism to the subject, after the manner of Niebuhr. Neither can we discuss the cognate

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\* *Likute Kadmonioth*, 1860.

† *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, in Two Parts, 1862 and 1865.

‡ *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. V.

§ *Beiträge und Dokumente zur Geschichte des Karäerthums und der Karäischen Literatur*, 1866.

subject of Karaite MSS.; a few general observations on the oldest Biblical copies must suffice.

The Firkowitsch collection contains many codices whose interest is inferior only to that of the tomb-inscriptions. The age of several Pentateuch rolls goes up higher than any codex known before. One (No. 6), containing the book of Deuteronomy, on parchment, written without tagin, belongs to 489, as is inferred from the two eras given, that of the creation and of the Samaritan exile. No. 8 belongs to 639, i.e. 1335 of the exile. This copy is also on parchment, and has the tagin. But these are different from the tagin on Rabbinical rolls; for whereas the latter are only put on the letters צ ז ב נ ט ע ש, and consist of three strokes, the former are placed on other letters, and consist of either three strokes or of one. In the dedication of No. 8, the synagogue of Tschufutkaleh is mentioned as possessing it. No. 9 bears the date of 1460 after the exile, i.e. 764 A.D. This copy is on parchment without tagin, and has many corrections between the lines. No. 13 is dedicated by Otho, daughter of Aaron the Chazarian, 4541 of the creation, i.e. A.D. 781. No. 14, belonging to 789, is signed by David, son of Isaac Sangari. No. 15, belonging to a congregation at Kaffa, dated 788, like No. 14, has many corrections, and no tagin. The letters of No. 2, which is on leather, have tagin on the first three columns, the fourth column has but few, and the rest have none. The epigraph belonging to this copy is long and historically interesting. It bears the date 1501 of our exile, 4565 of the creation, i.e. 805 A.D.\*

The fact of epigraphs at the commencement or end of synagogue rolls is one before unknown. It does not, however, supply a valid argument against the authenticity of the documents. Ante-Talmudic and Karaite Jews cannot be fairly judged by Rabbanite rules; for what is rigorously forbidden in the one case, may have been allowed in the other. These MSS. violate in many particulars the prescriptions of the Talmud. They are written carelessly and irregularly, with words and even sentences between the lines. Though there is more reason for doubting their

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\* The originals are given by Neubauer in his *Rapports faits à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur les manuscrits Hebreux de la collection Firkowitz*. *Journal Asiatique* for 1865, tom. v. See also Chwolson's *Hebraische Grab-schriften*, and Neubauer's *aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*.

authenticity than that of the tomb inscriptions, they have not yet been proved spurious. Rapoport and Munk have uttered their suspicions, but nothing of weight is yet advanced. In some respects they corroborate the antiquity of the tomb-inscriptions; in others, they are confirmed by the latter. At present we incline to suppose them genuine. The supposition that they are forgeries is attended with so much improbability, that it is easier to admit their professed antiquity.

It is desirable that photography should be applied to them, because few scholars have an opportunity of personal inspection or examination. They should also be collated with care. Chwolson and Neubauer have already done good service by their communications respecting them; the former may add to his meritorious labours by a full description of their texts. A Hebrew MS. of the fifth century is a rare thing, and the fact that it comes through Karaite hands enhances its value. We long to know the difference between the Rabbanite and Karaite texts; for Pinner has not done much to shew it, though he was the first to make known to the learned world that system of vowels called the Babylonian or Assyrian, which was probably older than the Masoretic. It was formed at least independently.

SAMUEL DAVIDSON.

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## II.—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND WHO SHOULD STOP IN IT.

*Free Discussion of Religious Topics.* By Samuel Hinds, D.D., late Bishop of Norwich. Longmans. 1868.

*The Voluntary Principle.* By Rev. L. H. Davies, in *Essays on Church Policy*. Macmillan. 1868.

*Conformity from a Nonconformist Point of View.* By Rev. Charles Beard, in *Theological Review*, XXI.

*Obligations of Conformity in the Church of England.* By Presbyter Anglicanus, in *Theological Review*, XXII.

It is a painful reflection that our official teachers of religion are at this moment in a position morally intricate, if



not equivocal, in pretty nearly the same proportion in which they happen to be mentally enlightened. Omitting the inconsiderable number of Unitarians, the clergy both of the National and of the Orthodox Dissenting Churches are all walking onward, some slowly, some exceedingly swiftly, into the jaws of a veritable conscience-trap. Long ago was that trap innocently set for their feet by the founders of those churches, who laid down laws and creeds as binding for ever, in a world where nothing is fixed but all things in a state of growth and change; so that the law or creed, for the very reason that it was fit for one age, cannot possibly be fit for another three centuries later. Some are trying to stretch, and some to break, the rigid bounds; and many think to find escape at points where no bounds happen to exist, because their use at such points was never foreseen. But none are thoroughly loose from the net. Bishop Hinds, in the remarkable pamphlet at the head of our review, has boldly maintained the paradox that for the clergy of the National Church no such rigid limits exist, and that the formularies of the Church leave freedom of religious discussion alike to clergy and laity. Many a passage which he has quoted will surprise those who have noted only the practical working of the system, and will heighten their admiration for the great-souled Fathers of the English Reformation. But whatever latitude of *discussion* those Fathers meant to leave us, the fact is hardly to be questioned that the Church has long been, like its own noble but faulty Bible, a stereotyped volume without correction or amendment. Historically we can trace that both in the National and Nonconformist Churches the essential notion of a Progressive Theology was unthought of. Every article was to be believed, every ceremony to be uniformly observed, "for ever;" nor was the conception of an elastic constitution, a modifiable Table of Articles, a Liturgy to be used at discretion, so much as named at that epoch. That Protestants might freely *discuss* every dogma, it is possible (as Bishop Hinds has shewn) that the great Reformers would liberally concede. Considering what they had allowed themselves in that way, they could hardly do less. But that all discussion should and must end in the acceptance of orthodoxy, they would have been equally sure. The standard of the Roman Church's authority had been changed for

that of the Bible, but it was none the less fixed and rigid on that account. Had any dreamer suggested to them that in ages to come a whole new world of knowledge would have been called into existence "to redress the balance of the old," they would have sternly asked, "Can Truth vary with Time? And have we not got the Truth whole and perfect within the lids of the Bible? Saith not St. John, He that would add to the words of this book or take away from them, God shall take his part out of the book of life?" In religion, as in politics, the idea of organic growth and development of institutions, of "freedom slowly broadening down," and Truth shining more and more into the perfect day, was as yet unknown. It is an anachronism to talk as if the Protestant Fathers either intended to sanction or to forbid it. Their age had simply no such notion at all; and when they themselves made the largest step forward which the human race ever accomplished, they imagined, and boasted, that they had simply turned back the clock of time by fourteen hundred years; and that they stood precisely at the same point as Polycarp and Ignatius.

The consequence of inheriting our churches in an age of progress, from men who founded them without any prevision of progress, has been inevitably the difficulty in which we find ourselves to-day. The trees must burst their iron rings or die. Had they been the dead wooden masts of ships, as they were supposed to be, the rings would have strengthened them.

The difficulties of the case are numberless. There is, first, the large and general question of the constitution of the churches; whether they should be so re-constructed as to permit of future development of doctrine, and (if this be admitted) whether we ought to strive for such reform specially in the State Church as would make it a truly national and comprehensive Church; or, on the other hand, acquiesce complacently in the prophecy of Dr. Pusey (*Times*, Aug. 22) that "the days of Establishments are numbered." And if we succeed in disentangling this question, and conclude in favour of, or against, a State Church, there will remain for us further to solve a whole series of subordinate problems regarding the private duty of conformity of the clergy and laity, members either of the State or any other Church. For let it not be imagined for

a moment that there is an end of the question of Conformity if we can make an end or a complete Reform of the National Church. *Every* Church, be it State Church or Free Church, must have some doctrines to teach, some terms, however wide, of membership. Lord Amberley's proposals (in the *Fortnightly Review*), the widest yet suggested, did not practically go further than to make each congregation an independent Church endowed by the State. A congregation cannot in fact exist for any purpose of spiritual utility unless its members have some leading ideas in common; unless they are in the main agreed as to *Whom* they are to pray to and *what* they are to pray for. Worship in which so much as this is not agreed upon is obviously a mere charitable, or else hypocritical, concession of one member to another, and not a real thing at all. The minimum community of opinion needful to community of worship, may, or may not, be called a Creed, or take the form of a Symbol or of Articles. When it takes those forms it is crystallized for generations, and cannot be enlarged without violence. When it is merely a tacitly understood unanimity, as among Unitarians, it is elastic; and capable of natural expansion year after year. But still it remains that at any given time each congregation, in as far as it is truly a *body of worshippers*, must be a body having certain opinions in common,—in other words, having a common creed. There is a strong reaction of our day against dogmatism, a reaction partly arising from the prevailing haze which is spreading over faith, and partly from an increased sense of the infinite value of Love, as compared to Knowledge. We are prone to under-estimate creeds, almost as much as our fathers were addicted to over-estimating them. But it must for ever remain, as we have said above, that fellow-worshippers must to a certain extent be fellow-believers. Nay, more. Men who love God deeply, can hardly fail to have a strong sense of the importance of that view of God's character through which they have seen Him and learned to love Him. Such a sense will not make them persecutors, as did the old threats of damnation as a penalty for mistaken belief; neither will it make them undervalue or ignore the genuine piety of those who, with different views of Him, yet love the same God. But it will inevitably make them firm in the maintenance of their own peculiar faith, and eager

to make others partake its happiness. It is quite impossible for a really religious man to go about saying, after the Chinese fashion of courtesy, "Mine is the poor and foolish religion of Lao-tsze, and yours is the sublime religion of Confutzee; but opinions are of no consequence."

What, then, in the disruptions and dislocations of all the strata of thought which are taking place in our era, is the duty of the teachers and the taught in each congregation? For the teachers, in the first place; when they find themselves entering that trap of which we have spoken; when they discover that they are (where they always *ought* to be) in advance of their flocks in theological progress, and arrive at the conviction that certain orthodox doctrines, hitherto taught in their churches, are incompatible with some new results of criticism or discoveries of science, or with more enlarged conceptions of the moral or material universe? Let it be borne in mind that such conviction on the part of a student of theology is not an accidental or unnatural thing, but the simple, healthful process of growth of the individual soul, and through it of the community; a process which has actually been going on in all ages, only more slowly, and therefore less perceptibly, than in this age *par excellence* of criticism and scientific discovery. Let this be borne in mind, and then let us judge how difficult to determine is the duty of the clergy to whom such convictions have come. Are they to go on preaching the old doctrines after they have ceased to believe them? Or are they to cease to preach them and expose their fallacy, and leave it to the law or to their congregations to turn them out of their pulpits? Or, lastly, are they all to quit their respective churches and let themselves drop, step by step, as they lose hold of one dogma after another, through all the grades of heresy, wherever they can find footing for a moment in some liberal congregation, or are compelled at last to swing alone amid the shadows of the abyss of mental solitude? Whichever of these three courses be accepted as the true one for a conscientious man who finds himself diverge from the fundamental doctrines of his Church, he has yet to determine *which* are the doctrines whose rejection is a sufficiently important step to make either course imperative. Obviously, a man is not called upon to quit his Church because his criticism stumbles at the Epistle of

Jude, or because he hesitates to believe the narrative of Balaam. But between these *mignon* heresies and a confirmed disbelief in the whole miraculous element in the Bible and the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement, there lie infinitely graduated shades of doubt, darkening into total denial of every article of the creed. Is a man to stop and say, "Ah! it was a very little matter to reject Jude; but now that I doubt the authenticity of Genesis, I cannot stay in my pulpit." Or: "I could fairly keep my doubts about Balaam to myself, but what am I to do about Christ's Ascension?" Very recently the *Spectator* newspaper laid it down that Bishop Hinds has "gone too far" in the excellent pamphlet at the head of our paper, inasmuch as he leaves it open to a clergyman to question *every* doctrine; whereas, in the opinion of the critic, the belief in God and in the Incarnation of Christ constitute the very minimum of faith for a Christian minister. But, as Mr. Voysey has retorted, *Who* is it that has settled the point that belief in *Christ* is a necessary article of faith, and belief in the *Holy Ghost* unnecessary? All the old creed-framers of Christendom make the latter belief quite as imperatively "necessary to salvation as the former."\* It is in fact merely *to make a new creed* to determine which articles of the old may be abandoned.

Then, again, if we should attain some conclusion as to clerical duty, how shall we resolve about the laity? Is it right for a layman to attend every Sunday at a church where he virtually gives his countenance—*makes act of presence*, as a Frenchman would say—to services which in his opinion are erroneous, if not idolatrous; where he bows at creeds which he disbelieves, and kneels at prayers wherein God is invoked to change the weather and stop the rinderpest, and do a dozen other things he is quite sure God never does for the asking? Or ought he to stop at home and

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\* The answer of the *Spectator* to Mr. Voysey was, "That in one case (that of the Holy Ghost) the priest and people alike consent to read the statement as non-essential, and in the other (that of Christ) they do not." But it is not at all certain that the statement about the Holy Ghost appears non-essential to any Trinitarian congregation. There are, on the contrary, reasons for believing that among the most enlightened classes it is precisely in God as the Holy Ghost, the "Holy Spirit throned within us," that they have the firmest faith. On the other hand, if *such* an article can fall out of the Christian creed silently and unnoticed, who is to say what other article may not follow it?



give up public worship? Or, again, ought he to pick out the chapel, within reach of his walk or his drive, wherein the doctrines set forth are nearest to those he himself entertains? Suppose at the first church, with its incredible creeds and impracticable prayers, he hears music which raises him into a region of higher feeling than he can otherwise attain, and listens to a sermon so true to his moral sense that he goes from it inspired always with new energy for duty? And suppose by staying at home, and abandoning all public worship, he finds his thoughts less and less turn to religious matters, his private devotions dwindle and collapse, and the Sunday, instead of invigorating his nature, like a day spent in the highlands of the soul, becomes a mere interruption of his secular interests, while in another sense from that of the poet,

“The individual withers, and the world is more and more”?

And suppose, in the chapel where he finds congenial doctrines, he also finds music which exasperates his ear; and a discourse which exercises his critical faculty and leaves his conscience untouched; and prayers only a few degrees less removed than the old ones in substance from what he deems truth, and infinitely further removed in form from those whose antique grandeur give them still a hold on his feelings? And lastly, suppose all these questions complicated by the fact that the man is husband, father, master of a household?

To contemplate such a confused tangle of moral problems is at least serviceable in one way. It can hardly fail to teach us toleration for those who answer any or all of them differently from ourselves. Whatever conclusion we reach, it is hardly possible but that many honest and intelligent persons will arrive at an opposite one. To distinguish our own duty, knowing our own mental position and spiritual wants, is as much as we can hope to do. To dogmatize about the duty of others, and “deal damnation round the land” against those who see their duty in another light, is simple insolence. Even in the public matter of the rightful conduct of the free-thinking clergy, we need not only to be just to them, but to supplement our justice to them by equal justice to their conservative opponents. Where so much obscurity prevails, it were idle to expect that each

man's sympathy with the views attacked or the views defended should not bias his judgment. The morality of the case is of course the same from whichever side we regard it; but it is almost as difficult for the orthodox to acquit Colenso for holding his place, as for the heterodox to condemn him.

Another use also we may make of the observation of this moral web which is spreading over all our souls; namely, that its existence is a frightful evil for the whole nation, and to be abolished with all possible haste. The present state of things is as mischievous to the single-mindedness of both clergy and laity as can well be imagined; and we are almost tempted to desire that the whole ecclesiastical machinery of the country should come to a dead-lock, so that an end may be made of it before the notion of old-fashioned theological honesty be forgotten amongst us. No nation was perhaps ever so little addicted to casuistry and sophistry as ours. Our minds seem always to fight with clubs, compared to the keen blades of a Greek's or a Hindoo's, an Italian's or a Frenchman's intellect. Our "Right" has hitherto meant a straight line, and not a curve with recondite geometric qualities; and our Truth has meant something which (like our proper Apostle St. Thomas) we have not only touched, but thrust our hands into. But if we go on for twenty years more registering ourselves, each under a name which was intended to stand for an opinion, but which we intend should only stand for a sentiment, a social or political affiliation, or a badge of æsthetic taste, then the consequence may very well be the rise of a respectable school of English Sophists, and a general practice of treating religious faith as a wholly unreal thing, about which a little more or less of sincerity can be of no moral importance.

Let us make one frank effort to cut a path through the jungle. First, for the question of State Church and Voluntaryism; and after it, for that of the personal duty of Conformity or Nonconformity. Ought the lovers of truth amongst us to band their energies to pull down the State Church, or to seek what may be done, whether from within or without, to reform and enlarge it? In the abstract, ought a National Church to be more favourable to freedom, and consequently to truth, than the Church of a sect? and, if this be answered in the affirmative, is our State Church so

favourable at this moment? or is there reasonable hope of making it so by the united efforts of the friends of truth and freedom? On the answer to these questions obviously depend both the general policy of liberal thinkers, and then to a considerable degree the personal duty of Conformity in the clergy and laity of the Church, whether they should quit the falling house, or do their best (so far as their honesty permits) to stop in it and repair its breaches and widen its doors.

Volumes have been written on the subject of a National Church, and yet it is to be feared that the greater number of Dissenters still look on that of England as nothing but a Dominant Sect, a body of believers in certain doctrines who happen to have been numerous and powerful enough at an important crisis of our history to outvote all other sects, and to monopolize the edifices, revenues and dignities lost by the Catholic Church in the land. Now, surely, whatever else the Church of England may be, it cannot justly be thus described; at all events, since Dissenters of every denomination, and even Jews, have been given the full rights of Englishmen, and as such have their share in the government of both State and Church? Whatever party struggles attended its foundation; whatever insolent assumption of exclusive truth of doctrine, or of sacramental privileges some of its living members idly put forth in its behalf; whatever amount, in short, of worldliness, corruption and errors of all sorts, must be laid at the door of the Church of England, it still is not, and cannot be, a mere Dominant Sect. Its theory and its practice are both quite different from such a thing. Its claim to be "National" is no fiction. Its relation to the State is not accidental and arbitrary, but natural and organic. Lord Houghton's famous phrase, "a Branch of the Civil Service," applies to it so far truly that as a branch lives by the sap of the stem, so the national life of England passes into every vein and fibre of the Church. We have no caste of priesthood, no celibacy of clergy, no separate seminaries where theology and casuistry are taught and priestly minds moulded in early youth. As our clergy rise in their professional rank, they do not become more exclusively ecclesiastic, but widen the sphere of their secular influence, till they take their seats beside ex-Chancellors and ex-Generals, and give their votes on every Bill which

passes through Parliament. And, on the other side, from whence do they look for such promotion? From neither Eastern or Western Pope or Patriarch, but from the Minister of the day, the man who commands a majority in the House of Commons. Even the pyramidal form which the national genius has given to our political edifice, has been—not copied—but spontaneously assumed, by the Church, which, like it, is neither a despotism, an oligarchy or a democracy, but a mixture of all three; and with an apex of royalty coincident with the crowned head of the State. It is, in truth, the State in its Religious Capacity, as the Army is the State in its Military Capacity; and while we may respect and be grateful alike to the Volunteers of the Chapel and the Camp, and admit them both to be supplementary forces with which neither Church nor Army could safely dispense, yet to the National Establishments we must look as to the disciplined and thoroughly organized forces on which as a nation we have a right to rely. Our State may not be an ideal Republic or Utopia; but, after all, its organs are *our* organs more completely perhaps than the organs of any State in Europe are those of the French or German or Prussian nations. In as far as we are English men and women, the Church of England is *our* Church, whether we believe its doctrines or renounce them; and the question of disestablishing it and reducing it to a sect, is not that of humbling a rival body and bringing it to the level of our own, but of abandoning our share in a magnificent national institution, and relinquishing all hope of ever making both Church and State such a joint edifice of national virtue and prosperity as we would have them.

Of course, when all is said, it is still *possible* that the Church ought to be destroyed. It *may* be proved that it imposes such fetters on mental freedom, and inculcates doctrines so false and mischievous, that as no immediate reform can be hoped for, there remains nothing for a man who loves his country but to seek to overthrow it as quickly as possible. Many an honest Dissenter may think that this is the state of the case, even while he accepts the duty of destruction as he would that of breaking up for driftwood some grand old ship on whose building the nation's treasure was lavished, and on whose deck a thousand heroes have died. But it behoves him who holds this view, deeply to

ponder whether the disestablishment of the Church of England would be an aid to mental freedom or a most grievous blow to it ; and whether the doctrines it has hitherto taught would not be taught after its fall with tenfold activity and acrimony. It must not be forgotten that disestablishing such a Church is not annihilating it. It is merely converting it from a splendid National Institution over which men of all opinions have influence, into a portentously powerful and wealthy Sect, directed exclusively by men of its own creed ; and usually by the most energetic or bigoted among them. The thing is *there* ; and so far from ceasing to exist, it will live and work after disestablishment, in all human probability, with keener energies, if with less wisdom and less dignity, than before. We may make the rich old wine undergo an acetous fermentation by changing it from a Church into a Sect, but we cannot diminish its volume by a drop. Then indeed we may at last really learn in England what a Dominant Sect may be ; a Sect with serried ranks of members ; and bishops no longer nominated by the Prime Minister of the State, but elected by the most busy and meddling of the clergy. Then we may see trials for heresy, not determined by " Her Majesty in Council," but by such men as the " Hildebrand of South Africa." And while the liberal clergy will be driven out of the Church, or permitted no more to preach the sermons which we now may hear every Sunday from the pulpits of Westminster Abbey and Whitehall, the laity will have lost all control over Church affairs, save that one power which is equally mischievous and undignified for the pastor and his flock, the direct power of the purse.

But we are bound to look on the subject also from the Nonconformist side. And here an opposite view appears. How much dignity, far truer dignity than that of mitred bishop, belongs to the men who have refused to bear the golden fetters which might link them to the heavy machine of State, and have gone their way to pray and preach as God alone should guide them ! How the ideal Church of faithful souls rises above the domain of Law into the domain of Love ! How the conception of such a Church requires as its first condition the absolute freedom of each member to choose where and how, and with whom and from whom, he shall eat the bread of spiritual life ! How real and strong



is seen to be the bond of brotherhood in these spontaneously chosen Churches, contrasted with the limp banding of fellow-members of the State Church, who are powerless to exclude from their most sacred rites the men they look upon as God's enemies !

All this may justly be said for theoretical Voluntaryism. The honour due to the older and later Nonconformists who have quitted the Church for conscience' sake, and because they found a worship purer to their feelings, truer to their intellects, than they could enjoy within its bounds,—that honour we can scarcely exaggerate. All the deeper is it, because so many of them have fully faced the fact that within the Church they might have taught *almost* all the truths they love so dearly, and taught them to thousands where they teach them now to tens. But if in past times Nonconformity was often an imperative obligation, if now it be imperative on all whose opinions stand in distinct opposition to those of the Church, to whom her prayers are no prayers, and her doctrines a tissue of mistakes, yet we are not therefore required to put aside the general question between a State Church and Voluntaryism. It is not of doctrines, but of discipline, we are debating. Supposing the doctrines of the Church to be capable of indefinite expansion, are we then still to consider Voluntaryism a better and nobler system than that of a State Church ?

Truly, it appears to the writer that at the bottom of the common idea of Voluntaryism there lurks a complete fallacy. When we attempt to define such an ideal, and to unite in one Church perfect liberty of the individual and practical co-operation of the congregation, are we not endeavouring to combine two incompatibles, to leap off our own shadows ? A solitary worshipper may be as free as air. The moment he becomes an unit in a congregation, one of two things must happen—he must submit to the will of his fellow-members ; or he must submit to rules laid down by some larger body of which his congregation is itself an unit. The question is one not of Freedom as opposed to Government, but of Government by a small body as opposed to Government by a large body ; of Government by a body of fellow-sectarians, as opposed to Government by fellow-countrymen. As Mr. Llewellyn Davies has admirably

summed it up in one weighty sentence\*—"The Congregationalist enjoys the liberty which belongs to small Republics, namely, the unrestrained exercise of the power of the majority in a small sphere. The Churchman enjoys the liberty of being controlled by no smaller power than the public action of a great Commonwealth." In the State Church the liberty of the clergy as against the laity is better secured than by any voluntary system now at work; and as a fact it is in *that* Church that Dr. Colenso and Mr. Voysey still preach, and it is out of the sect of the Independents that Dr. Davidson has been thrust. In the Voluntary Churches the liberty of the laity as against the clergy is best secured; that is (according to the popular idea of liberty), the power of the majority to enforce on the minority the adoption of its wishes.†

It is, after all, only a limited choice we possess between the modes in which church organization can exist. If we are not to go upon the Quaker plan (very possibly the best of all), and dispense with a clerical order altogether, we have but three conceivable modes of regulating such an order. It may be a self-regulating body, like the Church of Rome; and of all the evils thence arising, and the anti-national, anti-social passions and interests so generated,

\* *Essays on Church Policy*, p. 68.

† Dissenters sometimes reproach Churchmen with being in "bondage to the State," and "yoke-fellows" with persons who differ from them in faith by all the degrees of latitude and longitude between the Bishops of Oxford and of Natal, the Deans of Carlisle and of Westminster. Looking in through the gilded bars at such a Happy Family, they are inclined to despise the dog who lies down peacefully beside the cat, and to jeer at the cat beneath whose very nose the mice (if beneficed) disport themselves at pleasure. But the Churchman to whom such reproaches are addressed by his Independent or Baptist friend, may rehearse to him, in reply, the veracious parable of the Yankee who upbraided an English traveller with the eccentricity of apparel of one of his countrymen abroad. "Do you mean to tell me, Sir," said he, "that that kind of thing can be done in England? Let me assure you, if it were attempted in New York, it would soon be put down. No, Sir! ours is a *free* country, Sir, thank God! and when anybody comes into it, we soon teach him he must dress as we do."

Freedom to do and think as we please, and freedom to compel other people to do and think as we please, are two delicate *nuances* of liberty, regarding which it appears many persons suffer from colour-blindness. The gentleman who, being asked whether he were the Independent minister, replied, "I wish I were! I am only the minister of Independents;" seems to have had a keen sense of the distinction between one kind of liberty and the other.

there is no need here to speak. Or if it be not a self-regulating caste of priesthood, it must be directed either by the *whole* nation or by a *section* of the nation. There is no other suggestion possible. And if we are thus driven to the dilemma between the whole nation and a section of the nation, there is at least a presumption that government by the whole will be more just and wise, larger in spirit and less liable to suffer from the influence of personal and party interests, than government by a section of the nation. And that any individual should, on his own private account, consider himself more *free* when he votes about Church affairs as a sectary, than when he votes about them as a citizen, appears one of those delusions unaccountable save by reference to history and the past disabilities of Nonconformists.

Surely, then, the balance of argument amounts to this: Putting the matter of doctrines aside, or supposing the doctrines of the State and of Voluntary Churches to be hereafter rendered equally elastic and capable of absorbing the new truths of science, a National Church is *per se* preferable to a Sectarian Church, not merely as a fit national recognition of religion, nor even as a magnificent popular engine of instruction, but as the best obtainable safeguard of real Freedom,—the Freedom by which the direct and narrow action of the people on the pastor can best be avoided, and by which the pastor is placed under the noblest and most liberal form of lay authority, the laws of a great State.

But here is the *crux*. Here opens the second and most difficult part of our subject. The State Church of England has yet to undergo any such process as shall render it capable of growth. The miracle of making Aaron's rod to bud and blossom has yet to be wrought. Who can say whether it will be accomplished at all? And meanwhile, what is the duty of those who must wait for such transformation before they can find any place for themselves under its shade?

What is the right conduct at this moment for those who may believe in the abstract that a State Church is preferable to Voluntaryism, but whose theological opinions diverge more or less considerably from those actually taught in the Church of England? First, can they hope to enlarge the Church so as to make room for themselves in it? Of course,

if this be possible, their course is clear. It is well known that this was the anticipation of Bishop Colenso on the publication of his "Pentateuch." He believed he saw signs that opinion was marching so fast, that an army of confessors to the new views would arise from all quarters of the kingdom; and that, as in the Free Kirk movement in Scotland, the battle would be carried by a *coup de main*. In such a case, of course, there would have been a practical solution of the difficulty for all members of the Church before their position became embarrassing. A door would have been opened into a Reformed Church before they had brought the Unreformed about their ears. But, alas! though the Sampson of Natal has loosened one of its pillars, the old temple still stands firm, and the way into a new one has yet to be found. Of any unanimous action among the liberal clergy there is no sign at all. Liberals always carry on a guerilla sort of warfare like Garibaldians; dashing about the field, now discharging a volley from behind some (geologic) rock, now springing a mine right under some hitherto unassailed bulwark of the faith. Conservatives alone keep phalanx, and close their ranks pretty firmly in Jerusalem Chamber, with none but the valiant Dean of Westminster to wave aloft against them the standard of Liberalism. There is then, at all events for the present, no use in stopping to contemplate the *beau ideal* of a National Secession accomplished on a great scale, and permitting the clergy not only to escape from their trap, but to break it for ever. The liberal clergyman who waits till such time as the decision of his proper course will be made for him by the progress of events, may chance to wait till, so far as he is concerned, all earthly duties are over.

Putting aside the hope of any immediate change in the doctrinal bounds of the Church of England, the question lies simply at the door of every man who disbelieves any important portion of those doctrines—"Ought I, if not already a member of the Church, to conform to it? Ought I, if already a member, to quit it?"

The first question certainly cannot detain us long. To the man who is not already a member of the National Church, however highly he may think of her system, and however he may labour to reform and enlarge her by poli-

tical action, the profession of a formal adhesion to the Church as a member, is plainly forbidden by common honesty. Such an act can only bear the interpretation of an acceptance of the leading doctrines of the Church; and when that acceptance is a lie, the public profession of conformity is nothing short of a solemn farce. The motives which lead to such outward conversions unaccompanied by inward convictions are of course numberless, and some of them are not blameworthy. The change from chapel to church may be made because a man finds his chapel too narrow for him, intellectually and morally; because his taste is offended in the chapel and gratified in the church; because he feels greater sympathy with his wife and his friends who belong to the church, than with his fellow-members of the chapel. All these motives not unnaturally lure a layman to make the transition for which the ever wide-open doors of the Church afford such facilities. But if the change of doctrine which the convert is supposed to accept be one of real religious import,—if it be, for example, the doctrine of the Trinity,—I see not how any man can be justified in making what all the world understands as a public profession of conversion to a doctrine which he continues to think false and idolatrous. In earlier “ages of faith,” men would have gone to the stake sooner than have thus stultified their inner convictions and acted a falsehood before God. Is it the very fact that we have nothing to fear for clinging to the truth, that no penalty is attached to the holding of it, that has made us in our generation less careful of it, less punctilious of our spiritual honour, even as it is said men have grown less punctilious of their common veracity because duelling has ceased to be practised?

There is another form of such unconverted conversions, alas! common enough, but hardly worthy of ethical discussion. They come from the temptation which seems to beset many Dissenters, not so much to *enter* the Church as to *drop* into it, like birds which have no strength to support themselves without a perch, and must needs obey the gravitation of the largest body in the vicinity. As they happen to live in England, they fall into the English Church, just as many English in Italy fall into the Church of Rome, and those who live in Russia fall into that of Russia and



Greece. Last of all, and surely most blameable of all conversions, are those too frequently made at a certain stage of social uprising, for the sake of obtaining better footing in the class among which the "convert" desires to be received. It is with a blush for human nature one talks of such things, remembering what Religion means in mortal life, and how strong and dear are the bonds which bind us to the altar of our own and our fathers' faith. To break those bonds and change our Church at the plainest dictates of honesty, the highest behests of conscience, is, and *ought to be*, an agony. Yet men and women will sever them—for what? For some great definite lure of office, or rank, or wealth? Not even so; for the chance of being more cordially admitted into the houses of half-a-dozen neighbours; of more easily dropping old friends and making new ones; of being (when such social ambitions are closely defined) invited to the parties given by Mrs. A. and Lord B. and Lady C. ! Could anything make such poor creatures recognize the true meaning of their acts, it would of course be to overhear the comments made on their "conversions" by those for whose society they thus "sell their souls for nought;" and to discover how the genuine respect felt for an honest Non-conformist, even by those fondest of referring to "Salem Chapel," is exchanged for entire contempt for the turncoat whose adhesion to the "Church of the aristocracy," is the most flagrant evidence he could offer of consummate vulgarity of soul.

There are of course two sides to the question of the continued conformity of those who are already members of the Church: the Public side and the Private. Both have been very ably discussed in recent numbers of this Review. Without presuming to offer a definite sentence on such a controversy, it may be permitted to one who, alas! has no Church wherein to find place, to draw together the leading threads of the argument, and make such observation thereon as may seem pertinent.

By the Private side of the question of Conformity, we mean of course the personal honour, the probity and straightforwardness, of each individual, whether he be clergyman or layman, in remaining in a Church from whose doctrines he widely dissents. The Public side of the question regards

what the individual is bound to do with due deference to the interests of the community, and (if he be a clergyman) with special reference to his responsible office.

It is common, and perhaps useful, to discuss these two sides of the question apart; but before doing so, let us clearly recognize that there can be no contradiction between a public and a private duty in such a matter. It is impossible that good for a community should come out of the base conduct of its members. Nobody's "usefulness" is half so useful as his simple honour and honesty. No truth of doctrine is secured by falsehood of life. The spiritual welfare of mankind is not advanced by their teachers becoming hypocrites, the better to instruct them in sincerity and all other virtues. If it be the private duty of a liberal clergyman to come out of the Church, no public duty can, we will not say, weigh against such private duty, but exist at all in the face of it. This prefaced, we proceed to consider what such private duty may be.

In the first place, we must take with us in our inquiry the fact that Conformity to a National Church and Conformity to a Voluntary Church are not quite the same thing. As we remarked many pages back, all common worship pre-supposes some conformity, some concession of one worshipper to another. But important difference of doctrine between one and another, or between minister and people, does not exactly mean the same thing, say, in the Church of England and in the Independent or Baptist Churches. And for this reason. The *raison d'être* of a Sect is its specific doctrine. The *raison d'être* of a National Church is not any specific doctrine, but the fact of its establishment by the nation as a great State Institute of Religion and Virtue. The National Church might have been made more Ritualistic than it actually is, under Laud, more Latitudinarian under Tillotson; and in the one case the authors of the *Church and the World*, and the other those of *Essays and Reviews*, might have felt under her roof more completely at home, and with freer room on one hand to exhibit ecclesiastical processions, and on the other to

"carve about  
Free space for every human doubt."

But it would have been the National Church either way;

whereas the Baptist Church would be quite another Church had its founders never embraced the doctrine of adult baptism, or built their edifice upon it. Should a Baptist minister arrive at the conclusion that adult baptism is a mistake, it is obvious that he has no longer any sufficient reason to remain a Baptist minister. All the hard things commonly said about "eating the bread of a Church and betraying it," might fairly be addressed to him if he persisted in keeping his place. His congregation before long would undoubtedly address him: "We paid you to teach and practise adult baptism. If you cannot teach and practise it conscientiously in future, you must relinquish your post and leave us." But if a clergyman of the National Church arrive at the conviction that one of the Articles (let us say the VI.) is grossly erroneous, it is an open question whether he has not ample reason still to stop in the Church. To the man who challenges him with keeping his place while he can no longer fulfil all its conditions, he may respond: "Does the nation endow its clergy to teach truth; or only certain doctrines once supposed to be true, but now disproved by modern criticism? I hold that the *animus* of the party which has imposed my obligations (both of the old founders of my Church and of my fellow-countrymen now living) is the endowment, not of falsehood, but of truth. When I teach what, to the best of my lights, is truth, I fulfil my obligation as I believe they understood it, and as I understood it in accepting Holy Orders. In any case, if this be not so, it is the Law which imposed my obligation which must determine its bounds. It is not to *you*, my parishioners, nor to *you*, my Bishop—to you, Dr. Pusey, or to you, Dr. Close—still less is it to you, the Editor of the Record, or to you, the Editor of the Guardian, that I am responsible for what I teach. Each of you cry all day long, 'The temple of the Lord, and of the land, are we!' and would fain exclude all the others. But I am not concerned to answer you in this matter. Ye are the people, and wisdom will die with you; but it is only that authority from which I took my office which can declare on what terms I hold it. I appeal to Cæsar—Victoria in Council. If the law condemn me not, then can no private member of the Church, nor any Pan-Anglican Synod of the Church condemn me, because he, or it, happen to dislike my

doctrines. The measure of my legal obligation is (as Mr. Wilson says) the measure of my moral obligation also."

Such is the rejoinder which the liberal clergyman may make to any man who reproaches him with stopping in the National Church while he avows his dissidence of opinion from its formularies. His own conscience of course may or may not authorize him thus to read the undertaking he made at his ordination; but if it do so, it is not very easy to point out where he errs. One thing, however, must not be forgotten. If his position be morally tenable, it is *because* he preaches openly the truth as he believes himself to have found it, and *challenges* the appointed guardians of the law to extrude him if he trespass beyond legal bounds. Here is the wide difference between the world's judgment and true morality. The world, which ever abhors a scandal far more than a sin, screams out against men who, like Bishop Colenso and Mr. Voysey, lay open their whole hearts on their pulpit-desks. But the clergymen who never say half they think out of the pulpit, and *nothing* they think in it,—the clergy who are critics, geologists, men of general culture and freedom, who no more believe in the Flood than in Jack and the Bean-stalk, nor in Balaam than in Beauty and the Beast, but who go on reading their chapters of Genesis and Judges, and preaching their sermons on the Deluge, just as if they were absolutely certain of them all,—these clergy are never condemned by the world. Nay, it respects them, both for what they think but do not say, and for what they say and do not think. They are wise in their generation, and they have their reward. But of the true moral character of *their* conduct, there can, we think, be no doubt at all. It may possibly be wrong for a man to hold a place in a Church some of whose doctrines he rejects, though he takes teaching Truth to be an obligation paramount to teaching orthodoxy, and challenges the legal guardians of the Church to stop him if he really trespass beyond his assigned limits. It *may* be wrong, we say, for a man to do this. But it *must* be wrong for a man to reject his Church's doctrines, and yet NOT teach the opposite Truth; and to keep in his own breast the facts of a dissidence which, if published, might subject him to prosecution.

But all this refers to the obligations which a clergyman

has taken in signing the Thirty-nine Articles, and solemnly asserting his belief in the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland. There is another difficulty which, as Mr. Beard has remarked, is quite of another kind, and incapable of any legal interpretation or definition. "An act of subscription is one thing, an act of worship quite another." The doctrines which a clergyman may or may not preach in his pulpit may be settled to the satisfaction of his conscience by a mere reference to their veracity; leaving it to others to convict such veracity of heresy, or to establish by the trial (as has so often happened) the future right of all clergymen to preach the same. But the *prayers* he is to read in his desk are there for him to use or to leave. If he omit or change them, he distinctly breaks his contract; indeed, this course is practically impossible in England. But, if he read them, what shall we say of his inward state, supposing that his belief goes entirely counter to their purport? Has not Mr. Beard a right to say,\* "We are accustomed to think in all that relates to private devotion, that transparent candour and rigid truthfulness are indispensable requisites of an acceptable approach to God, and that words addressed to Omniscience to which the inward thought and desire do not at least endeavour to correspond, are at once the gravest impiety and the idlest folly. How is the relation altered when the prayer is public?" The congregation is "justified in the belief that the man who in the highest function of his life, at the most solemn moment of that function, deliberately uses a certain form of words, accepts those words in a natural and unforced sense as the fit expression of his faith."

To this challenge, the able pen of *Presbyter Anglicanus* replied† that: "The laymen of the Establishment are emphatically *not* justified in any such belief, because the tribunals before whom all such causes must be brought avowedly recognize that two senses, by no means the nearest to each other, may be put on some of the most solemn of these formulæ." "If it be true that it strikes at the root of devotion to think of mental suppressions and evasions in connection with prayer, it would follow that there can

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\* Conformity from a Nonconformist Point of View, Theol. Rev. XXI. p. 301.

† Theol. Rev., XXII. p. 409.



be no true devotion and no genuine prayer in the Church of England; for unquestionably every one of her most solemn formulæ are used with certain reservations and evasions by large parties within her pale, and used with the full sanction of the Parliament and the people."

May I venture to suggest that throughout this argument two things are somewhat inconsistently blended—the attitude of the prayer-reader's soul towards God, and the amount of comprehension of his position which the more or less enlightened members of his congregation may happen to entertain? A man certainly owes veracity to his fellow-men; and the more solemn the act of communion between them, the more painful is the notion that they may misconstrue him or that he may deceive them. But, after all, even public prayer is, before everything else, an address to GOD. It is, as Mr. Beard observes, at least no less sacred than private prayer. When we have said that one of us poor sinful children of earth has presumed directly to invoke the awful, ineffable Spirit of Eternity, the Lord of all the heavens of suns, we have described an act with whose magnitude and solemnity no other act of mortal life can be compared. Were it unfamiliar to us, could we grow up without having heard of any one venturing to address God Almighty, while at the same time we were taught ever so faint a conception of His greatness, and then were told of some man that he had dared *to speak to God*, it would overcome us with a sense of wonder and awe. Such an act as this, then, cannot be principally considered with reference to the assistants and spectators. It is what the man who utters a prayer feels towards Him to whom he addresses himself, which is the great concern. Suppose a congregation and their minister to come before service to a distinct understanding with each other, and that the minister should explain to them that he did not believe God ever listened to such a prayer as he was going to offer, but still he should offer it as duly appointed—what should we think of the transaction? There would be no deception of the congregation, but would there be no blasphemy towards God? Surely the real problem for each to solve lies here; *not* What do my hearers understand me to mean? or What have they a right to expect me to mean? but What dare I *say to God*?

The difference of feeling on this subject between men of such high religious sense, is, I venture to think, explicable in a manner by a peculiar difference between the habit of prayer in what we may call the Anglican and the Puritan consciousness. At the Reformation, the rejection of the Latin language marked an immense effort to make prayer a more personal and spiritual thing than it had been to the masses in Catholic times; and ever since that period the great natural schism between the High-church and the Low, marks itself, on the one hand, by the preference for formal liturgies which, as they grow old, assume very much the character of a dead language; and, on the other, by the love for extempore or freshly written prayers, wherein a much more direct and realistic expression of the worshipper's feelings is sought to be given. Of course he whose preference for a liturgy has accustomed him to a certain vague generalization of prayer, such as public liturgies alone can properly express, a certain haziness of meaning attaching to ancient forms of speech, and, in a word, if we may say so, to a habit of public *prayerfulness*, rather than of public prayer, must find comparatively little difficulty in reading from the desk words which do not shock him for their difference from his opinions, because he has never thought of them as accurately rendering his opinions. Their very sound to him is, like the incense of a Roman church, laden with holy memories. Their sense is second to the sound, as the words of a song to its music, as the theme of a picture in an artist's eyes to the splendour of its colouring. *Per contra*, the true Puritan who has cultivated to the utmost the habit of intense application in prayer, who has tried to put his deepest wants in truest words, is offended and pained by every phrase to which he cannot heartily assent. He stumbles at straws, while his friend soars over a mountain of difficulties.

Such I conceive to be the explanation of the different feeling of men like those whose argument I am presuming to review. But is there no objective principle of right in the matter? Is there no real standard of religious veracity? Let us try and analyze the case.

Certain difficulties are inseparable from all public prayer. It is inconceivable that a long prayer should be offered in a large congregation of which a portion should not be to

some of the worshippers either useless or untrue. We all join even the prayers of our most beloved pastors, or the liturgy which seems to us little short of divine inspiration, with a certain reserve. Sometimes it is the thing asked for which we do not desire, or do not believe will be granted. Sometimes it is the expression of sentiments of thankfulness, or penitence, or aspiration, or resignation, which we are conscious we very inadequately entertain. To one of us, prayers for the Queen and Parliament are utterly outside our spiritual powers. To another, the continual reference to Christ as Mediator is a perpetual check, and the entreaty to be heard "as true disciples" of him whose teaching we are accustomed freely to criticize, hardly short of a self-malediction. Prayers which are fit for a large and mixed congregation, which express no more spiritual hunger and thirst, no more confidence of joy and trust in God, than may be reasonably assumed for the average of men, women and children, are necessarily very imperfect for a soul which has passed the earlier stages of the heavenly way. On the other hand, the prayers and thanks which such a soul would offer spontaneously, would be absurd in the mouths of three-fourths of an ordinary congregation. If, then (as most of us are persuaded), public prayer be so great an advantage that these obstacles must be surmounted to secure its benefits, it is clear we must be content to take it with reservations. That any guilt can attach to such inevitable concessions is impossible; nor need any man feel that in addressing God in the words which form the best compromise attainable for him and his fellow-worshippers, he is transgressing the laws of simplicity and faith. But the line must come *somewhere*. There must be a point of dissidence where the words are no compromise at all, but false to speaker or hearer, or perhaps to both, and true only to dead and gone speakers and hearers of centuries ago. When a liturgy no longer in the main represents the real creed, the real hopes and fears of men, but only what their fathers believed and hoped and feared, then it is high time to lay it by as a sacred relic of the past, no longer fit for the use of living men. Like the staves on which men lean in the Eastern churches at their devotions, it has worn out with age, and can support our souls no more.

The judgment, then, of each individual must decide for

himself whether the prayers he is called on to read or hear are such a reasonable compromise as we have described, or whether his own views (such as he alone knows them) render such prayers to him mere idle words. In the first case, of course, he is justified ; in the second, condemned.

But let us pause. How bare and cold and hard are all these ethical discussions about a thing so close to a man's heart and soul as his relinquishing of the Church of his fathers ! Might we not as well debate on paper and reduce to set formulas the conditions on which friends, brothers, husbands and wives, must continue to dwell together or to separate for ever ? After all, are not love, sympathy, a thousand spiritual affinities, too delicate and ethereal to be defined in logical propositions,—are not these the bonds which may, which *ought*, to unite a man alike to his Church and to his friend ? When these are broken, when his heart turns coldly from its services, when its doctrines become in his eyes, not merely mistakes, but mischievous delusions, is it not clear that *then* for him to remain in its communion is a mockery and a lie ? *Then* some worldly interest, some shame or fear, or at the best indolence and indifference, must retain him in his place, and then must his position be false and wrong. But, on the other hand, when a man's heart is still with his Church, whatever errors and failures he sees in her ; when he feels he can best pray in her words, and that all his spontaneous sympathies of religious friendship are with the members of her communion ; then, again, can there be moral reason to wrench asunder such ties, and go forth self-banished from his natural spiritual home ? It would be a hard doctrine to say that so it ought to be.

Yet, methinks, it *might* be brought home to a man's soul, were he cleric or layman, to say to himself : “ I *cannot* stop here. I love this grand old Church of my youth. These prayers touch me like the echo of my dead mother's voice, who read them in the years gone by. All my kindred according to the flesh, and according to the spirit also, are members of this Church. Yet I must sunder myself from them, and renounce the vows of my childhood, and go out into the wilderness,—for that Church is *false*. I believe it, I know it to be false. Its foundations are on no holy hills of eternal truth, but on the crumbling ruins of dead

creeds of the past. Its prayers are deformed by vain petitions and idolatrous invocations. Its doctrines about God are unworthy of Him. To call myself a member of this Church is in act and deed to lend the sanction of my whole being to its errors ; and no words I can ever say or write or preach, can speak so loudly as to contradict the fact of my life. Let others stop in the Church if they will ; and reform her if they can. For me, I must deliver my own soul at once and for ever. I must be able to look God and man in the face without compromise, evasion or even elaborate explanation. That which I am in my own innermost soul, that I will be before all the world, cost what it may. So help me God !”

To him to whose heart it should come to say this, shall we answer that he is mistaken ; that he had better stay where he finds himself, and school himself to make compromises ; or that by and by, when his first fervour is over and he stands alone, he will find he has sold himself for nought, and bitterly repent his precipitancy ? Never can I say so. Never do I believe any man will regret such faithfulness to the voice within him. Never through the years of a life, which amid its sorrows and difficulties will be lightened as by a ray from God’s own sun of truth, will he wish he had done otherwise. Nay, I believe more ; that the flood of moral strength poured into the veins by such an act, the hard-won sense of honesty and freedom, is little less than the *salvation* of the soul.

Have we now reached to any conclusion regarding these tangled questions of conscience ? Scarcely more than to this. That each man’s own religious feeling and mental position must determine for him the rightfulness of reading as minister or attending as layman the services of any church. That which hurts his spontaneous sentiment of honesty can never be right for him or good for others. That which he does with conscience void of offence towards God, he may well do without offence towards man. None of us can judge another’s rectitude in such a matter. But one thing is clear. It must not be for example sake, nor for the general good, nor with any hope of widening the Church, far less (I need not add) for personal interest, that a man must continue to officiate or share the prayers of any Church.



He must do it (as one of the bravest of the liberal clergy has said) without ulterior object, as a servant of God and the truth, and in the hope, by serving truth, best to serve his Church and country.\* And, lastly, for us all, whatever we find it right to do, whether to join any Church or to worship God in solitude, one duty is certainly ours, namely, *to speak out*; to say what we really believe; to bear witness to the faith which is in us; nay, more; to bear witness also to *the doubt*. Did we all but live thus in transparent honesty, and allow each man his brother to look into his heart as into some crystal casket, it would matter comparatively very little what services he attended and under what Church banner he were nominally ranged.

No reflection is more calculated to surprise us than this: That in an age and country where religious persecution is unknown, we yet live side by side—we men and women dwelling here upon earth for our threescore years and ten—and of our true thoughts on the greatest of all subjects, the *why* we live and the *where* we go, we hardly ever sincerely converse. Fellow-travellers going down together in the twilight to the dark River which rolls before us all, we rarely speak of it to one another, but only of the wayside pebbles and flowers. Or, if we do speak, it is to repeat parrot-wise the words of men who also hoped and feared, and are passed beyond hope and fear for ever. Our innermost faith, our “ghastliest doubt,” *how* little we reveal either of them to our nearest and dearest! Would not a thousand poisonous errors be swept as by a storm from the atmosphere of human thought, were we to agree at last to speak on these greatest of themes, “every man *truth* with his neighbour”?

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

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\* The Liberal Clergy: Letter to the *Inquirer*, by Rev. Charles Voysey, July 25, 1868.

## III.—THE NONCONFORMIST AT OXFORD.

BY A JUNIOR FELLOW.

I FIND that certain Dissenters, representative men, men of position and intelligence, do not rightly understand the life which their co-religionists are likely to lead as students at Oxford, but believe some intolerant statutes and customs, now repealed and extinct, to be still in force. Their mistake is natural. Till lately the University has been a mere name to the nation. Even now it is represented in the Commons by Sir W. Heathcote and Mr. G. Hardy, and elsewhere by clergymen. Nay, liberal Oxonians, eager to set their kindly Mother entirely free, point to her remaining chains more often than to those which have been taken from her. Hence, though, as a place of study and education, she is all but thoroughly secular, she is regarded by the country as clerical and anti-popular.

“We are afraid”—intelligent Dissenters say to us—“of sending our sons to your University. We know that its doors, and even those of its colleges and halls, have for some years been thrown more or less widely open to us; still tests restrain men from taking certain degrees and filling certain places—tests which you yourself desire to see abolished—and these, if they do not greatly incommode Dissenters, still, by the fact of their existence, put them under a ban and at a disadvantage. Besides this annoyance, sentimental and therefore, as we all agree, very bitter, we dread the influence of University society. We know that many distinguished residents are anxious to have Non-conformists at Oxford; even Dr. Pusey, we understand, is now content to teach those of us who are *orthodox*, and would put up with the very Socinians as neighbours if he might pen them safely together; and we feel that many of you would not *cut* or in any way persecute a fellow-student because he differed from you as to theological dogmas or ecclesiastical arrangements: still scores of you, when you have entered the Church, attack us from pulpit and platform, are stumbling-blocks in the way of our ministers if they try to do any good, and reproach us personally with vulgarity while denying us that education which (they say) is the only means of getting rid of it; and how can we

be sure that scores of you when yet at the University won't treat us in the same way? Then, though we are able to give our sons proper allowances, we don't want them to get extravagant habits; though we don't mind their engaging in theological discussion, we desire that no one shall proselytize them; though we recognize the services of the Liberals, we can't approve of that insincere conformity which, judging from the very diversity of opinion at Oxford, we think must be prevalent there. We do not despise the professors and the intellectual atmosphere of Oxford, but we fear its social dangers and should be galled by its academical and collegiate restrictions."

I am not surprised, but only pained, when I hear this; it is partly fair, and partly, though unintentionally, unjust. Were it groundless, the future labours of University reformers would be unnecessary and therefore probably mischievous; were it well-grounded, the past labours of University reformers would have been futile.

I now desire to shew how much or how little academical and collegiate or aularian rules, how much or how little those unwritten but rigid rules which govern society, interfere with the comfort and happiness of Nonconformist undergraduates, as far as the fact of their being Dissenters is concerned.

The Nonconformist undergraduate contemplated below will enter the University at eighteen or nineteen, with more or less of the manner of a gentleman, more or less pleasant in society, holding in scholarships or exhibitions and being allowed by his friends a yearly sum amounting in all to from £120 to £300, adequately prepared by a tutor or at some school, and desirous of pushing to the farthest point attainable at Oxford his studies in philology, history, law, mental, moral, physical, mathematical and musical science.

A difficulty, indeed, lies before him at his very entrance; it is that of his school education. An Anglo-Catholic in his position will have learned the elements at home from his mother or some other woman, or from his father or at a preparatory school; he will then have had a tutor or gone to a private school, or (more probably and more happily) he will have been sent to a public school, a school of such importance as to be under the public attention and control.

These schools are still practically so connected with the Established Church that few Dissenters do or can go to them. Doubtless the more frequent and effectual presence of Nonconformists at their councils, doubtless the adoption if necessary of conscience-clauses, will enable all classes to send their sons as boarders, and to send them with confidence, to Eton and Winchester, Marlborough and Cheltenham. Even now at one great school at least there are some Unitarians. But, as a rule, enforced attendance at the services of the Church of England, and at religious lessons given by members of that Church, and, above all, the habits of the other boys, so ready to laugh at eccentricity of any kind, keep Dissenters from our public schools. Hence they must go to Oxford without the pleasant certainty of continuing and renewing school friendships on the banks of the Isis, without that strong sense of common interests and honour which school-fellowship, the closest tie in the world, can best impart. If in the manners of University men there is anything of courtesy and repose, if it is their character to be spirited and (because they respect themselves) to respect others, set it down not to the University, not even to their homes, so much as to the schools at which their boyhood has been passed.

Let us waive, however, further discussion of this difficulty, and see what restrictions the University of Oxford will impose on the Nonconformist.

That corporation exists at present for several purposes. It admits into its bosom by matriculation those who are desirous of enjoying its privileges, and ready to comply with the conditions on which those privileges may be enjoyed: it controls such matriculated persons while they remain in its jurisdiction (that is, practically, in the city of Oxford) by means of Lord Derby, the Chancellor whom it has elected, or of the Warden of All Souls' College, his present Vice-Chancellor, or of the latter's deputies; by means also of the M.A.s, as represented by the proctors, a kind of gentlemanly policemen, of their pro-proctors and attendant marshal and *bull-dogs*: the University even holds by its coroners' inquests on the bodies of those of its resident members who die suddenly, and in other domestic courts tries the civil suits which arise between its resident members and strangers, regulates weights and measures, and does other magisterial

duties. Further, it has many libraries, galleries, museums, a hospital, a laboratory, to the use of which its students are welcome : it has a church which they may attend and where they may listen to psalms and theological essays called sermons. In its lecture-rooms professors whom it pays teach for nothing, or for a small fee, to academics, and indeed often to non-academics, very many arts and sciences. It examines in certain subjects its younger students, distributes into different classes those who pass these examinations, and admits them to the degrees or steps in literary or scientific rank which they have shewn that they deserve. Lastly, having of course officers to govern and teach its members and to manage its property, it chooses most of these by various methods of election from among its own elder students.

Any man, on paying a small fee and on being presented to the Vice-Chancellor by the proper person, will be matriculated by him, or, in plain terms, be admitted into the corporation. He will first have satisfied the person who has to present him—the Dean (if he means to belong to a college), the Principal (if he means to belong to a hall), or one of the Delegates (if he means to be an unattached student)—that he has some slight acquaintance with classics and mathematics. Any one so admitted is, while in the jurisdiction of the University, subject to its control and entitled to certain privileges. He may, and at times he must, wear the cap and gown proper to his order—commoner, fellow-commoner, nobleman, scholar, bachelor ; he may read and write in the libraries, use the galleries and museums, walk the hospital, experimentalize in the laboratory ; he has a seat in St. Mary's Church, a place in the Theatre. He may attend the professors' lectures, and write essays for those of them who choose to receive them. When he is ready for examination in the subject which he has chosen, he may, in due time and on paying due fees, undergo examination : if he succeeds, the judges testify that he has satisfied them, the proper person again presents him to the Vice-Chancellor, and he is admitted to the degree of B.A., B.C.L., B.M., B.Mus., or D.Mus., as the case may be. Or if, not content with a place in the classical, historical, theological, mathematical or physical class-list, he wants some especial distinctions—University scholarships or University



prizes for excellence in sacred or secular studies—these also, if he can, he may attain. Lastly, he is eligible to certain offices in the University.

Hitherto no mention has been made of religious tests ; and in truth all a man needs in order to have the advantages described above are industry and intelligence properly directed, solvency and respectability. If he is convicted before the academical officials of misconduct, they may expel him for a time or for ever : if he cannot pay the trifling fees demanded of him, if his debts are so heavy that his creditors use their power of getting his degree denied to him, he takes the consequences : if he fails to satisfy the examiners, he will fail. But the University and its officers will in no way notice his views of religion ; he may have any religious instruction he likes ; and he may be Hertford, Ireland and Craven Scholar, may get the Chancellor's and the Gaisford and the Stanhope and the Arnold and the Newdigate Prizes, may get a double first or half-a-dozen first classes, and may act in certain schools as Public Examiner, and yet be a Jew, a Turk, an Infidel or a Heretic.

But besides the degrees which have been mentioned, there are those of M.A., D.C.L., D.M., and also of B.D. and D.D. ; these confer many benefits which we need not now consider, and also (1) admit those who take them into the body or parliament which makes laws for the University, and (2) render them eligible to the most honourable and valuable academical offices, even to those of the professors, and also enable them to remain corporators (or *Fellows*) of their colleges.

That a man with capacity and taste and time for teaching or miniature administration, should like to have a chance of being Professor, or Proctor, or Delegate, or Curator, is not wonderful ; nor that a Fellow should dislike to lose his fellowship. And it is not unpleasant to be one of a body which has so much power and patronage as that which ordinarily governs Oxford.

Let us analyse this legislature by which every new statute must be passed, whether it is educational, financial, or otherwise. It consists of three parts. *The Convocation* is composed of every M.A., D.D., D.C.L. and D.M., resident or non-resident, who has kept his name on his college books. *The Congregation* excludes those of the above who are ab-

sentees, all but certain officials: there flock into it, therefore, on ordinary days, at the ringing of a bell, the Heads, the Canons of Christ Church, the Proctors, the Public Orator, the Keeper of the Archives, the Vice-Chancellor's Assessor, the Registrar, the public Librarians, the Professors, their assistants or deputies, and the qualified residents. Lastly, *the Hebdomadal Council*, which is composed of the Chancellor, the present Vice-Chancellor and his predecessor, and the Proctors, all *ex-officio*, and of six Heads of Houses, as many Professors, and as many more independent members of Convocation. The Congregation elects these eighteen. All proposed statutes have to pass through, first the Council (which thus has an initiatory veto on every question), then Congregation, then Convocation. Hence every measure, after running through a very fine net, made of the minds, consciences, interests and prejudices of three-and-twenty gentlemen, elderly and middle-aged, men of business often only in the sense of knowing and practising every means by which business can be delayed, has to be pushed about by a heterogeneous assemblage of great scholars and teachers, thwarted by almost an equal number of obscurantists (or rather, to be fair to them, of ignoramuses), and, lastly, has painfully to struggle once more through the same mob, now swollen by briefless Liberal barristers from town, and busy-body Conservative parsons from the country, all answering staunchly to the crack of the party-whip or moving mechanically at the pull of the party-wire. Convocation, however, not only legislates, but elects University members, elects men of scholarship or science to certain professorships, as to those of Poetry (or Criticism) and of Political Economy, elects placemen to a number of non-descript offices, and seldom as a body elects any one to anything on grounds logically defensible and from motives of spotless purity.\*

Any one desirous of sitting in this parliament must take the necessary degrees, the Master's of Arts, the Doctor's in Civil Law and in Medicine, the Bachelor's and the Doctor's in Divinity; and before he can take these he must declare that he assents to the Thirty-nine Articles.

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\* Convocation will improve. Meanwhile, if it too often saves the intelligent residents from themselves, it also gives them a hold on the country. Congregation must be reformed.

Few Nonconformists, happily or unhappily, will do anything of the kind, and from these degrees therefore they are at present debarred. I have only to say that degrees, taken not by intellectual merit, but by seniority and payment of fees and a declaration of faith, are intrinsically worthless; that the benefits which they confer are not regarded by many at Oxford as of supreme importance; and that no one (least of all any one of intelligence and culture) would think the worse of another who had not taken the degrees, but would certainly think all the better of him if he had for conscience' sake foregone the advantages of taking them.

We will now consider the Nonconformist as a member of a college or an academical or private hall.

Till last term every member of the University had to belong to one of the two, and during his first three years, whenever he was in residence, to sleep within its walls. This was not the primitive practice; in the Middle Age many University men belonged to no house at all, and many to the halls which sprung up like mushrooms; but partly the wildness of this vagabond or aularian life, and partly a desire to improve the Universities as machines for propagating theological and political orthodoxy, and partly also the genuine excellence of the collegiate system, led at the end of the 16th century to a so-called "revival" of the rule above mentioned. This monopoly limited the usefulness of colleges by their size, made them aristocratic clubs, enabled them to overshadow the University, and their tutors to drain the lecture-rooms of the University professors. But by degrees the professorate has revived: from "a sickly exotic," as for a time it seemed to be, it has become a healthy native: colleges have established a community of lectures, and (thanks to the Union and University Clubs, athletic and literary) have rid themselves of that vulgar *camaraderie* which once set them together by the ears, which Dr. Pusey seems anxious to revive, and which is still too powerful at Cambridge.

And now a further change has taken place. A man may enjoy all the privileges which have been named as within the reach of a member of the University without belonging to any college or hall. Thus the poor will escape the pay-

ment of caution-money at entrance, of yearly fees for college expenses and for tuition which it may be his singular good fortune not to be *forced* to undergo, and he will also escape those social temptations which make optional expenses necessary. Thus, too, the delicate may have the comfort of living in lodgings without the trouble of obtaining a special dispensation from the rule, and the student may be saved from the dangerous delights of friendship. Lastly, the religious difficulty is disposed of: these matriculated undergraduates, paying small dues, living in licensed lodgings as cheaply as they please, will not be controlled by any one in their religious opinions.

Here, then, might I not leave the Nonconformist, enjoying almost *gratis* every or nearly every academical privilege, safe from proselytizing tutors and sneering companions? What more would he have?

The truth is, that men will lose much by living unattached; that if they simply wish to read, and desire to avoid enjoying Oxford society, which means (it must be owned) spending English money, they may almost as well stay in London or at Manchester or at Clifton. Without disparaging Oxford professors, with the most grateful remembrance of the Bodleian and the Radcliffe, of the Parks, Magdalen Walks and New College Gardens, I cannot but think the easy, continuous intercourse of the students that which is most characteristic, most specially valuable in Oxford life. This intercourse is, and will be, necessarily expensive: men take the richest among them as their standard, and have boundless credit and good taste. Poor men, therefore, must do without it, but all who can afford it should have it. Though it will exist also among the unattached, it will be most readily enjoyed under the collegiate system; and so I advise my Nonconformist, not only to go to the University, but to go to college.

A college, then, is a corporation possessed of property, landed and funded, out of which it pays its officers and servants, and also pays annuities, mostly sinecure (called bible-clerkships, exhibitions, scholarships, demys, post-masterships, studentships, fellowships), to nearly all those of its members who have abilities and culture enough to deserve them; possessed also of a splendid house at Oxford,

in which are a chapel, a library, lecture-rooms, museums, laboratories, a dining-hall, many sets of residential chambers, a garden or two, and offices.

The property of an academical hall is held in trust for it by the University; it has a comfortable and picturesque house at Oxford, governed by a Principal, and not by a Head and Fellows, and it is not a corporation.

A private hall may be set up by any member of Convocation; it is an ephemeral thing, and unimportant.

On entering a college (or hall), you pay entrance-fees and caution-money, afterwards returned to you, and then yearly dues, and dues on taking degrees. You are allowed to hire (at a rent always low) a set of rooms in the house, for the furniture of which you pay. You have a man-servant, who keeps your rooms in order, and brings your breakfast and lunch and supper, and (if you please and get leave) your dinner. You keep accounts at the buttery and in the kitchen, and from these you get almost everything you need. You dine all together in the evening. You must be in college at midnight, and sleep there while you are in residence, and not in lodgings. The Head of the house and the Dean, his vicar, will keep you in order. One of the bursars will see to your financial connection with the college. The librarian will let you have books out of the common library. The lecturers will teach you and advise you about your work. The tutor whose pupil you are will be a friend to you. The expense of living at a college (fees, room-rent, food, tuition, books, clothes, and private bills included) varies wonderfully; the same man might spend £120 at one place, and £300 at another, and to much the same apparent purpose.

There is a practical and there is a sentimental advantage in belonging to a college.

What magic in the thought of living for a few years, at the most imaginative age, a common life, within walls full of so many memories, and instinct with so much that is venerable and beautiful!

And one finds also a good in constant intellectual companionship which one cannot otherwise obtain.

But how will it be with the Nonconformist? Will he be forced to assist at the service of the Church of England in the chapel? at the lectures given by clergymen or members



of that Church in the lecture-room? Now, no college (I fully believe) would admit a Nonconformist which did not mean to respect every conscientious scruple entertained by him, and, specifically, such a person would *not* have to attend divinity lectures—they are rarely compulsory on any one—nor to go to chapel: indeed, at Balliol, New and Merton, three most distinguished houses, *no one* need go to chapel, and at Merton they have even foregone the alternative of having a roll-call; and of course he might go to any place of worship which he chose.

Further, no Dissenter would run any risk of being converted forcibly or by persuasion by the authorities, or by those under authority—no risk, that is, which he would not run in the world at large. Indeed, it is hard to believe that, when once the situation has ceased to be novel, the religious differences between Conformists and Dissenters will lead to proselytizing or quarrelling at Oxford any more than in London. Churchmen are separated from others, not by theological, but by social bugbears; and these, if resisted, would flee before us.

A Nonconformist, then, if admitted into a college (and practically every college would or soon will admit him) would not be molested as an independent member; moreover, he may now hold any of the annuities which have been specified (except a fellowship), and take any college prize. Presbyterians often do both, and sometimes hold fellowships too, and some members of the Established Church who lately became Romanists were allowed to retain their exhibitions.

As to fellowships, the case is this: the Act of Uniformity says that all Fellows who do not, before or at their election, make in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor the declaration of Conformity, vacate their fellowships: college statutes generally say that all the Fellows shall in due time take the degrees of M.A., D.D., D.C.L. or D.M., which cannot now be taken till the Thirty-nine Articles have been subscribed, or else must be ejected; but on this point four sets of rules, I believe, exist in the different colleges.

But at Oxford the declaration enjoined by the Act is seldom or never regularly or irregularly made; and (as the Acts of Indemnity do not cover this omission) nearly all the fellowships in all the colleges at Oxford are now legally

vacant! But every Fellow, it is probably presumed, does conform; and of course, if any one *had* an interest which entitled him to take advantage of the vacancies, Parliament would not allow him to do anything of the kind.

The Fellows, however, of colleges at Oxford do duly take the degrees prescribed by the statutes; and so all who will not say that they assent to the Articles, vacate when they are required to say so. At Balliol the higher degrees are not prescribed; at Oriel and at Queen's you must take *either* a M.A. or a B.C.L. or B.M. at the earliest opportunity, but you need not sign the Articles till that distant day when the B.C.L. or B.M. can become a Doctor in his faculty. Hence there are Fellows of colleges of some standing who have neither declared themselves Conformists, nor signed the Articles, nor made any profession of faith whatever at any time. And in 1869, no doubt, Mr. Coleridge will enable these and all other Fellows to dispense with any announcement of their religious opinions.

It may be proper, though it cannot be necessary, to say a word in the *Theological Review* about a proposal, obsolete, but revived last August by Dr. Pusey, to establish out of the existing revenues colleges for any denominations of religionists which want them. That plan, he thinks, "is a mere matter of money." And indeed it *is* a question whether part of the collegiate revenues should be sunk (not in new endowments only, but) in more stone and mortar. But there is a previous question also; for Dr. Pusey's plan would end either in mischief or in nothing. If he could herd up in one college all Unitarian undergraduates, could deny them intercourse with students and teachers of other creeds, could put a mark upon them—then indeed he might perpetuate sectarianism in their hearts; he might keep his own cattle free from disease; he might chill the feelings of Churchmen into an insolent exclusiveness, and rob Dissenters of that natural communion of heart and mind which they hope to find at Oxford. But in fact his watchfulness would be wasted: he could not fight against the tendency of the men now studying at Oxford to know one another, to row in the same boats, to play cricket on the same ground and rackets in the same courts, to mingle at the Union and in the Essay Clubs, to breakfast, lunch and dine together. Does he imagine, for example, that the stream of frigid

Anglicanism which he hopes to see flowing from the gates of Keble Hall, will not be quickened by the currents of speculation and warmed by the glow of intelligence around it, let him and his underlings ice it as much as they will? O happy tendency! which forbids us to try whether Dr. Pusey's teaching might be rendered more definite by "the proximity of a Wesleyan, Baptist or even Socinian college," and yet with no increase of controversy—whether the existence side by side of opposed theologians, "each body preserving its own faith until it should see greater truth elsewhere, would be more likely to soften edges [or] to sharpen them"! We believe, indeed, that in an unsectarian and secular University, theology might be studied under laymen and even under the clergy, as it has never since the 16th century been studied at Oxford; we believe that even now at Oxford (but certainly not under the Professors of Divinity) branches of theology may be excellently studied: but we cannot believe that the battle of the denominations will be bloodless.

I do not, then, think that the sensible Nonconformist would find the collegiate system exceptionally oppressive; and I am at least sure that a Dissenter might advantageously become a member of the University without attaching himself to any college.

But, attached or unattached, he would more or less immediately and frequently mix with other undergraduates, and how would they treat him? If contemptuously, if coldly, then indeed he would feel the sting of penal statutes; then indeed the hands of bigoted tutors would be strengthened.

In *Oxford* government—though terrors reign,  
Though tyrant-laws or tyrant-*Dons* restrain—  
How small of all that *youthful* hearts endure,  
That part which laws or *Dons* can cause or cure.

Let us accept all that is true in these lines, a parody on the couplets by Goldsmith and Johnson; let us own that, if the Dissenter would be rudely or scornfully received, made a marked man and kept out of society, he should stand aloof from Oxford, stagnate in sullen isolation at some countrified college, pass dismal nights in London lodgings, where at least his life would not be made a burden to him nor his temper soured.

But, in fact, an agreeable Nonconformist, such as I have in contemplation, would be treated just as if he were a Churchman. It is true that the bigoted country clergyman, true that the puppet member of Convocation, is simply an overgrown undergraduate and generally a passman, one who has left Oxford without a prize, a scholarship, a class, without any literary honour. But, firstly, as an undergraduate, that truculent person was too well-bred and good-natured, not to say too deeply immersed in aquatics, to carry his dislike of Dissent beyond the muddiest speculation: if he went so far in theological controversy as to call a Liberal whose speeches at the Union were Greek to him, "some sort of an Atheist," it really was as far as he went. And, secondly, the Dissenter in question would not at Oxford know any one of the kind: he would live with those who at the University win its blue ribbons, who take plenty of exercise and enjoy themselves indeed, but also belong to the Essay Societies, fill the offices at the Union, rise from scholarships to fellowships, are lecturers, tutors and professors; with those who in after life take London curacies, assistant-masterships at Eton or Rugby, who rise at the bar or succeed as politicians, critics, poets, historians, physicians, engineers.

It is happily characteristic of Oxford reading-men to be very versatile. You find among them an amazing variety of mind and feeling. There are the fast, the moderate, the slow; the ascetic and the dissolute; the industrious, the idle and elegant, and the lazy; the athlete and the loungeur. One is a devotee, one a speculator. The devotee is High-church or (very seldom) Low-church; the speculator is a Kantian or an Hegelian or a modified Comtist. So the athlete has several lines to choose from; and the industrious man is a wit, a poet, a scholar, a historian, a theologian, a lawyer, an antiquarian, a physicist. And yet this variety within those narrow bounds does not forbid, but compels, the blending of persons of different characters together, and of different characters in the same person. Hence a Nonconformist would be even especially desirable as bringing a new element into combination.

Take now the Union: that is at present a club-house, with a debating-hall attached to it, but without dining and smoking-rooms. Every member of the University may, and

almost every member does, belong to it. Here a Nonconformist may write his letters and wash his hands, and read books, magazines and papers, as regularly as if he were a Churchman. Here, too, if he can speak and has a turn for business, he may be elected Treasurer, or Librarian, or President, and remember that Archbishop Manning and Bishop Wilberforce, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Gladstone, Sir Roundell Palmer and Mr. Coleridge, have been there before him.

Or consider the Essay Societies, self-governing bodies of, say, twenty resident graduates and undergraduates of different colleges and (though each such society has a distinct character) of various opinions. Every Saturday night one member receives the rest at his rooms, gives them a glass of wine or a cup of coffee, and reads them a paper on politics or philosophy, history or architecture, art or literature. Then either they criticise the essay, or they break into groups and talk. Once a term, perhaps, some senior member asks the society to dinner in his *common-room*, and once a year the late and present members dine together at the Crystal Palace or Richmond or Greenwich. The volumes of Liberal essays—*Essays on Reform, Questions for a Reformed Parliament*—and many papers in the great Reviews, are due, in a great measure, to one of these clubs. To all of them, Nonconformists of adequate ability and of agreeable manners would be welcome.

So, again, if Atticus wishes to give a breakfast-party, or to see some men at lunch, or to have a dinner or “a wine” (that is, a dessert) or a supper in his rooms, he does not assemble only kindred spirits. No, he writes notes to different colleges, he waylays boating-men in Christ-Church Walks, and cricketers coming down from Cowley. He picks up a politician at the Union, and a ritualist at the chapel-door. His net will let through only the dull and disagreeable, and assuredly it will hold fast a Nonconformist if he is pleasant, and in any honourable way distinguished.

Lastly, in choosing an eight to row, or an eleven to play for the honour of the college, the authorities who looked at any points in the candidates but points of strength and skill would be held accursed. And if a man is in his eight or his eleven, his position is made, and he need not trouble himself about his opinions.

There remains one ungracious question : Is there at Oxford



an atmosphere of perjury? and if so, how will it affect Nonconformist undergraduates?

They will meet, if they are intelligent, persons who, being Fellows, are *presumably* Conformists, and, being M.A.s, have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and yet, if they do not repudiate, at least never hesitate to controvert, the formulæ of the Church of England.

These persons put in various pleas.

Some of them have, it seems, told Dr. Pusey, that subscription is an obsolete form through which any one may go, a protest against exploded errors which any one may make. Dr. Pusey himself likes his own plan of signing the Articles in good faith and a non-natural sense. People of inferior education sing, as Bishop Phillpotts is said to have sung in 1834:

Our ever-revered Thirty-nine  
Were made not for men to believe, but to sign.

Men like Bishops Hinds and Colenso make the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Spectator* blush, by claiming with blundering simplicity the right of free discussion on religious topics. Men like *Presbyter Anglicanus* find the formulæ such that no one can help believing them, and can themselves afford to take critical liberties with propositions which they so entirely accept.

Seriously, of those Conformists at Oxford who criticise the Prayer Book and Articles, some, Puseyites, Liberals, Evangelicals, do so in perfect and notorious good faith; they steadfastly believe as much of them as, in their opinion, justified them in signing and in receiving the advantages of signature. Some do so in a hostile and destructive spirit; and in their case the "appeal to conscience" (with which, as Dr. Pusey says, subscription in the 16th and 17th centuries replaced the strong system of Rome) wholly fails.

Dr. Pusey would prevent the scandal of its failure by making the Nicene Creed the test. Being newly imposed, it would be stricter, for new fetters gall more than old, and besides it would admit none but Romanists and *orthodox* Dissenters. Mr. Coleridge would also prevent the scandal of the failure of this appeal to conscience by making no

appeal and leaving laymen the laymen's work in peace and quietness.

Now everybody knows that it will not long be necessary for Oxford men to make any declaration of faith or conformity before they are admitted to secular degrees, as opposed to degrees in divinity, and to lay offices in the University, as opposed to those which are likely from their nature to be always held by ministers of religion; and thus the large, continuing and increasing will therefore be on the side favouring in the university, in the colleges and halls, and to a certain extent in society.

But there will be left a number of clergymen who will have assented to the Articles and made the declaration of conformity. As to those, and as to the majority of the laymen which will for a long time consist of persons in communion with the Church of England, there are two remarks to make. The one, that whatever of unity there may be in conformity is not likely to injure Nonconformists. Sooner or later in life they must become acquainted with it and they will see that it is at Oxford in a form which will demoralise them. No one suspects a Conformist merely on the ground that he is supposed to conform insincerely, of being insincere in the other sense of his life. The other remark is this—direct influence being more valuable among these residents who study and teach and question of sectarian distinction as against questions about men and principles in theology, being seldom raised among them the fact of a man's conformity, quasi-conformity, or nonconformity, is hardly ever discussed. I cannot think that the too wide broken it would be discussed more often if other bodies than the Established Church were better represented at Oxford than they are.

So much for the harm likely to ensue to Dissenting undergraduates from meeting clerical and lay Conformists who conform insincerely.

Even as I said the majority of Oxford men conform and will conform, in perfect good faith. How will their companionship influence Dissenters?

The United Church of England and Ireland, by the providence of God or by a series of accidents, reflects every shade of Christian opinion, but room within her, I believe, for

every one who lives the Christian life. Her many-sidedness, her sympathy with nearly all the people of this kingdom may be deplored, ridiculed, destroyed; but at present, the taunts of enemies, the exultation of some of her sons, the dismay of others, agree with the decisions of the Bench, that she *is* sympathetic and many-sided. In other words, the parties into which she is divided correspond with bodies which are not in formal communion with her. Had she never ceased to found an order, religious, but not necessarily monastic or even ascetic, as soon as a new phase of religious life appeared within her, the spiritual fathers of the people who form those Dissenting bodies would never have seceded from her, would now belong to the Church, parties to which they answer, and which, not principle, but secondary circumstances, have kept within the pale. Even as it is, the Dissenting body has an affinity to the party—an affinity betokened sometimes by co-operation, and even paradox as it seems) by charges of dishonesty.

Now there will go to Oxford the flower of the Wesleyans, of the Baptists, of the Unitarians, of the Independents; and at Oxford the flowers of the High-church and Broad-church parties bloom, and the Low-church party is at least represented. A Dissenter will come to know a Churchman; neither will be a controversialist; rather both will dwell with the ardour and intelligence of their nature, on the points which they have in common; they will become attached to one another, each will assure himself of his friend's good sense and faith. The Wesleyan will doubt whether the Puseyite,\* so trustworthy in things secular, can have insincerely assented to the Articles; the Baptist will feel that the Evangelical believes every word of the Catechism; the Unitarian and the Independent will be drawn to the speculative and to the practical Broad-churchman respectively, and be convinced of their absolute honesty. Thus each sect will see that the position of the correlated party is logical; the confidence which each feels in the insincerity of the party with which it corresponds will be impaired. And this will be done, not by disputation, nor, I think, as far as the Liberals are concerned, by proselytizing, but by the unintended fascination of perpetual and

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\* At Oxford the term Puseyite, elsewhere unjustly applied, is no misnomer.

charming companionship. The Dissenter, seeing that his friend's position is logical, will allow himself to think of its advantages ; of the splendid tradition of the other's Church, of the beauty and grandeur of its buildings and ritual, of its social eminence. Perhaps he may end in becoming a member of the Established religion, or even of that religion after it has been disestablished. And so his own body will lose a man of power.

To this objection, no less real because apparent only to the most thoughtful, and intangible by the many, there are several answers. What if the Evangelical, convinced of the innocence of schism and desiring the freedom of a sect, should become a Baptist? if the Dissenter should, consciously or unconsciously, convert the Churchman? Then as to the Nonconformists : clearly only the most candid and intelligent would be amenable to these objectionable influences, would rise above inherited opinion and boyish habits, and renounce the past. Of this small number, those who for unworthy reasons would become Churchmen would not be worth the keeping, those who would become Churchmen from conviction should surely be allowed to do so.

But here is the real answer. Oxford cannot henceforth be the appanage of one religious body. If two or more such bodies co-exist there, they *must* mingle and discuss questions of theology or even of church government. Let those who, like the Jesuits, desire denominational as opposed to mixed education, who distrust the strength of their own creed, the charm of their own ceremonies, keep their sons away from Oxford.

I have now tried to shew that Nonconformists would find the statutory restrictions at Oxford not unbearable as they are ; that, as far as a layman is interested, they will be removed ; that a Dissenter might be at his ease in ordinary Oxford society ; that insincere Conformists would not corrupt, nor sincere Conformists even unintentionally pervert him at the University, more than anywhere else in the world. If it be said that his tender age would be susceptible of religious influence other than that of his teachers, I answer that the same tenderness makes him receptive of ideas and fits him for education. Fathers, I own, must choose between the higher culture for their sons and the

chance of their adopting a new faith. No University reformer can or would secure to any one body a monopoly of Oxford.

I advise, then, that Dissenters should become members of colleges at Oxford more often than they do. Hitherto, they have kept as a rule away from the University, and this coyness of theirs has been their enemies' best argument for giving them no further justice. Their entrance is beset, and will be beset when Parliament has done its utmost and abolished all tests, with many difficulties; but these difficulties will vanish when Dissenters appear in force at Oxford, and not till then.

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#### IV.—THE GREEK TESTAMENT OF ERASMUS.

THE visitor to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, may see any day, in a glass case, a little, ugly, squat manuscript Testament, open in the middle of John's First Epistle. The pages, which look like vellum, though they are really thick glazed paper, are somewhat discoloured; and the writing, which is rather pale, wants the extreme neatness and regularity characteristic of genuine old Greek manuscripts. Inserted between the leaves, he will notice a slip of paper with the following words: "The only Greek Manuscript containing the testimony of the Three Witnesses. Apparently belonging to the 16th century;"\*—and perhaps he may be told, as happened to the writer not long ago, by the porter who accompanies him to point out the curiosities of the place—"They say, Sir, the Bible couldn't be finished without that manuscript." The remark, indeed, was not altogether correct, and shewed little insight into the ways of theologians. For the Bible actually was finished, in the sense intended, by its Spanish editors, with the assistance of the Latin copies only, out of which the missing text was

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\* I believe I quote the words exactly. There is, however, another manuscript—the Codex Ottobonianus—containing 1 John v. 7, of equal value with the one at Dublin, i.e. for critical purposes, of no value whatever. The Berolinensis has been proved to be a copy of the Complutensian printed text, and therefore *must* have been written for purposes of deception.



translated into Greek ; and it may be considered pretty certain that no edition which did not contain the testimony of the Three Heavenly Witnesses would have been permitted to gain currency in the Church. Luther, for instance, it is well known, omitted it from his German version, and yet it now appears in the common editions of his Bible. Still, the Codex Montfortianus, as the Dublin manuscript is usually called—from Montfort, a Cambridge divine, who owned it before it came into the hands of Archbishop Usher—played an important part in the history of the New Testament text. It was in fact the instrument by which Erasmus was induced to insert the testimony of the Three Witnesses in his later editions of the Greek Testament, for which purpose there is every likelihood that it was specially written ; and if it might be too much to affirm that this notable corruption would not, under any circumstances, have crept into the authorized versions of subsequent times, at all events the great authority of Erasmus rendered its insertion secure.

At the time that Erasmus undertook to edit the New Testament in Greek, as well as for centuries before, the Latin translation of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures and the Apocrypha was the sacred book of the Church. This, with many slight variations in the manuscripts, was substantially Jerome's version ; and it was upon this that the text subsequently authorized by the Council of Trent was founded. To the monks and theologians of that day it was the Bible as much as if no originals had existed, or as if Hebrew prophets and Galilean apostles had written in Latin ; it was the Bible as much as the Authorized English Version is the Bible to the average Church-goer of our own times. From this preachers declaimed, and from this controversialists reasoned. Such was the passing ignorance of the monks, that it is probable many of them had not the faintest conception of any original by which the Latin might be tested, and even respectable theologians did not think it necessary to look beyond it.\* It is not surprising, then, that the earliest book printed was the Latin Bible. That was about the middle of the fifteenth century, and before

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\* See Theological Review for April, 1868, pp. 175 and 186. The story about "*de-vita*" is a fact which Erasmus had from Colet.

the close of that century several other editions had appeared ; among the rest, a neat one in octavo, bearing the date 1495, by John Froben, the printer of Basel, and Erasmus' friend. Nor were the modern languages neglected. Before the end of the fifteenth century there were translations of the Bible in German, Italian, Dutch, French and Bohemian—all of course from the Latin ; and at the beginning of the sixteenth century there was even a Spanish one. But all this time, and even while splendid editions of the Greek classics were issuing from the press of Aldus in Venice, as well as from a few other centres of literary activity, no one had been sufficiently enterprising or sufficiently zealous in the cause of religious progress to edit or to print the Christian Scriptures in their original tongue. The truth is, that those who were interested in religion cared very little for learning ; while most of those who were interested in learning cared not at all for religion. The monks did not wish for the Greek Testament, because they could not have read it, and, if they could, would not have trusted it against the Latin ; and the learned men, of Italy in particular, where the greatest number of books was printed, did not wish for it, because they were not Christians. Erasmus, however, differed both from the monks and from the learned men. He cared for literature and for religion too ; and for him accordingly was reserved the honour of being the first to give to the world an edition of the New Testament in Greek.

It was a great triumph for Germany, when, on the 1st of March, 1516, there appeared at Basel, from the press of Froben, the whole New Testament in Greek, printed side by side with the Latin translation, and with annotations by Erasmus.\* It was dedicated to Pope Leo X., and the title-page announced that the text was after several ancient and

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\* "Novum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum et emendatum, non solum ad græcam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguæ codicum, eorumque veterum simul et emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum auctorum citationem, emendationem, et interpretationem, præcipue, Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarii, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosii, Hilarii, Augustini, una cum annotationibus quæ lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. Quisquis igitur amas veram Theologiam, lege, cognosce et deinde judica. Neque statim offendere, si quid mutatum offenderis, sed expende, num in melius mutatum sit."

And on the colophon: "Basileæ in ædibus Ioannis Frobenii Hammelburgensis, Mense Februario. Anno. M.D. XVI. Regnante Imp. Cæs. Maximiliano P. F. Augusto."

excellent manuscripts, in both Greek and Latin, with the citations in the Fathers compared. In reality, not more than five Greek manuscripts had been used as his principal authorities; and these were neither very old nor very valuable.\* The oldest, which contained the whole of the New Testament, except the book of Revelation, has been assigned to the tenth century, and allowed by the great critics to be of considerable authority. But the other four, which included only parts of the canon, were of quite recent date and comparatively little worth. Amongst them all there was but one copy of the Apocalypse, and that wanted the last six verses, which accordingly Erasmus was obliged to supply from the Latin,—a task in which he succeeded so ill, that in that short passage he deviated from the true reading not less than thirty times. Otherwise, as was to be expected in one who was conscious that there were very few who could rival him in a knowledge of Greek, his prejudices seem to have been against the Latin; and though he sometimes followed it where it was wrong, he more frequently deviated from it where it was right. Nevertheless, the work

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\* This is at least the usual assumption. The statement of Erasmus himself, in the *Apologia* prefixed to his second edition, is as follows: “Nos in prima recognitione quatuor Græcis adjuti sumus: in secunda quinque,” &c.,—where the two recensions spoken of apparently both refer to the first edition. Why, then, must we suppose that the four manuscripts of the first recension are included in the five of the second, instead of adding them so as to make nine? Nor can it be doubted that the critics since Mill have erred in representing this great work as having been hurried over in the space of about five, or, at most, nine months. It is true that on the 17th of April, 1515, Beatus Rhenanus writes from Basel—“Petit Frobenius Novum abs te Testamentum habere, pro quo tantum se daturum pollicetur, quantum alius quisquam;”—but this is certainly a proposal to print a work known to be in progress, and not an invitation to an entirely new undertaking. Besides, we have the statements of Erasmus himself to shew that he had been long engaged in preparing for this great work. Thus in a letter to Colet, dated Cambridge, 1511, he says—“Absolvi collationem Novi Testamenti, nunc divum Hieronymum aggredior.” Not much reliance perhaps can be placed on the date, but independently of that the words prove that Erasmus had collated certain manuscripts while he was at Cambridge, and before he had begun the editing of St. Jerome. Again, in his *Responsio ad Notationes novas* Ed. Lei, we have these words—“Primum sic agit Leus quasi mihi non fuerit nisi unicum exemplar, cum tam multis sin usus, primum in Anglia, mox in Brabantia, postremo Basileæ non semel,” &c.; so that it is clear that Erasmus consulted all the manuscripts he could find wherever he went. It is true, however, that the printing was completed in about five months, for in a letter dated Oct. 2, 1515, or rather which ought to have been so dated (the reading in the Leyden edition is 1513), Erasmus says, “Novum Testamentum jam aggressi sunt,”—where it is to be observed that he uses the third person, not the first.

was a marvel of genius and industry. Many things conspired to make the sale more rapid than might have been anticipated. The fame of the editor, now known either personally or by reputation to all the learned men, as well as the princes and nobility, of Holland, France, Germany, Italy and England, the increasing number of students of Greek, the desire to know something of the Scriptures in the original—all these things raised the interest to its height. The friends of Erasmus bought the book for his sake, or for its own; his enemies bought it to discover the heresies and errors which they had determined beforehand it must contain. Within three years there was a demand for another edition, and this also was speedily exhausted, although the two together consisted of 3,300 folio copies. The second edition appeared in the beginning of 1519, with a greatly improved text, and with the Vulgate so altered as to be substantially a new translation. This edition was fortified with a Papal Brief, a copy of the Nicene Creed and an engraving of the Trinity, which, one would think, ought to have been effectual, though they by no means proved so, in protecting the work against charges of heresy. Right above the Pope's letter, which spoke in the highest terms both of the scholarship and the orthodoxy of the work, there appeared a sufficiently quaint device, which curiously illustrates the zeal with which the great literary warfare was carried on—a wood-cut representing the victorious Germans under Arminius overthrowing the legions of Quinctilius and Varus, with a tablet in one corner inscribed with the words—"Tandem Vipera Sibilare Desiste." This was of course the printer's doing, but it was certainly no great compliment to Leo.

From the time that the New Testament was announced, great murmurings were heard among the cowled heads, and probably curses, "not loud, but deep," proceeded from many lips that ought to have been used only to bless. The sweets of labour, however, may have come first. The friends of Erasmus hastened to send him their congratulations on this great achievement, and those who were determined to cavil may have thought it necessary to examine his work before they began their attack. At first, some gentle passages of arms took place with men not really hostile, or who did not despair of retaining the great scholar in the service

of the Church ; and these were conducted with wonderful courtesy, for Erasmus enjoyed the respect of all competent persons, and he himself entertained the notion, not very common in any age, that the precepts of Christianity were applicable even to the conduct of theological controversy. But by and by more bitterness infused itself into the strife. Accusations of heresy and Arianism were heard. Erasmus, it was said, had charged the apostles with lapses of memory and with writing bad Greek ; he had altered texts which were important for proving the Deity of Christ, and he had omitted altogether the testimony of the Three Witnesses in the First Epistle of John. Some of these faults it may have required a little learning to detect ; at all events, they could not have been discovered without reading the book. But one thing was clear to the commonest understanding. In his second edition he had departed from the Vulgate translation, and had substituted comparatively pure Latin for its intolerable barbarisms. Evidently the common Bible of Christendom was not good enough for him, and priests and preachers must now be called upon to give up the words they had so long been accustomed to regard as divine. This raised the wrath of the monks to its height. "Solecisms," they cried, "are not offensive to the Almighty." "Well, but," replied Erasmus, "neither are they pleasing to Him." "It is too bad," they said, "that the Holy Scriptures should be made subject to the rules of grammar." "The Vulgate," it was answered, "is not Holy Scripture, but a translation of Scripture ; and those who do not like the revised translation are not obliged to use it." Perhaps it was to conciliate the monks that the common title, "*Novum Testamentum*," was restored in the second edition, instead of, "*Instrumentum*," which had been preferred in the first on the ground that it was the more proper word to express the deed, or written document, containing the Testament. This title was also defended on the authority of Jerome and Augustine ; but it does not seem to have occurred to Erasmus that the word Testament, which in Latin, as in English, properly implied the decease of one of the contracting parties, was altogether a misnomer.

The New Testament of Erasmus was in fact, as may easily be supposed, by no means a faultless production. The first edition abounded in typographical errors, and there were a



few of a more serious nature, which, however, may be excused on the ground of the great haste with which the work was finished—the printing and much of the editing having occupied only five or six months.\* The very title-page contained a sufficiently glaring and rather ridiculous blunder. This was the mention, in the list of the Fathers whose works had been used in the preparation of the text, of *Vulgarius*, a writer no one had ever heard of before. The mistake arose in the following way. Erasmus had a copy of Theophylact on Matthew, with this title: *Τοῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας κυρίου Θεοφυλάκτου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον*; in his haste he took *Θεοφυλάκτου* for an epithet, while for *Βουλγαρίας* he must have read *Βουλγαρίου*, which he converted from the name of a country into the name of a man, and translated “*Vulgarius*;” and under this name Theophylact was quoted in his notes. To make matters worse, he attributed to *Vulgarius* a reading which is not to be found in Theophylact, and in one place grossly misconstrued him. Another blunder, scarcely pardonable even at a time when geography was a mystery which few had attempted to penetrate, was the statement that the port of Neapolis, where Paul arrived on his journey from Samothrace to Philippi, was a town in Caria. Nor was Erasmus at all thankful to those who pointed out, in no friendly spirit certainly, such slips as these. Gentle and temperate as he was, compared with the more energetic spirits who were preparing to shake the world, his pride as a scholar was obstinate in refusing, wherever that was possible, to acknowledge an error. He was willing enough indeed to confess, in general, that, being human, he had made mistakes, but all particular mistakes he thought himself bound notwithstanding to defend. He was obliged, however, to apologize for the haste which had led him to give a new Father to the Church, which he did by asserting (untruly, it would appear) that the name Theophylact was almost illegible in the manuscript he had made

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\* See, however, note on p. 528. Under any circumstances there must have been much hurry in bringing the work to a conclusion. But an equally valid excuse for Erasmus may be found in the condition of an age in which learning was quite undigested, and in which accordingly the most learned men might easily be ignorant of things which in a more advanced age would be known to everybody.

use of. But he stuck to it to the last that the Herodians mentioned in Matthew xxii. 16, were the soldiers of Herod the Great; sheltering himself here under the authority of Jerome, whose shield he thought ample enough to defend him against all the darts of malice. His final edition of the note on Acts xvi. 11, is a curious example of human or theological weakness. It may be translated thus: "*Neapolis*. Not the city of that name now held by the Spaniards in Italy, but another in Caria, in Asia. This seems to be the opinion of Jerome in his list of the names of places in the Acts, but I think wrongly. Some will have it that Neapolis is in Thrace or Macedonia, near Ptolemæus, and not far from Philippi. And this opinion is the more probable one, as there are several cities of that name."

Such real blunders as these were of course eagerly seized upon by the calumniators of Erasmus in order to increase the outcry against him. But the principal objects of attack were the merits rather than the faults of his work. There is throughout his annotations a boldness and freedom of criticism which in our own day would be denounced as daringly rationalistic; and if his text is not always correct, which indeed was not to be expected, it was at least honestly constructed. A few examples will give the best idea of the character of his criticism. Of Luke's style, he remarks that it is purer than that of the rest of the evangelists, owing to his acquaintance with Greek literature. The Epistle to the Hebrews, he says, breathes the spirit of Paul, but is not at all in his style. He doubts whether the Apocalypse be the work of John the apostle. On this book, chap. i. 4, he remarks, "It must be honestly confessed the Greek has no meaning whatever." Rom. ix. 5, he points in the usual way to make it agree with the Latin, but intimates in his note that the sentence might be pointed in three different ways, adding that there is here no complete refutation of the Arians, as the final clause, "who is over all, God blessed for ever," may be referred to the Father and not to Christ. So on 1 Tim. iii. 16, "God manifest in the flesh," he suspects that the word "God" was introduced against the Arians, and that the true reading was not Θεός but Ὁ, referring to *μυστήριον* in the preceding sentence. There his common sense led him to a conclusion which the more thorough criticism of after times has fully confirmed.

That was quite true too, or very nearly true, which his enemies had brought as a charge against him, that he had accused the evangelists of lapses of memory. For on Matt. ii. 7, "And thou Bethlehem," &c., after quoting the remarks of Jerome that the prophecy as given here does not agree with the words of Micah, and that the evangelist must either give the words as quoted by the Scribes and Pharisees or else must himself have made a mistake through a lapse of memory, he shews that the first of these opinions will not hold, and then proceeds, but very cautiously and without admitting that he entertained it, to justify the second. That that was really his own view we may very fairly suspect, but it was scarcely fair to charge him with it, especially as he finally suggests another alternative, namely, that the evangelist may have intentionally altered the sense of the original to adapt it to the novel circumstances. But the best proof of the courage and honesty of Erasmus might be thought to be the omission of 1 John v. 7. Yet, what else could he have done but omit it? The words were not in his manuscripts. The omission accordingly was no act of his, and the proper way to state the case would be to say that he forebore to insert it. Even for that, however, much credit is due to him, especially as he persevered in that honest course in his second edition, after the clamour against him had begun. How he came to yield at last, and insert this notable forgery in his third and subsequent editions, must now be narrated.

It was in England, where Erasmus had found his best friends, that he found also his greatest enemies. And among those who took up arms against his New Testament, none was more bitter or more persevering in his attacks than Edward Lee, afterwards chaplain and almoner to Henry VIII., and eventually Archbishop of York. At this time he was a comparatively young and still unknown man, and, as Erasmus believed, actuated in his hostility to himself by ambition and the love of notoriety. His attack, which began about a year after the appearance of the first edition of the New Testament, was of the most vexatious kind, being carried on by private whispers rather than on the open field of fair controversy, while neither his age nor his learning entitled him to enter into conflict with a scholar of such established reputation. Erasmus speaks

of him in his letters of this period with great contempt and almost with anger, declaring that "a creature more arrogant, ignorant and venomous, the world had never seen;" and when his book, which was kept back apparently from mere cowardice for two years, at length appeared, "mendacious," "foolish," "ignorant," are among the epithets he applies to it. Lee, he tells us, had learned all the Greek and Hebrew he knew in a few months on purpose to confute him. He had adopted the most underhand means to excite an interest in his book, bribing the monks with entertainments, and with presents of wine and fruit; and with the same view he had written not less than six hundred letters, for which he had been obliged to employ an amanuensis. And such was the fairness of this champion of the faith, that he could not be prevailed upon, though often entreated, to furnish his antagonist with a copy of his criticisms. When the second edition of the New Testament was going through the press, and a considerable part had already been printed off, Erasmus met Lee, shewed him the sheets, and offered, if he would point out anything in them contrary to the orthodox faith or to good morals, to reprint them, notwithstanding the great expense it would cost him, and to make honourable mention of Lee as the author of the corrections. Lee refused; and it was not till some time after the publication of the second edition of the New Testament that Erasmus so much as got a sight of the annotations. "Wretched criticisms," as Dr. Knight calls them, they certainly appear to be; and we cannot but wonder that one who had reached so high and so secure a position among scholars, should have thought it worth while to reply to them. But Erasmus was determined to fight every inch of his ground; and such was his reverence for learning, that he would not have thought his labour wasted if he could have gained a single convert to its cause, or uprooted a single prejudice. Such, too, was his delight in wielding his pen, that he probably did not greatly grudge the forty days which he spent in demolishing an enemy whom he despised. He had, indeed, he tells us, hesitated whether he should answer or not; but reflecting that so many reports had been disseminated to his disadvantage, and that his silence might be construed as a confession of defeat, he determined to reply, but briefly.

Lee's criticisms amounted to not less than three hundred ; but we shall confine ourselves here to the only one which possesses any special interest—that on 1 John v. 7. Lee based his defence of the authenticity of this celebrated passage on the fact that Laurentius Valla, in his annotations on the New Testament, had not noticed its omission from any of his manuscripts ; on Jerome's Preface to the canonical Epistles, in which he said it was stated that the text had been corrupted by the heretics ; and on an insinuation which he chose to make to the effect that Erasmus had consulted only one manuscript. Besides—and this no doubt made a deeper impression on those who were likely to take his side of the question than any learned arguments—the consequence of omitting words so important to the orthodox faith would be the revival of the Arian heresy and a schism in the Church. Lee's arguments, such as they were, were not very difficult to dispose of. Laurentius Valla was but human ; he may have been guilty of an oversight, or he may have found the words in question in his manuscripts. It was not true that Jerome had said this passage had been corrupted by the heretics ; and even if he had said so, Jerome was not infallible ; on the contrary, he was a man of a warm and even violent temper, and often made assertions much more positively than facts seemed to warrant. Jerome's language, however, really implied that he had changed the public reading of the Church, and that accordingly the Latin must have previously agreed with the Greek.\* Nor was it the case that the disputed words had been omitted by none but heretics ; for Cyril, an orthodox Father, in collecting all the texts he could find against the Arians, quotes the testimony of the Spirit, the water and the blood, but not that of the Three in heaven, which he certainly would not have omitted had he found it in his copies. As to the charge that Erasmus had been guilty of carelessness and dishonesty in not consulting more than one manuscript, it was simply absurd. He had in fact consulted many in England, in Brabant and at Basel, and at different times had had in his hands a greater number than Valla. Had he found the words in a single copy, he would,

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\* Erasmus does not appear to have questioned the authenticity of the Preface to the canonical Epistles.



he says, have inserted them ; but that not having been the case, he followed the only course that was open to him—pointed out what was wanting in his Greek manuscript. Probably that was an aggravation of his offence ; could he not have printed the Greek as it stood without calling special attention to it, and might he not at least have retained the usual Latin reading ? Having disposed of the critical part of the question, Erasmus proceeds to relieve the mind of his opponent of his apprehensions of heresy. He reminds him that others besides himself can read Greek, and that soon every one pretending to scholarship will be able to do so. To what purpose, then, would he have concealed the real reading of the Greek manuscripts ? *There is* the reading, for the Arians as well as everybody else to see for themselves, and he is not responsible for the fact. And how can Lee suppose that the mouth of the Arians, if there *were* any Arians, would be stopped at once by the testimony of the Three Witnesses ? Are there not other passages in which the word “one” means not one in substance but one in consent ? Must it not indeed have this meaning in the case of the three that bear witness on earth ; and might it not be made to bear this sense also in the words under dispute ? But in fact there *are* no Arians. No heresy more completely extinguished ! And as to the disturbances which Lee anticipates, why, the New Testament has now been in the hands of the public for more than three years, and none of these dreadful results have followed. By and by, Erasmus becomes pleasantly severe. The unlucky Lee had broken into a strain of solemn admonition, foretelling the evils that would come upon the world from this corruption of Scripture, and calling upon the shepherd of the Church to awake. “There is still hope,” he exclaims, “with the help of God, since the smoke has not yet burst into a flame. The Guardian of Israel will not slumber nor sleep, if the watchman in Israel slumbers not nor sleeps.” Rather insulting to the Pope, replies Erasmus, to suppose he does nothing but snore and yawn. “But let Lee be comforted. The watchman in Israel will not always slumber and sleep, but will at last put to silence such wild and seditious calumnies, and shut the mouth of all who by their foolish clamour would excite among the people the trouble which

seems to be the element in which they live themselves. For should any disturbance arise in the Church of God, it will be entirely their doing; we have no desire either to promote sedition or to advocate unsound doctrine. If, however, we fall into any unintentional errors, certainly it was not for Lee to find fault with our mistakes, seeing how many disgraceful blunders he is guilty of himself in that little pamphlet of his; much less to abuse and calumniate us. However, I am ready to acknowledge the justice of all the reproaches he has heaped upon me, if, in all my many works, some of which are of great length and fill more than one volume, while some were produced in great haste, I am guilty of so many flagrant blunders or so often inconsistent, if I misquote or shew that I do not understand my own language, as often as he has done in that little pamphlet which he drew up two years ago, with the aid of his friends, and when he was able to give to it the whole of his attention."

It might seem that there could be no doubt with whom the victory would remain in a contest of this kind between learning and capacity upon the one side, and ignorance and dulness on the other; but, unfortunately, treachery supplied the place of knowledge, and Lee carried away the most substantial fruits of a conflict in which he was otherwise completely defeated. Erasmus in his reply had twice professed his willingness to insert the testimony of the Three Witnesses if a single manuscript could be produced containing it. Lee must in due time have satisfied himself that none such could be found at Oxford or Cambridge, nor probably anywhere else. But what then? Were there no amanuenses living? Was it impossible to have a manuscript written on purpose which should contain the disputed words, and satisfy the scruples of this troublesome Grecian? That the Codex Montfortianus was written under the direction of Lee, with the express object of deceiving his opponent and exacting from him the fulfilment of his promise, there is indeed no positive proof; but its opportune appearance at this particular juncture lends a countenance to the supposition, and there was nothing in the character of Lee to make it probable that he would have hesitated to commit a pious fraud which he thought so important to the orthodox faith. One only wonders that he should have gone

such a long way round to accomplish his purpose, instead of simply affirming the existence of the manuscript; but no doubt he had a tender conscience, and found it more agreeable to equivocate than to lie; and besides, how did he know but Erasmus would run over to England to have a sight of this newly-discovered treasure? Erasmus, however, was very easily satisfied. It does not appear that he ever even saw the Codex Britannicus, as he calls it. He desired peace, and shrunk from the clamour that was raised against him on all sides. Having been informed, therefore, that a manuscript had been found containing the testimony of the Heavenly Witnesses, although he suspected, and with good reason, that it had been corrected after the Latin, he inserted the spurious words in his third edition, which appeared in 1522. There the text corresponds exactly with the reading of the Dublin manuscript, proving its identity with the Codex Britannicus of Erasmus.\* In the subsequent editions it was altered into better Greek.

Such was the most important controversy which arose in connection with this great work. It is unnecessary to notice all the attacks made upon it; but one or two anec-

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\* The *exact* agreement, it must be understood, applies only to the interpolated clause; but it is remarkable that for the *eighth* verse Erasmus had a better text in his second than in his third edition, where he altered it after the Codex Britannicus, the only differences being the insertion of *kai* before ὕδωρ, and the retention of the clause, *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἔν εἰσιν*, which the Codex Britannicus *omitted*, and which the *Dublin MS.* also *omits*. That this clause was omitted by the Codex Britannicus, we have the express testimony of Erasmus himself twice repeated,—in the *Apologia ad Stunicam*, and in the note on 1 John v. 7, in the later editions of his Testament—in both of which places, after giving the whole seventh and eighth verses, he remarks that it may be merely accidental that the *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἔν εἰσιν* is not repeated. It is *most important* to notice this, because a little lower down, in the very same note, Erasmus contradicts himself (possibly owing to a mere printer's blunder) by stating that the British MS. *adds* to the witness upon earth, *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἔν εἰσιν*; and upon this statement the Rev. Charles Forster, in a recent work to be noticed in the sequel of this article, has based an argument for holding the Codex Britannicus to be a distinct witness, now lost, for the authenticity of 1 John v. 7; the fact being that the text of the Codex Britannicus in verses 7 and 8, as quoted by Erasmus, deviates from that of the Dublin MS. merely in the omission of the ἅγιον after Πνεῦμα, and the οἱ before the second μαρτυροῦντες; and that these are mere slips in copying is clear from their appearance in the text of the third edition; it would be folly to doubt when we find that they re-appear in the text of the third edition—which text, be it remembered, has been in other respects altered for the worse—viz. by the omission of the article three times—in order to make it agree with the newly discovered authority.

dotes told by Erasmus himself will serve to illustrate the general character of the enemies of learning, and with these the present article may conclude. Dr. Standish was at this time—about 1520—Bishop of St. Asaph. On a certain occasion he was preaching in St. Paul's Churchyard, and having begun a sermon upon Charity, all of a sudden broke out into a furious attack upon Erasmus, declaring that the Christian religion must be ruined unless all new translations were abolished, and that it was intolerable that he should have corrupted the Gospel of St. John by substituting "sermo," in the first verse, for "verbum," which had been the reading of the Church for so many centuries. Then he began to appeal to the feelings of his audience, bewailing his own unhappy lot, to think that he who all his life had been accustomed to read, "In principio erat verbum," must henceforth read, "In principio erat sermo;" and finally he appealed to the Mayor, the aldermen, and the whole body of citizens to come to the rescue of Christianity in this its hour of peril. No one, however, took notice of his rhodomontade except to laugh at it. It happened the same day that Standish was to dine at the palace, and two of his hearers—one of whom was a bachelor, and profoundly versed in the scholastic philosophy as well as in the modern learning, the other a married man, but of the most heavenly mind (no doubt, as Knight conjectures, Master Richard Pace and Sir Thomas More)—were to meet him. They were no sooner seated, than one of them remarked how glad he was to find he had been reading the Commentaries of Erasmus. Standish, perceiving that a trap was laid for him to compel him to confess that he had been attacking a book which he had not read, replied bluntly, "Perhaps I have read as much as I chose to read." "I have no doubt you have," replied the other. "Pray, may I ask on what arguments or authorities does Erasmus rely, that he has ventured to change the common reading in John's Gospel?" To this question, of course, the Bishop was unable to make any reply. He said he was content with the authority of Augustine, who affirms that "verbum" was a better word than "ratio" as an appellation of the Son of God. "Yes," said More, "than 'ratio;' but what has that to do with 'sermo'?" "Why, they are the same thing." "Nay," replied his tormentor, "they are very different; and

it is not very wise in you to attack a man who has rendered such good service to the cause of letters, without having either read the passage you criticise, or made yourself master of the subject." Some time afterwards, made no wiser by his defeat, Standish surprised the Court by dropping reverently upon his knees in presence of the King and Queen, and a large assemblage of nobility and of learned men. Every one was eager to hear what so eminent a theologian had to say, supposing it must be something of great importance. He began by pronouncing a eulogium, in English, upon the ancestors of the King and Queen for having ever defended the Catholic Church against heretics and schismatics, and then proceeded to exhort and adjure their Majesties to follow in the footsteps of their progenitors, warning them that most dangerous times were at hand, and that unless the books of Erasmus could be suppressed, the religion of Christ was ruined. Then, raising his hands and eyes to Heaven, he prayed that Christ would condescend himself to aid his spouse if no one on earth would come to her defence. While he was still on his knees, one of his two tormentors on the previous occasion (Sir Thomas More) stepped forward, and having said how much he admired the pious harangue of the reverend father, begged that, as he had alarmed their Majesties so much, he would now be good enough to point out what it was in the books of Erasmus from which he apprehended such terrible consequences. He replied he would do so at once, and, reckoning on his fingers, proceeded: "First, Erasmus denies the resurrection. Second, he makes the sacrament of Matrimony of no account. Lastly, he is unsound on the Eucharist." More commended the clearness of his statement, and observed that nothing now remained but that he should prove his assertions. "Certainly," replied the other, and beginning upon his thumb: "First," said he, "that he denies the resurrection I prove thus: Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians (he meant Corinthians) writes thus: We shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed (the reading of the Vulgate); but Erasmus has altered the reading of the Church, and from his Greek copies reads as follows: We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed. It is clear that he denies the resurrection." Presently the poor Bishop was led into a still greater absurdity, if that were possible,



and said that Jerome had restored the true reading from the Hebrew ; till at length the King took pity on his incurable stupidity, and diverted the conversation to some other subject.

In estimating the merits of Erasmus as an editor of the New Testament, it ought surely to be considered sufficient if he can fairly claim to have been the first. And this he can do with very little qualification. Cardinal Ximenes is indeed entitled to equal honour, as having planned the Complutensian Polyglott, in which the New Testament, it would seem, was printed by the beginning of the year 1514; but the whole work was not ready till 1517, nor was it published before 1522. The name of Laurentius Valla also must not be forgotten as the very first, so far as is known, who collated different manuscripts of the New Testament. But Erasmus was the first who edited, printed and published the Christian Scriptures in their original tongue, and for that the world owes him a debt which it would not be easy to repay. His text, indeed, was far from perfect ; and yet a chapter from his last edition, compared with the text of Griesbach or Tischendorf, presents wonderfully few variations, and these generally such as in any less important book might well be thought trifling. It is ever to be regretted, for his own credit's sake, that Erasmus should have given way about 1 John v. 7 ; yet there was much excuse for him ; and, as has been already remarked, there can be no doubt that the clergy would never have rested till they had secured its insertion.

This article had been finished when my attention was directed to a recent work by the Rev. Charles Forster,\* in whose person a redoubtable champion has stepped into the field, with a whole train of Bishops and Archbishops at his back, prepared to defend the authenticity of the Heavenly Witnesses against the greatest critics of modern times, and to demolish utterly the famous letters of Porson. The qualifications of this writer for treating the question with fairness may be inferred from the following words occurring in a note in his book : " We have not far to seek for the

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\* *The Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, &c.* By Rev. Charles Forster, B.D. London : Bell and Daldy. 1867.

motive of Porson's Letters to Travis. . . . His Unitarian tendencies abundantly account for his *animus* towards the obnoxious seventh verse, and for the dishonest arts of controversy which run, with the tortuous sinuosity of the 'crooked serpent,' throughout his twelve philippics." Let us see, however, something of the arguments on which this "new plea" is based. Contrary to the belief of the great majority of Biblical critics, including many eminent Trinitarians, Mr. Forster undertakes to shew that 1 John v. 7 is quoted repeatedly by both Greek and Latin Fathers; and verily, if it be conceded that every sentence in which the words "three" and "one" occur at not more than a moderate distance from each other, must be a quotation of that celebrated verse, he has abundantly established his point. The extreme absurdity of this position, however, is such, that it can scarcely be increased by the fact that where this combination does take place among the Greeks the neuter *τρία* is the word employed, and not, as in the spurious text, the masculine *τρεις*. But, says our author, St. Hippolytus and St. Athanasius state that all that the Fathers taught respecting the Godhead they derived solely from Scripture, and *therefore* the doctrine of the Three in One is scriptural, and therefore the disputed words in John's Epistle genuine. It is unnecessary to dispute this dictum, though an incidental remark of one or two Fathers is scarcely identical with a rule acknowledged by all; but if pushed to the required conclusion, it may be found to prove just a little too much. The very passage adduced from Hippolytus as containing a virtual citation of 1 John v. 7, proceeds to explain how God can be one and three, and states that he is one *κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν*, and three *κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν*. Can Mr. Forster or any one else inform us where in Scripture this distinction is to be found? It is, however, another of the remarkable "concessions of Trinitarians" to admit that the 'Three in One doctrine is scriptural *only* if the questionable words of 1 John be genuine. But how, it may be asked, is it possible to maintain the genuineness of these words against all manuscript authority? To this question there is a plausible reply. The disputed clause, it is said, ends with the same word with which the text of our present MSS. breaks off—namely *μαρτυροῦντες*, so that its omission in many MSS. might be expected, and even its

omission in all that now exist would be no conclusive evidence against its authenticity, provided there was some good authority of another kind in its favour, such as early Latin MSS. or citations in the Fathers. This argument, however, will not bear examination; for the disputed clause really ends, not with *μαρτυροῦντες*, but with *ἐν τῇ γῇ*, a fact which Mr. Forster does not notice: and if we suppose that the transcriber had the Textus Receptus before him, and that after he had written down to *μαρτυροῦντες* in verse 7, on returning to his original, his eye caught the *second* *μαρτυροῦντες* in verse 8, he would inevitably have gone on with the next words *ἐν τῇ γῇ*. But these words also are omitted in our present MSS., so that this explanation, plausible as it seems, entirely breaks down, and the absence of *ἐν τῇ γῇ* may be regarded as a conclusive proof of the correctness of the opinion now generally received, that the words in question are absent from our MSS., not from any natural error of transcribers, but because they formed no part of the original text of the New Testament.

There is one point in this controversy in which new light may possibly be forthcoming, and that is the age of the Codex Montfortianus. If this MS. belonged to the sixth, instead of the sixteenth, century, it is not probable that sober critics would admit its evidence against all others. Still the question is interesting in itself; and as Dr. Adam Clarke, no prejudiced witness, held that this Codex belonged to the thirteenth century, it may be deserving of a more thorough investigation than it has yet received. The Dublin or Montfort Codex is said to have many readings common to itself with two identical MSS. of the four Gospels, which were presented respectively to New College and Lincoln College, Oxford, about the year 1502. Now here it evidently becomes a most important point to determine whether the unusual readings of the Montfort Codex are limited to the Gospels, or run through the whole New Testament. If the former were the case, there could be no hesitation in concluding that this MS. was copied from one or other of the Oxford MSS., so far as they extend, and in the remainder from some other source. But if the peculiar readings run through the whole, the more natural, though by no means necessary, inference would be, that the Dublin MS. is the source of the other two, and must therefore be thrown back

at least into the fifteenth century. Now, according to Mill, Usher, who collated the Dublin MS., did not go beyond the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; and Mill himself, who says he had noted more than 140 various readings, does not state whether these were scattered through all the books or not, but all the examples he gives in his *Prolegomena* are from the Gospels. What is required, then, to determine the point, is that the Epistles in the Dublin MS. should be collated, and that it should be ascertained whether there is any MS., at Oxford or elsewhere, from which they might have been copied. The result might be either to confirm or dispel the suspicion of forgery. Should the evidence be favourable, it will at least be interesting to know that the principal authority for the only text which contains anything resembling a statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, is a little older and more respectable than is now generally supposed.

It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Forster farther. His entire book, while it brings to light some interesting particulars, consists for the most part of special pleading of the most transparent kind. Not the least extraordinary part of it is the Preface, where the writer defends the *Textus Receptus* against such latitudinarian innovators as Griesbach and Tischendorf, apparently quite forgetful of the fact that the *Textus Receptus* was derived by direct descent from the text of the very man who first discovered and maintained the spuriousness of 1 John v. 7.

ROBERT B. DRUMMOND.

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#### V.—ON PULPIT REFORM; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE DIVISION OF DIVINE SERVICE—THE PRAYERS FROM THE SERMON.

It would seem to be an easy and natural Division to separate the two portions of Divine Service. Their nature is perfectly distinct, and he who is well-attuned to the one may be out of all harmony with the other. The attitude of the mind in real prayer, as distinguished from a state of

reverie, of half-attention, of semi-slumber, is as different as possible from the attitude of the mind in listening to the harangue of the preacher. No one expounds this difference better than Bishop Butler. He says: "Devotion is retirement from the world God has made to Himself alone; it is to withdraw from the associations of sense, to employ our attention wholly upon Him as upon an object actually present—to yield ourselves to the influence of the Divine Presence, and to give full scope to the affections of gratitude, love, reverence, trust and dependence, of which He is the only adequate object. This is the highest exercise and employment of mind of which a creature is capable."

It is indeed a descent of the soul which has just been soaring on the wings of devotion, to come down all at once and have to listen for half an hour or more to what may prove a jarring or unprofitable discourse. All real prayer is an intensity—the mind is strained during its exercise, and whatever strains, fatigues. Let any one pray heartily through the Church of England liturgy, and at the end of it he will feel fatigued. Is it not, then, the natural thing for him to retire? to seek the fresh air and change of scene? "to revel," as Chalmers expresses it, "amid the fresh and the fair of rural nature?" It seems to us that the liberty of withdrawing at the close of the prayers ought to be permitted, so that to do so shall not be counted either an irreverent or a discreditable act. We cannot see why persons of all ages and of all frames of mind, and of the most various capacities of attention, should be doomed to remain forced listeners for three-quarters of an hour—the sermon, with its accessories before and after it, generally taking this time—when the mind is already full fraught, and the powers of attention are exhausted. There are thousands of persons whose physical temperament and nervous condition render this prolonged sitting exceedingly irksome, and who, as they cannot retire at the end of the part of the service which they prize, absent themselves from public worship altogether. It is not every one that can indulge in an easy posture during the well-nigh two hours' service. Think of the cramped legs, the bolt-upright attitude which so many, especially in our town churches, are obliged to assume throughout it—a veritable incarceration of the body! There they sit, row after row, all crowded



and jammed together, and for two mortal hours ; while, in compensation for this lateral constraint and coercion, there may be no encouragement to an upward glance, and no brighter prospect overhead than some shelving gallery, forming a low ceiling in a lofty church, and where these side-worshippers have no benefit from the loftiness. Gladly would many of them escape and be gone at the end of the liturgy, but the thing is not permitted. But why should it not be permitted? Is there anything to plead against it except Custom—a dreary and irrational custom which persists in exacting from all church-goers alike—whatever be their age or sex—whatever be their bodily or mental strength or weakness—whatever be their rank or occupation—precisely the same length and measure of attendance?

Is it wise to exact from the school-child of seven years the same attendance as from the man of forty? The young limbs are all itching to be in motion, and childhood's sprightly temper seconds the impulse. The sermon, in the case of the mature worshiper, is at least partly understood ; in the case of the child it is rarely understood at all. Childhood does not appreciate the abstract terms of theology in which the bulk of modern sermons deal. Nor does the evil end with the temporary discomfort. The pain vanishes, but the thought and memory of it remain. A weekly repeated dose of coercive discipline leaves gloomy associations behind. Why not, then, release the youngsters at the end of Morning Prayer, however you may hold fast the elders? It was a beautiful exclamation of the Psalmist, "O, how amiable are Thy dwellings, Thou Lord of Hosts!" His temple service abounded in lovely things—eye, ear and soul, were alike all gratified. We, however, make our modern tabernacles most unlovely in the respect that we exact from all a uniform attendance. Childhood groans under it, (we shall examine the question as it affects adults presently,) and a wise Church would especially study to make Religion attractive to the young, to make her courts "amiable," so that they may have a desire and longing to enter into them. A wise Church will be very tender in dealing with the lambs of the flock. When our Lord gave his parting injunctions to Peter, he gave two distinct commands—"Feed my sheep;" "Feed my lambs." But what does our English Church? She requires all ages to be instructed by the same sermon, and compels the children

to sit it out, though not one sentence in ten is listened to, or, if listened to, reaches their understandings or their hearts. Any one who looks at them will see them yawning, gaping, restless, eager to be gone—anon chattering *sotto voce*, anon bursting into a furtive laugh. Poor things! They went to the Sunday-school at nine o'clock, and from school to church at eleven, and there they must remain, whether they like it or not, till near one. Is this the way to make the courts of the Lord lovely to them, and to inspire in their hearts the desire of His worship?

How can we redress the evil? By all means let us have a children's service. Dismiss them at the end of the prayers, or give them a special service all to themselves in the afternoon. The service might commence at three o'clock, and everything should be special. There should be a child's hymn-book, and the poetry of it such as childhood could comprehend; simple, sensuous and affectionate. The hymn is the child's best sermon. Linked to some tune which delights his ear, the sentiments of love filter down into his inmost heart, and abide there. The one tie to religion which many a fallen one retains, is not a vestige of countless sermons heard, but of some remembered verse of his childhood's hymn-book. Though there should be plenty of singing and chanting, there should be instruction also; and instruction conveyed in the way in which childhood loves to be instructed, not by long and ill-comprehended harangues, but by question and answer,—in a word, by catechising. The priest who catechises must love children and understand their ways. The questioning is not to be done in the hard manner of a public school examination. The catechiser will get out of the child as much as he can without forcing, but then he will expand and enrich it by his own familiar explanations. The four Gospels are exactly framed for such treatment. They are all story and picture. They may be rivetted in the hearts and affections of the young for ever. The very tone of the clergyman when catechising will be familiar as that of conversation, but more sweet and solemn. Can anything be more different from this mode of teaching than the high and stilted pulpit harangue, which is not intended for children at all, though a bad custom constrains them to attend it? How much more would they like to be addressed at their own service, all the dearer because it

was their own? The discourse would not be delivered from the pulpit at all. The pastor would address them from the reading-desk, or gather his children around him at the altar. Something of the domestic would mingle with the solemnity of the House of God. The church would become to them their religious home, and would be regarded with much warmer and heartier feelings than it is as its services are now conducted, associated as they are with length and weariness and tedium, and, worse than all, with non-application to themselves.

When we call it the children's service, we do so partly by way of endearment. It would comprise all the young up to and into their teens; but it would not be without a congregation besides. How gladly would the father and mother attend to hear their little ones questioned, and to hear, perhaps to receive, instruction conveyed in that short, broken, yet familiar and distinct way which catechising necessitates. How different from the hard, unbroken continuity of the pulpit discourse! how much better adapted to uncultivated minds! how sweetly, gently and gradually would childhood be initiated into the truths and mysteries of the faith, approaching them as they ought to be approached, and as the Bible presents them, wholly in the historical and pictorial way! Such a service would not want plenty of listeners besides those for whom it was more immediately intended. It would last barely an hour; there would be no constraint and no fatigue.

It would be a trial service for the pastor. It would find out his weak points. If he were a hard and stern man, without love of children, he would not succeed at all, because he would fail to make himself interesting. If he were a proud, ambitious man, eager to get fame by his pulpit displays, he would be sure to fail; for no fame is to be got from teaching children in a simple, familiar way. Love, indeed, may be got, but a self-interested man hungers after self-display, and he can gratify it best by his pulpit harangues. The love or praise of children is scarcely worth having; he seeks influential patrons; he careth not for the lambs of the flock; and he is not the man either to undertake a children's service or to succeed in it if he did. The youngsters are critical, and let any one who has to deal with them take note of the fact. They have fine intuitions,

and know the voice of him who really cares for them. He who lacks patience can do nothing ; and he who lacks love is sure to lack patience, for patience grows at its root.

Our Mother Church is a common phrase. The true theory is at our hearts, however ill we may see it realized. A true Church will abound in care and tenderness for the young. How do we shew it by enforcing their attendance at a service neither in length nor in its nature suited to their capacities? We ought to have a *Liturgia atque Hymni Parvulorum*. If Convocation is good for anything, why cannot it give us one? As no unauthorized prayer can be spoken in church, why does it not request legislative sanction for an "Order of Prayers and Thanksgiving for those of Tender Years?"

Let us now contemplate the priest in the pulpit in relation to adult congregations. There seems to us to be a want of true pastoral simplicity and directness in the preliminaries. But why have any preliminaries at all? why not the preacher at once address himself to the work to be done? There is nothing either awful or uncommon in the pastor speaking to his flock. It is only a man, and that an uninspired man, discoursing about religion. But observe how he sets about it. After an hour or more of prayer, there are still more prayers. First there is the preacher's private prayer, which, whether disposed for it or not, he must still go through. Down goes the head on the cushion between the hands, according to an invariable custom. Considering that this is a strictly private prayer, would it not be more natural to perform it in private, whether before the priest issues from the vestry or at home before the public service?

But there are still two more prayers to be said before the text is given out. Why so much preparation for that which is a very common and simple act?

This is not a small matter, for these anterior and posterior prayers involve a theory ; namely, that preaching is a very great and wonderful ordinance ; that it is, in fact, *the* ordinance of Christianity to which we are all chiefly to look for the salvation of our souls. Hence we have prayers before it to prepare our souls for so great a mercy, and to invoke the divine illumination on the word about to be delivered ; and prayers after it to thank the Almighty for

what we have heard, and to implore Him to make it live and grow in our hearts. If we were approaching an oracle, and were anxious for a true answer, these would be proper rites of invocation. But we do not in these days hang in such helpless dependence on what may fall from the lips of the priest. The prophet of old said that "the priest's lips should keep knowledge, for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts." We all of us know that the priests do not always keep knowledge, and that they are sometimes but untrustworthy expounders of the divine mysteries. Sometimes they are unfaithful messengers, and not seldom seem to have no message at all to deliver, though they feel compelled by custom or statutable requirement to say something. Even the author of the *Christian Year*, one who was so full of reverence for all established things, has told of divine messengers, "who, if they durst, would fain be mute." But if the message be ill delivered or mistakenly delivered, there is surely no special cause of thanksgiving for it.

Let us look closer at this aspect of the question. Suppose that I am an Arminian, and believe in grace and salvation for all, if they will have it; and suppose I hear from the pulpit a strong, pungent dose of undiluted Calvinism; am I to ask God at the conclusion "to graft these words in my heart"—believing, as I do, that those words are untrue? Or suppose that I am a Low-churchman, and am doomed to listen to a discourse from the rosy and rotund rector in praise of abstinence and the apostolical succession; am I to thank Heaven for such doctrines, which are utterly repellent to me? Or suppose that I am a Broad-churchman, and being present at a missionary service, am told—no uncommon thing on such occasions—that unconverted Pagans, Mahometans and Jews will everlastingly perish; am I to ratify such a doctrine by my thanksgivings, and pray that it may be inwardly grafted in my heart? Further, with regard to the prayers before the sermon, is it not to be guilty of something like hypocrisy to ask the Almighty that the word spoken may be in accordance with His Holy Word, when I know beforehand the sentiments of the preacher, and believe them to be diametrically opposed to that Holy Word? All these supposed cases are common enough every day. If an Evangelical steps into Westminster Abbey, he may hear a sermon from Dean Stanley; or,



if he steps into St. Paul's, he may hear one from Dean Milman; believing that he is better able to teach the divine in the rostrum than the divine him. He has heard what he believes to be both erroneous and dangerous doctrine, and he has been inwardly rejecting each sentence as the discourse proceeded. And yet, when it is ended, he is expected to fall on his knees and join in a prayer that "the words he has just heard with his outward ears may be inwardly grafted in his heart."

Much more simple, direct, pleasant and natural it would be to have no special prayers either before or after the sermon. Let it go for what it is worth. The service, already too long, would be lightened by cutting off these accessories. The address itself would seem more natural and pastor-like, more real and business-like.

We now come to consider the venerable and immemorial custom of prefacing every sermon with a text of Scripture. It was mooted at the Church Congress at Norwich, whether a text ought to be deemed indispensable for every sermon. The Dean of Canterbury inclined to the negative, and he grounded his opinion on the fact, that the sermon and the text have often the slightest possible connection with each other; that a hundred other texts might have been chosen with equal adaptation; that it has sunk into a mere conventional usage, at least in the majority of instances; that it would be more *real* only to begin with a text when the text or context is really discussed. The Dean also thinks that it might be an improvement in many instances not to commence with a text, but to introduce it further on in the discourse, when something had been said to lead naturally up to it; that thereby its force would be augmented by the congregation being able to perceive its adaptation. There is much in this, and we are inclined to think that at least the last liberty might be allowed. To make any part of divine service more real and genuine—to arouse the mind, ever too prone to sink into the slumber of conventionalism—is a great point. But to abjure the use of texts altogether, or to leave it optional, is another question. Such an innovation would alarm many persons by seeming to cast us off from the moorings of Scripture, and to launch us on a new course entirely at the discretion of the preacher. We should be loth to trust that discretion.

There are some priests who have very scant reverence, and who might abuse the licence by introducing we know not what secular and unbecoming topics. Such an innovation might produce a rank crop of sensational preachers. We have the "sensational novel;" we might have a sensational pulpit. We have no desire to see one. We have no wish to see our English pulpit turned into a popular and declamatory tribune, like that of Mr. Beecher at Brooklyn. The great American preacher uses it for all the topics of the day, and is rewarded by the extravagant prices which he gets for his pews at public auction. Of course we have no disposition to prevent or narrow discussion on any topic, sacred or secular; but there is a place and time for all things. We must consider the When, the Where, and the To Whom. All three are unsuited to subjects of an inflammatory or disturbing nature. The day is God's day, and therefore a day of quietude, of calm, of forgetfulness, if possible, of the topics of the week or the angry controversies of the time. We want to be left one day alone. The place is God's house, and topics bruited in the market-place or eagerly discussed out of doors, mar the solemnity and spoil our devotion. We ought to leave our common thoughts behind us when we enter these courts.

There is another reason for not introducing into the pulpit inflammatory topics. An ordinary congregation is a miscellaneous thing. There are the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the prosperous and the unprosperous, the well taught and the almost wholly ignorant; those who are happy in their circumstances and who "call life pleasure," and those to whom it is a bitter cup, and who yearn for words of comfort, soothing and refreshment. Abhorrent to the unhappy and the wretched are the sounds of discord or even of worldly topics. These suffering souls want a truce to their cares, and to be done with the world for a brief while. They wish, in the words of Coleridge, to have "their sad individual recollections suspended and lulled to sleep amid the music of nobler thoughts." Hence we deprecate giving the option of dispensing altogether with a Bible text. A text might be taken instead from the *Times*, or the last Parliamentary Debate, or from some modern book or narrative; so that at length Secularism would go halves with Sacredness in the dominion of the pulpit. When we go to

church we want to breathe another atmosphere. We want to bid adieu to our customary thoughts, and to lose sight of worldly interests and every-day themes. Others there may be, and doubtless are in large numbers, who feel no such longing ; who, worldly in heart and spirit, and untried by any great sorrows, do not wish to quit the world in thought even for a moment. But the preacher is bound to consult, in the first place, the wishes and the wants of those who come to church for religion alone, and who, from poverty or constant occupation, cannot slake their religious thirst at other springs during the week. The rich can read at will, and get what religious assistances they please every day. It is not so with the poor. They want their weekly portion. Only the worldly priest neglects this obvious consideration ; he who addresses himself chiefly to the rich, and seeks to provide them with consolations ; he who reverses the Scripture rule, and filleth the rich with good things, while the poor and the afflicted he sendeth empty away. It is the true worshipers, though they be a mere handful, who ought to be addressed ; not the pseudo-worshipers who go for conventional reasons. And the true worshipers, the prophets and apostles tell us, and experience confirms, will be found among the poor, and the suffering, and the sorrowful, of whatever class. The true shepherd's chief delight and effort will be to lift up the hands which hang down and the feeble knees, and to straighten and smooth the paths for the lame and afflicted. These have a right to find in him a "son of consolation," and not one who is always intent on solacing the rich and prosperous, nor one who seems to think he has a special mission to save the souls of the upper classes. The true shepherd acknowledges as the foundation-principle of Christianity the equality of souls before God, and this not merely in the way of mere lip-acknowledgment, but in his heart, and in the inward reverence which he feels for the soul of man, with whatever surroundings it may exist in this world.

So much for the general spirit in which the priest will address himself to his task.

But we wish to give one or two more reasons why we are persuaded that the truest and most direct way to make both prayers and preaching effectual, is to separate the two ; that is, to make attendance at the latter optional.

If this were done, a pause of five minutes at the end of the prayers would allow time for all to retire who chose. How many—mothers of families, for instance—would attend the Morning Prayer if they might be out by twelve, instead of being constrained to stop too late to prepare the family dinner. As it is, with the prospect of nearly two hours' detention, they stay away altogether. The preacher, too, would have the deep satisfaction of knowing that he had no unwilling hearers; that they who stayed really wished to hear the sermon, and that it was no longer forced meat. They who begrudged the five minutes' interval would betray a very languid appetite for the discourse that was to follow. Both ordinances would gain by the separation. The prayers would be prayed with more devotion, the psalms sung with more fervour, when they constituted an integral service. The sermon would be listened to with more profit when the attendance at it became a free-will offering. Those who came for the sermon only would listen with fresh and unexhausted attention.

Moreover, consider how great would be the reflex influence on the preacher. It would supply to him a much wanted and perfectly legitimate stimulus. When the pulpit discourse was a thing apart, and rested on its own merits, he would find it necessary to furnish it with some attractions. The nakedness of the land, if it were naked, would the sooner appear. It would be brought home to himself much more vividly and directly. For the same reason, we might expect that the performance of the Liturgy would be improved. When it became a substantive service, it must in turn rely upon its own merits. There would be no looking onward for something to follow, for which we really came to church, and which was the main attraction. We might look for choral services springing up in great abundance. The bare reading of the prayers would soon be felt to be cold and inadequate. More vitality would be imparted to this part of the service by awakening the tuneful voices of the whole congregation. Chant and service and anthem would soon follow; and there would be earnest efforts to make our oblation of prayer and thanksgiving with gladness and fervour. There is a great movement going on in the public mind. Plain, dry and unadorned services are no longer thought to betoken more spiritual

affections. We see evidence of this vast movement even among all classes of Dissenters. Many of their new chapels are in the purest Gothic; nearly all aspire to an ecclesiastical character and a church-like exterior. The once abhorred chant is now common among them. When innovation has reached the exterior, we may be sure it will not stop there. The sensitive eye is soon followed by the sensitive ear. If the one is repelled by an unsightly exterior, the other is no less repelled by a dreary monotone inside. This increased sensibility to external effects in all that relates to divine worship, shews a livelier state of all the faculties, and will not confine itself to one sense. Architecture is music for the eye, and "strikes to the seat of grace within the mind." The ear will no less demand its own gratification. Hence we find an improvement in church-music follows closely in the wake of improvement in church-architecture. This effect will follow all the more surely when the service of prayer and praise stands by itself, separated from the preaching, (which is another ordinance altogether,) for all who desire the separation. At the Universities the sermon comes alone, and is a service by itself. Why not in our parish churches?

We believe it would follow from this divorce that prayer would gradually resume that place and estimation in the public mind which it ought never to have lost, and from which it has fallen ever since the Reformation by the undue ascendancy of the pulpit. It was an unchecked ascendancy, and threatened to swallow up everything until of late years. The poor, helpless, priest-ridden hearer derived most of his spiritual aliment from the sermon. And very sorry aliment it often proved. Yet the preachers frequently spoke as if the issues of eternity lay in their hands; as if the salvation of the hearers entirely depended on *their* faithfulness. The day for such dreams is fast passing away, and the division of the service would hasten it. The estimation of the pulpit in any given locality would then be just what it deserved to be; neither more nor less. If what fell from it were found unprofitable, the Christian might then confine himself to the devotional service, and find his soul sufficiently sustained by the morning and evening oblation of prayer and thanksgiving. It is no mere sentimental grievance that if the Christian's lot be cast in the parish of an uncon-



genial minister, he must either "forsake the general assembling," or listen to doctrines which jar upon all his moral sensibilities, and which he would rather denounce than fervently pray God to "graft in his heart," and there make live and grow.

CHARLES ANTHONY, JUN.

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## VI.—TRAVERS MADGE.

*Travers Madge: a Memoir.* By Brooke Herford. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1868.

THE time which has elapsed since the death of the man whose name stands at the head of this article, and even since the appearance of his friend's Memoir of him, may make it seem at first sight out of date to recal attention to his character and experience. But there are some views on the subject, and some important lessons in connection with it, which I have not seen brought out clearly in any of the numerous notices of it which have been published. There may yet be room for the utterance of another friend, who saw the character of him of whom we speak on a somewhat different side from that which has been depicted by his biographer.

Let me explain at the outset that my knowledge of Travers Madge commenced when we became fellow-students at Manchester New College in 1840. During the five years of our student-life, we were class-mates and fellow-labourers in many undertakings. Afterwards I knew him intimately and had frequent intercourse with him for several years, though during the latter part of his life I saw him but rarely. My recollections are therefore of his period of greatest health and strength, both bodily and mental. It is in not making this, his natural condition, sufficiently prominent, and in dwelling too much on experiences and emotions which were the result of disease, that Mr. Herford's Memoir seems to me unsatisfactory.

It would be difficult to paint in too bright colours the beauty of character and charm of manner and appearance,

which distinguished Travers when he entered on his college life. United with an instinctive purity and a loftiness of aim and purpose, there was a total freedom from Pharisaic ostentation, an entire absence of formal self-exaltation. The merry laugh, the joyous abandonment of a child, were joined with the thoughtful earnestness of a man. His influence for good on his fellow-students and on the general tone of the College at this period, young as he was, was considerable; his sympathies being so warm and his manner so genial, that characters even little like his own felt his power. The Memoir mentions his early aptitude for mathematics. This was so great that it might be termed genius. He seemed to grasp, as by intuition, the result of processes of reasoning, without waiting for the successive steps. While his class-mates were laboriously toiling after the Professor as he proceeded with a demonstration, Travers would declare what the conclusion to be arrived at would at last come out; and when the Professor, amazed at the rapidity of his pupil's correct conclusion, asked, "How did you know it was that?" the reply was, "I could see it must be so." It was not wonderful, with such experiences, that the teacher assured his pupil that there was no mathematical distinction that might not be within his reach if he chose to aim at it. Scarcely less power did he display in regard to metaphysics and moral philosophy. His quick insight into truth and ready exposure of sophistry on all subjects, were very remarkable during the first years of his college life. But so averse was he to the exhibition of these powers at examinations, that their full extent was known by few besides his fellow-students. He bade fair at that time to be one of the first thinkers of his day.

There was one feature of his philanthropic labours which deserves especial notice. He had none of that selfishness which sometimes renders a good worker unable to enter heartily into any scheme that he does not himself originate. He was as hearty and zealous in taking up work suggested to him by another, as though the idea had originated with himself. Hence in part it was that his good influence in the Sunday-school was never marred by feelings of jealousy. A singleness of purpose, without self-seeking or ostentation, marked all he did. Valuable, however, as were his labours in the Sunday-school and its connected institutions, it is an

exaggeration to say that his connection with it "gives the strongest interest to this period," and throws into the shade his college life, with all that relates to it. The fact, mentioned in the Memoir, that "every Saturday for many months he hurries off from Manchester, as soon as lectures are over, to spend Saturday and Sunday at Stand," shews that the intimacy of his connection with the Manchester school was of later date. He was, while at College, no doubt, very useful to Lower Mosley-Street school, and the connection with the school was most valuable to him and to the other students; but this was only subsidiary to the direct instructions and indirect influences of the College. The advantage the students at this time possessed in having such Professors as Robberds and Tayler is recorded; but it is a serious omission not to add that the principal theological instruction was given by Rev. Robert Wallace, and was given in a spirit that at once nurtured deep religious feeling and inculcated catholic sympathies and reverent freedom. The relation between Mr. Wallace and Travers was one of unbroken cordiality.

The Memoir well displays the doubts and difficulties which beset Travers at the close of his college course. Mistakes and injurious influences had already so far warped his mind as to render it difficult for him to enter on the path of happy usefulness which seemed to be open before him. We are told that he thought of settling "in the neighbourhood of Leeds, where he could pursue his idea of being a printer;" and afterwards "the plan of going to Leeds fell through, and when the College session closed, Norwich was his destination." He did, however, try the plan of residing, near Leeds, with Joseph Barker, who was then actively engaged in propagating Unitarian theology by the labours of the pulpit and the press. In both these pursuits Travers planned to work with him, but the experiment soon came to a close; and the impression left on Travers' mind by it, as to the likelihood of Mr. Barker's holding permanently to the theological views he then advocated, has been abundantly confirmed by the event. It is not easy to understand why this episode is entirely ignored by Mr. Herford.

The period of which the biographer writes with the greatest enthusiasm is that during which Travers held the office of Visitor at the Lower Mosley-Street school, in

Manchester, and the description of the good he did there is not in the least exaggerated. As no good thing dies with us, it is not too much to hope that his mantle has to some extent fallen on some now in that school. Indications are not wanting that it is so. After this period the record is all melancholy, all pointing to the end which came so gradually but so surely.

The perusal of the little volume which has suggested this notice, must have renewed in many hearts tender and almost sacred memories of a dear friend. Those who knew him not may be disposed to think some of the expressions used concerning him exaggerated. But the impression he has left in itself proves that he was no common man. There is nothing in his position, his career or his achievements, to account for it. His life was not a long one, he filled no high place in any church, he left no literary remains as a monument to perpetuate his name, he never attempted to originate any organization, and yet many hearts still throb at the mention of his name, and many souls thank God that they knew him. The secret of his power lay in his religiousness of spirit, in the fervour of his love to God, which was always manifesting itself in unselfish love of man. Mr. Herford's Memoir, with its copious extracts from letters, gives probably as true an image as can be given in the printed page of the character and work of its subject; but no words can convey an adequate idea of what Travers was felt to be by his intimate friends, or fitly paint how he united simplicity and force of character. To see him once, playing with a child, and hear him talking to the little one, fixed his image on the mind as can no descriptions of the most appreciative friend or biographer.

It is a difficult task for one who has felt the beauty of character of a departed friend, to speak frankly in regard to the course he pursued and the results it produced, when he sees in them much to deplore. But there is so important a lesson connected with this subject, that it becomes a paramount duty to allow no personal considerations to stand in the way of a full and candid utterance. And this is quite consistent with an affectionate remembrance of the friend of whom we speak. Had he been less excellent, less loveable, the danger of mischief being caused by an

undiscriminating eulogy of the course he pursued would be diminished. But the fact is that there are many who fancy they tread in his steps by simply imitating his mistakes, and that the tendency to exaggeration of that which is good till it becomes evil, is every day manifesting itself in forms that call for serious consideration, that their real character may be understood. The contrast was a melancholy one, between the frank, free, generous youth, buoyant in spirits, sanguine in hope, with all the beauty of holiness displayed alike in body and mind, and the gray-haired man of a few years afterwards, subject to fits of morbid depression, drifting from one sect of religionists to another, and able to find no settled work to satisfy him. The hopes of all who knew him at the outset of his career, as to what he was to do and be, were miserably disappointed by the result. The work he actually did and the impression he left, notwithstanding every drawback, make it the more lamentable that his powers had not more fair play and a wider sphere. Most sad of all is it to remember that he so frequently lost his own peace of mind, so often felt compelled to try new kinds of work and seek new forms of faith, that pain of body and of mind was so constantly his lot, during the latter part of his life. Why these changes took place, what was the source of the comparative failure of his life, is a question demanding a thoughtful answer, and in that answer may perchance be found some instructive lessons.

The shadow which thus fell over the life of one of the best men that ever lived, and the failure of such great natural powers to produce commensurate results, may be traced to an error that is constantly producing its evil results—the tendency to think that a just attention to the higher parts of human nature demands and involves the ignoring, if possible the destruction, of all the other parts. Religion and morality, all that exercises the spiritual powers, are felt to be of supreme importance. Devotion to them is conceived of as the highest good of man. All else is of inferior value, all time occupied on other things produces a less worthy result. But with these true convictions, in some instances there is united the notion that spiritual exercises should be the *only* employment, that bodily pleasures are degrading, and that even mental work is a comparative



waste of time and opportunity. Hence the intellect is starved, the body is mortified, temperance becomes asceticism, self-discipline is identified with self-torture, and piety verges on fanaticism. Thus the most dangerous error of monasticism is perpetuated, without any of the compensations of that institution. At an early period, Travers felt the superiority of spiritual to material interests, conceived that men in general pay too much attention to bodily concerns, seek too eagerly for ease and comfort and sensuous gratifications. In order to avoid such errors, he flew into the opposite extreme, denied himself sufficient food and clothing, refused natural and healthy recreation, attempted to silence the body's cravings and crush out its instincts. The powers and instincts thus mortified rose and took a terrible vengeance. It was his misfortune to be countenanced in this tendency by elder men, whose characters he admired, and whose greater experience, which might have sobered his young enthusiasm, was used to confirm rather than to temper and guide it. On such counsellors rests the responsibility of his having ruined his health, shortened his life and wrecked his happiness on earth, by the vain attempt to use his body in a different manner from that for which God intended it. But the evil did not stop here. Ere long, the exercise of the intellect came to be looked on as comparatively unworthy, and not deserving much time and attention. Hence the formation of opinion became a matter more of feeling than of reasoning. The mental powers grew weaker for want of being fitly employed. Imagination and enthusiasm obtained an unchecked sway; and no longer able to take or keep a firm grasp of theological truth, losing the clearness of thought that once distinguished him, the sufferer found no comfort in his last years, except in such mysterious dogmas as he would once have seen through in a moment. The mind had been cramped and starved till it refused to respond to appeals made to it. While the soul was pure, the love strong, the piety fervid as ever, these did not suffice to give unbroken peace, or to save from the consequences of the neglect of the other parts of his being.

The truth is, that there is no possibility of man's securing his true well-being except by encouraging the harmonious growth of *all* the powers he possesses. Eating and drinking are as much an ordination of God's providence as loving and praying. A man who has not his affections

called forth by the natural ties of family life is in a state of imperfect growth, as well as he who knows not God. As health of body is essential to mental and moral health and strength, so indulgence of the body's instincts and enjoyment of its pleasures are indispensable for its health. No doubt this truth is liable to be perverted into a self-justification for sensual excesses. But common sense tells us that there is necessarily a limit, and self-control and moderation may steer a safe course between excess and total refusal of sensuous gratification. It may in many cases be more easy to renounce gratification entirely than to use it wisely ; but this is not the wise or manly course, it is not the one that leads ultimately to the highest development of humanity. As the monk who keeps himself pure and innocent by locking his door against all the temptations of society, is a much lower character than the man who is virtuous amid the cares and labours of every-day life, so the sincere Christian, who seeks entirely to sacrifice the body, and all its pleasures, amusements and social joyousness, on the altar of the spirit, will find at last that he has less spiritual peace than he might have had if he had listened to the voice of nature. He may, alas ! succeed in destroying the body, but he cannot by this act save the soul.

There was another tendency in our friend, very broadly marked and of doubtful character—the desire to put himself on a level with those socially or morally beneath him, in order to understand their feelings and wants, and to do them good. This shewed itself, even in boyhood, in his wish to walk about the streets barefoot, because he saw little beggars doing so. It led him at one period to attend the slaughter-house of a butcher, because he thought it not right to avail himself of the services which provide meat for our tables, unless he could witness the process of killing the animals without feeling disgust. It was afterwards manifested in the eagerness with which he embraced the “total abstinence” practice, on the ground that such abstinence is essential to the drunkard. It was the reason for his mode of living during the greater part of his missionary work in Manchester, and will be found at the root of much of his peculiar conduct and experiences in every period of his life. The question occurs, Was this tendency a right one? Is it our duty thus to bring ourselves to the level of

those lower than ourselves, because we sympathize with them? In regard to material condition, most men at once answer in the negative. To their minds it only indicates eccentric enthusiasm, when a man of education and refinement assumes the dress and mode of life of an artizan. But in moral questions the matter cannot be so readily settled. For instance, we find a man who, by the vicious habits he has formed, has reduced himself to such a state that temperance is impossible to him, and drunkenness or total abstinence are the only alternatives. Ought another man, who feels himself perfectly free from such danger, to reduce himself to the same moral level as the drunkard, and pledge himself never to drink intoxicating liquor, for the sake of assisting his fallen brother in the process of reformation? Travers Madge felt no difficulty, either theoretical or practical, in answering that he ought, or in acting on the principle in reference to this and other subjects. But it can hardly be urged that the principle is of universal application. If it were, we should be forbidden, not only all recreations, but many of the necessities of life. We might be called on to abstain from certain food, to encourage a dyspeptic friend to conform to medical regulations; we should deny ourselves relaxation, from sympathy with an over-worked neighbour to whom circumstances deny a similar privilege; we should require to dispense with all ceremonies in religion, because they become a snare to some consciences; we should refuse to use anything which any of our fellow-creatures are liable to abuse. Some test must therefore be looked for, to distinguish those cases in which it becomes a duty to be weak for the sake of the weak. What that test is must be decided by the individual reason and conscience of each, since so much depends on the position he holds and the relation in which he stands to those around him. But a man's first duty is to himself, to live his own life bravely and manfully, and not to allow any artificial rule imposed from without to supersede the action of his own powers, or to replace by an external law the private judgment and strong will which are the rightful source and cause of human conduct. Without such guidance, the influences of sympathy, amiable and unselfish as they undoubtedly are, may arouse ridicule and unappreciative scorn, rather than lead to good results. The man does not refuse

himself the opportunity of free choice as to his actions, as circumstances change from time to time, because such freedom is dangerous for the child. So any one who feels he has a man's clearness of judgment and strength of will, does more justice to himself, and confers a truer benefit on society, by striving to raise others to a similar position, than if he adopts a course which encourages others, and compels himself, to act as though he were a child in understanding, and a slave in regard to habit and self-indulgence.

Let it not be supposed from what has been said that the writer is blind to the excellences of the character of his departed friend, or fails to cherish his memory with affection. Still less let it be imagined that the labours of his life were fruitless, and that no results have been left behind. Many hearts are purer and more loving and more pious, this day, because they felt his influence. Few who remember him but will be the better all life long for the remembrance. But to know how much he did, makes us the more regret to think how much he might have done. The extent of his influence makes us feel the stronger desire that those who have caught something of his spirit and seek to emulate his labours, may avoid the errors which lessened his usefulness and shipwrecked his happiness; that they may not be seduced into treating the body as though it were a bad thing, or into refusing the mind its fair amount of influence, especially in religion; that they may not allow anything, not even the love of his memory, to take the place of the individual conscience and reason.

It needs a steadfast faith in human immortality to reconcile with our belief in the overruling providence of a loving God, the fact that so bright and pure a spirit had in this world so many clouds spread around his path. But the mistakes were only in relation to things temporal, the blemishes were such as pass away; all that was best in him was such as is eternal. His spirit had shewed enough of its beauty to make all men love him, when the warnings began that it was soon to be taken from us. Who can doubt what is the future God has in store for such a true child of His love?

JOHN WRIGHT.

## VII.—RECENT SPECULATIONS AS TO THE AGE OF THE WORLD.

1. *On Geological Time.* By Sir W. Thomson. Trans. Geological Soc. of Glasgow. Vol. III. Part 1.
2. *On the Secular Cooling of the Earth.* Thomson and Tait's Natural Philosophy, Appendix D.
3. *On the Physical Cause of the Change of Climate during Geological Epochs.* By James Croll. Philosophical Magazine, 1864.
4. *On the Probable Date of the Glacial and the Upper Miocene Period.* By James Croll. Philosophical Magazine, 1868.
5. *Principles of Geology.* By Sir C. Lyell. 10th Ed. Vol. I. Chap. 13.

THE intermixture of scientific problems with theological dogmas, although productive of considerable impatience in the minds of students annoyed by interference with the fair course of legitimate research, and the source of strong denunciations of "infidelity" on the one hand, and bitter retorts of "narrow-mindedness" on the other, is not without ennobling influence on the development of human thought. The fact that confessions of faith have involved themselves with the Mosaic Cosmogony, the Deluge, the end of the world, has awakened an intensity of interest in the discussion of many scientific questions, which while in its lower form may be mere sectarian zeal, but in its loftier issues amounts to religious fervour. It is well that the warmth and glow of Christian feeling should be cast upon speculations touching the physical history of the world ; since thus a road is opened through which the high intellectual life of the great investigators of natural science may ultimately find its way into the common thoughts of men. The scientific man, if he believe in science as a light that can minister to life, according to its measure, loveliness and peace and consecration, may be thankful that theology has added a certain devout eagerness to many grave researches. He will find at last a wider acceptance and a profounder understanding of the Truth, because there has been a Christian anxiety in its discussion. He may be met, here and there, for a passing season, with bigotry which awakens indigna-



tion ; but his faith in science is worth little if he cannot trust its power to endure and prevail. A largeness of mental interest has been given to popular theology, while the channels for the diffusion of scientific truth have been deepened and broadened, by the mingling of even mistaken physical speculations with the demands of faith.

The calculations made by theologians as to the age of the world have been carried on entirely apart from any scientific method, and have depended upon genealogical tables constructed from the records of Jewish history. Between two and three hundred different results have been obtained, the shortest reckoning giving 3483 years between the creation and the birth of Christ, and the longest, 6984. The chronological scheme of Archbishop Usher, adopted in the marginal notes printed with the Common Version, affixes to the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," the precise date, "four thousand and four years before the birth of Christ." By the mere force of juxtaposition, this marginal note appears to have acquired an authority over the popular mind almost equal to that of the sacred text itself ; and the accuracy of the calculation has been exalted into an article of religious belief. The question, what witness the earth might afford of its own age, was never asked until the rise of modern geology ; while in order to obtain by the genealogical process even 4004 years between the creation and the Christian era, it was necessary to accept the longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs, and to credit Noah with an earthly existence extending over nearly one-fourth of the entire period.

Actual reference to the world having been excluded from calculations concerning its own history, it has been regarded by theologians rather as a stage upon which the great drama of Human Redemption has been enacted, than in itself an ever-unfolding thought of the Eternal Mind. Vast physical changes have simply furnished the shifting scenes adapted to the varied acts of a great tragedy. Order was evolved from chaos ; and a fair Paradise upsprang for the sake of the exigencies of the first act, when Adam fell. The last day will come when human destiny has run its measured course upon the world ; and then a useless earth will be burnt up, and an antiquated heaven pass away. The scheme

of salvation has determined the beginning, and its accomplishment will bring about the end ; and the age of the world must be studied by reference to the recorded list of Adam's descendants, while its destruction is dependent on the fulfilment of the prophetic word.

The attempt to calculate the date of creation by the height of a genealogical tree, has thus become connected with a purely dogmatic conception of natural phenomena, as much at variance with their religious interpretation as questionable with respect to matters of fact. In the profounder philosophy of science, as in the deeper insight of the soul, the day of creation has never ceased to dawn. To gain faint glimpses of the strange and awful order of successive epochs, is to be brought near unto the mysterious life of the great I Am. The outward changes of visible things are revelations of the movements of the Eternal Being. The fate of man cannot decide the destiny of the world, nor the fate of the world determine the destiny of man, because there is neither pause nor cessation in the creative activities of a Living God.

The general demand for time is involved in the very existence of geology as a science. Calculations as to the age of the world became possible as soon as it was perceived that rocks had been formed, while distinct races of animals have been entombed within them, by gradual processes analogous to those now in operation ; silting up the mouths of rivers, elevating or depressing vast regions, destroying the most firmly established crags through the slow and subtile influences of air and moisture, or renovating the worn crust of earth by the preserving might of earthquake and volcano.

Definite results, however, have been unattainable, through the shifting conditions of the phenomena presented ; and the geologist has been content to reckon roughly the ages which the excavation of certain channels and the formation of a few special deposits might take ; and then, declaring time to be power, has asked for a period too vast to be distinctly computed, and equivalent to the space granted to the astronomer as his speculations wander among fixed stars and unsolved nebulæ. The most recent discoveries have rendered still more emphatic the appeal of the geologist to the mighty sweep of ages. The genesis of life has been carried back to an epoch beyond all previous conjecture

by the occurrence of that wonderful foraminifera, *Eozoon Canadense*, in the Laurentian rocks of Canada; and the late detection of land plants and the trail of marine worms in Swedish strata at the very base of the Cambrian system, and older than the oldest rocks of Murchison's Siluria.

The final establishment of the fact that man co-existed with animals which have now disappeared from the face of the earth, at a time when both the climate and the physical geography of Europe differed widely from their present condition, has lengthened our conception of human history, and inaugurated a series of investigations into the growth of civilization, which are unfolding the changes of Epochs beyond the limits of every recorded date.

A remarkable passage in the works of Playfair has gradually assumed a kind of classic authority, and has often been quoted in reply to requests for a more definite statement of the time required to account for geological phenomena :

“How often these vicissitudes of decay and renovation have been repeated is not for us to determine ; they constitute a series of which we neither see the beginning nor the end ; a circumstance that accords well with what is known concerning other parts of the economy of the world. In the continuation of the different species of animals and vegetables that inhabit the earth, we discern neither a beginning nor an end ; in the planetary motions, where geometry has carried the eye so far both into the future and the past, we discover no mark either of the commencement or the termination of the present order. It is unreasonable, indeed, to suppose that such marks should anywhere exist. The Author of nature has not given laws to the universe which, like the institutions of men, carry in themselves the elements of their own destruction. He has not permitted in his works any symptoms of infancy or of old age, or any sign by which we may estimate either their future or their past duration.

“He may put an end, as He no doubt gave a beginning, to the present system, at some determinate time ; but we may safely conclude that this great catastrophe will not be brought about by any of the laws now existing, and that it is not indicated by anything which we perceive.”\*

In a series of remarkable papers, which will meet with wider and deeper discussion than they have yet received, Sir

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\* Playfair's *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory*, § 118.

W. Thomson challenges Playfair's statement, and demands "a great reform" in geological speculation. He maintains that a definite limit in time can be affixed to the earth's existence in its present condition, and to all geological history shewing continuity of life; and that there is a calculable progress of events towards a state infinitely different from the present. Mr. James Croll, in a separate series of calculations and speculations, distinguished alike by their profoundness and lucidity, argues to the same purpose; and we will endeavour to sketch for our readers the more novel points in the controversies involved, which are as interesting in their reflex bearing upon theology as in themselves.

The first attempt to obtain a distinct date for a geological epoch was made by Mr. Croll, in his paper on the *Physical Cause of Change of Climate*.

The existence of a period immediately preceding the present, during which a climate of arctic intensity prevailed throughout Great Britain, Northern Europe and North America, has been established beyond question. The clay-beds of North Britain contain in abundance both mollusca and entomostraca which have now vanished from our waters, and are found living within the Arctic circle alone. Our valleys are filled with boulders polished and scored with striae by the hand of ice. Every exposed surface of rock has its ice-marks. Our great central peaks existed, and the general radiation of the valleys was the same as now; but our valleys were filled with glaciers, descending from the heights, from beneath which turbid waters rolled seaward, and which pressed up and over lower elevations, grinding, polishing, scoring, the hardest rocks as they urged their way. Here, they retreated as they reached sunnier levels, and left their accumulated heaps of debris. There, they pushed forward into the sea, carrying a burden of mud and stones. In the great firths and over the sea, icebergs floated, and every year dropped travelled blocks into the mud beneath. The land was at a lower level during one severe part of this period, so that our lochs were arms of the sea, and many of our present mountains were rocks and snow-clad islands, rising amidst an icy ocean.

The extraordinary intensity of the climatic variations which have taken place during geological epochs is further

indicated by the recent discoveries of Professor Heer.\* It appears that an abundant vegetation clothed the now dreary regions of the Arctic circle so recently as the Miocene era. Oak-trees, with leaves half a foot long, several species of the huge Wellingtonia, and many evergreens, flourished at Spitzbergen in lat.  $78^{\circ} 56'$  N. The fossil flora indicates mild winters and warm summers.

Still further back in the geological record, we find that a climate similar to that prevailing in this country during the carboniferous epoch, must have extended to the Poles. Sir E. Belcher brought home from the north edge of Albert Land, lat.  $77^{\circ}$ , a collection of carboniferous fossils, which contains many species of common occurrence in English and Scottish fields. He also found at Exmouth Isle the remains of ichthyosaurus, while some lias shells are quoted by Professor Haughton from Prince Patrick's Land,  $76^{\circ} 30'$ .

"So that there seems no good reason to doubt that the true lower secondary strata *in situ* are to be found in the extremest point of the west Polar land; and that when these fossils were deposited, conditions of climate something like those of our shores were prevailing in latitude not far short of  $80^{\circ}$ ."†

Intercalated among these warmer periods are signs of the recurrence of glacial conditions. Angular fragments of great size, with polished and striated surfaces, have been found by Professor Ramsey, in conglomerates of the Permian age; while both the Upper Miocene and Eocene periods contain beds, the composition of which seems only intelligible on the supposition of ice action.

Leaving, however, doubtful cases, the positive evidence of great climatic changes afforded by the extension of carboniferous strata towards the Poles—the existence of a genial flora of the Miocene age within the Arctic circle, and the wide-spread severity of the glacial epoch in more recent times—points to the action of some cosmical law.

Mr. Croll seeks for the true cosmical cause of the recurrence of colder and warmer periods in the relations of our earth to the sun.

The relations of our earth to the sun are astronomically

\* Heer, *Flora Fossilis Arctica*. 1868.

† Sir E. Belcher's *Last of the Arctic Voyages*.



calculable; and if climatic changes can be connected with mathematical determinations of the position of the earth on the one hand, and the deposition of certain fossil beds on the other, there is at least a hope of establishing in geology some measure of time.

The excentricity of the earth's orbit has been long known to astronomers; and in 1830, Sir J. Herschel suspected its influence on geological changes of climate, although, in the absence of any trustworthy calculations of its superior limit, he was unable to arrive at definite results.

Leverrier has now determined the superior limit of the earth's excentricity to be .07775, and the inferior limit .003314. The excentricity is now diminishing, and will continue to diminish until the year 25,780 of the present era. The effect upon climate of this change in the excentricity of the earth's orbit is determined by its either increasing or diminishing the difference between summer and winter temperature.

"When the excentricity is at a maximum, the distance of the sun from the earth, when the latter is in the aphelion of its orbit, is no less than 102,256,873 miles; and when in the perihelion, it is only 87,503,037 miles. The earth is therefore 14,753,834 miles further from the sun in the former position than in the latter. The direct heat of the sun being inversely as the square of the distance, it follows that the amount of heat received by the earth when in these two positions will be as 19 to 26. According to the determinations of Hansen regarding the present excentricity of the earth's orbit, the earth during winter when nearest the sun is 93,286,707 miles distant.

"Suppose now, that according to the precession of the equinoxes, winter in our northern hemisphere should happen when the earth is in the aphelion of its orbit, at the time when the orbit is at its greatest excentricity; the earth would then be 8,970,166 miles further from the sun in winter than at present. The direct heat of the sun would therefore be one-fifth less during that season than at present, and in summer one-fifth more than at present. The difference between the heat of summer and winter in this case would be two-fifths greater than at present. This enormous difference would affect the climate to a very great extent."\*

In fact, a difference of one-fifth in the amount of heat

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\* Croll on Physical Cause of Change of Climate, p. 10.

received from the sun during winter, would produce in this country a climate similar to that now existing in S. Georgia, between lat. of  $54^{\circ}$  and  $55^{\circ}$  S., which in the height of summer is almost wholly covered with snow, and sufficiently account for the phenomena of the glacial epoch, when considered in connection with those physical changes of the earth's crust which give to every period its own peculiarities.

It does not follow that when the effect of excentricity on the increase or decrease of the sun's heat is known, the climate of any special district at a special time can necessarily be determined. The flow of warmer and colder currents, the direction of mountain ranges, the distribution of land and sea, constitute perpetually varying elements, which have their distinct influences on the problems to be solved. But if the astronomical calculations be correct—and they are perfectly within the scope of accurate establishment—an extreme of excentricity must so seriously affect climate as to involve the prevalence of a glacial epoch of more or less intensity.

The most recent glacial epoch may thus be connected with the date at which the excentricity of our orbit reached its superior limit. When did this occur?

Mr. Croll has drawn up tables, shewing the excentricity of the earth's orbit and longitude of the perihelion for three millions of years back, and one million of years to come, at periods 10,000 years apart. These remarkable tables also shew the number of days by which the winter exceeds the summer when the winter occurs in aphelion, the intensity of the sun's heat in midwinter, and the number of degrees by which the midwinter temperature is lowered. The midwinter temperature is also calculated on the supposition that the gulf-stream is diminished in proportion to the excentricity. Confining our attention to the last million of years, it appears that there are two periods of great duration during which the excentricity continued at a high value; the one extending from about 980,000 to 720,000 years ago; and the other, beginning about 240,000 years ago, extended to about 80,000 years ago.

Two hundred and ten thousand years ago, the excess of winter over summer was 26.7 days, while the midwinter temperature was lowered 37.4 degrees.

Eight hundred and fifty thousand years ago, the excess of winter over summer was 34.7 days, while midwinter temperature was lowered 45.3 degrees.

On the basis of these astronomical calculations, therefore, there are two suppositions to be made.

Either the glacial epoch commenced about 980,000 years ago, and continued with oscillations of climate until about 80,000 years ago, or 980,000 must represent the date of some tertiary epoch of glaciation ; while 240,000 represents the period of the most recent age of ice.

Vast as the difference between these suppositions undoubtedly is, we believe that it will prove quite possible for geology to decide between them. The examination of the glacial beds of Scotland, Europe and America, has yet been made only in a fragmentary and unconnected way. We are convinced, from long familiarity with them over many districts, that they have been too roughly and rudely confounded together. Among the sands, gravels and clays, which have been classed under some one loose name, there exists a certain order of succession denoting the passage of an epoch, and giving indications of climatic oscillations.

In the present state of science, it is impossible to dogmatize regarding probable results ; but it is wise to welcome any hopeful method of research. In the direction of the argument now sketched, a definite date may possibly be obtained for a geological epoch. A careful classification of the various Tertiary and Post-tertiary beds, studied in connection with accurate calculations as to the effect of the excentricity of the earth's orbit upon climate, may enable ultimately some Newton of Geology to cast definite light upon the age of the world.

A method of connecting the date of the glacial epoch with the duration of the world has been indicated by Sir C. Lyell. Suppose we could assume that the glacial epoch commenced about a million of years before our time, we should obtain some insight into the amount of change in the species of marine mollusca brought about in that period. Only 5 per cent. of the shells existing when the glacial epoch commenced have become extinct ; and therefore we may consider a million of years (supposing our astronomical calculation correct) to represent the "twentieth part of a complete revolution in species." We must go back to the

Miocene formation to reach a time when the marine fauna differed as a whole from that now existing ; so that, taking a million of years to represent one-twentieth of a complete revolution in species, twenty millions of years must have elapsed from the Miocene period to the present day. It is calculated that there have been twelve great revolutions in organic life, as measured by the change of testacea, since the commencement of the Cambrian period, without reckoning the antecedent Laurentian formation. If, therefore, each revolution represents twenty million years, on the principle assumed, we should have two hundred and forty millions of years as the age of the world since the commencement of the Cambrian period.\*

If, however, instead of taking 950,000 years as the date of the last glacial epoch, we adopt the second supposition previously described, and select the latest period of superior excentricity for its commencement 250,000 years ago, the same mode of calculation would only give sixty millions of years since the Cambrian era.

Neither of these calculations notice the length of time represented by the Laurentian rocks. Before, however, even an approximate conjecture can be formed regarding the age of the world as an abode of life, the time represented by the Eozoon limestones must be taken into account. Sir W. E. Logan states that the united thickness of the three components of the great Canadian series may possibly far surpass that of the succeeding rocks, from the base of the Palæozoic series to the present time ; and we are thus carried back to a period so remote, that the appearance of the so-called Primordial fauna may by some be considered a comparatively modern event.†

The argument from the revolution of species now sketched, although sufficiently and avowedly vague in its present results, may ultimately prove of value. The great periods during which changes have taken place in marine mollusca sufficiently decisive to indicate a revolution, are determinable by researches which undoubtedly may require centuries to come, but which are within the power of man ; the number of species which have disappeared since the glacial

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\* Sir C. Lyell, *Principles*, I. 301.

† *Quarterly Journal*, Geo. Soc., 1865.

epoch began, is also obtainable ; and a rate of change may thus be possibly established capable of conversion into time. The whole matter is of course a speculation ; but the most accurate man of science is the last to forget that speculation precedes discovery.

Sir W. Thomson contends upon physical grounds that the existing state of things on the earth, life on the earth, all geological development shewing succession of life, must be limited within some such period of past time as one hundred million years. We will briefly sketch the grounds of his argument, referring for the details to the works indicated at the head of this article.

1. The theory of energy declares that where there is frictional resistance there must be loss of energy. The friction of the waters in the tides causes heat ; and the end, where it altogether leaves our earth to be dissipated through space, is heat. The movements of the sea, therefore, being met by frictional resistance, indicate a perpetual loss of energy, which must directly affect the earth, and re-act on those bodies, the moon and sun, whose attractions cause the tides. The general tendency of the action of the tides is thus to diminish the rapidity of the earth's rotation, and in consequence lengthen the duration of the day, while it increases the moment of the moon's motion round the earth. The metaphysician Kant is said to have been one of the first who asserted the diminution of the earth's rotation through the influence of the tides ; and it is a necessary result of the modern theory of energy.

The earth is not an accurate chronometer, but is getting slower and slower ; and the moon is the only time-keeper by which we can at present test the accuracy of the earth's motion. Sir W. Thomson has recently worked out an estimate, and found that on a certain assumption as to the proportion of retardations due to the moon and the sun, twenty-two seconds of time is the error by which the earth would in a century get behind a thoroughly perfect clock.

The application of this estimate to the age of the world is evident.

“ If the earth is losing angular velocity at that great rate, at what rate might it have been rotating a thousand million years ago ? It must have been rotating faster by one-seventh than at present, and the centrifugal force must have been greater in the



ratio of the square of 8 to the square of 7, i.e. in the ratio of 64 to 49. There must have been then more centrifugal force at the equator due to rotation than now, in the proportion of 64 to 49. What does the theory of geologists say to that? There is just now at the equator one two-hundred-and-eighty-ninth part of the force of gravity relieved by centrifugal force. If the earth rotated seventeen times faster, bodies would fly off at the equator. The present figure of the earth agrees closely with the supposition of its having been fluid not many million years ago. The centrifugal force a hundred million years ago would be greater by about 3 per cent. than it is now, according to the preceding estimate of tidal retardation; and nothing we know regarding the figure of the earth and the disposition of land and water, would justify us in saying that a body consolidated when there was more centrifugal force by 3 per cent. than now, might not now be in all respects like the earth, so far as we know it, at present. But if you go back to ten thousand millions of years ago, which I believe will not satisfy some geologists, the earth must have been rotating twice as fast as at present; and if it had been solid then, it must be now something totally different from what it is. . . . It is no matter whether the earth's lost time is 22 seconds, or considerably more or less than 22 seconds, in a century; the principle is the same. There cannot be uniformity."\*

2. A second series of investigations tending to the same result centres upon the sun. The continuous emission of heat is a constant and enormous dissipation of energy. Supposing all the planets falling into the sun from their present distances, the whole emission of heat which would result would be something under 46,000 years' supply. The sun being thus engaged in the constant emission of energy, we cannot regard the existing state of things as perennial. Examining the various possibilities of receiving heat which the sun could have, it is contended that it *may* have illuminated the earth for as many as 100 million years, but that it is almost certain that it has *not* illuminated the earth for 500 million years.†

3. The quantity of heat now being conducted out of the earth, will give another indication of its probable age.

"The heat which we know by observation to be now conducted out of the earth yearly is so great, that if this action had been going on with any approach to uniformity for 20,000 mil-

\* Thomson on Geological Time, pp. 15, 16.

† Ibid. p. 20.

lion years, the amount of heat lost out of the earth would be about as much as would heat by 100 per cent. a quantity of ordinary surface rock of 100 times the earth's bulk. This would be more than enough to melt a mass of surface rock equal in bulk to the whole earth. No hypothesis as to chemical action, internal fluidity, effects of pressure at great depth, or possible character of substances in the interior of the earth, possessing the smallest vesture of probability, can justify the supposition that the earth's crust has remained nearly as it is, while from the whole or any part so great a quantity of heat has been lost.\*

Summing up these various arguments from the tidal retardation of the earth's rotation, the dynamical theory of the sun's heat, and underground temperature, it is concluded by the eminent physicist whose arguments we have been quoting, that the whole geological history of the globe must have been embraced within a period not exceeding 100 million years.

We are quite prepared to admit the validity of the problem proposed, viz. to determine the date of the first establishment "of that consensient status which, according to Leibnitz's theory, is the initial date of all geological history;" and the right of the physical investigator to apply the principles of natural philosophy to the determination of the age of the world. Considerable difficulties, however, are as yet unsolved.

The theory of the secular cooling of the earth demands a constant diminution of volcanic energy, so that plutonic action must have been more violently operative in geological antiquity than in the present age. There appears, however, to be no geological evidence for this assumption. The intensity of volcanic outbursts does not grow less and less as we rise in the table of geological formations. The trap rocks of Tertiary age occupy a position, to say the least, as important as those of Silurian date. Since the existence of every living mollusc, the shores of the Pacific have been continuously and synchronously elevated several hundred feet, over a distance of 2,480 nautical miles.† Even metamorphism itself is a process which has gone on among Cretaceous, Oolitic and Eocene strata, as well as among

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\* Doctrine of Uniformity in Geology briefly refuted. Proceedings of Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1865-66.

† Darwin's Geological Observations.

primary deposits. Our great mountain chains—such as the Alps, the Pyrenees, Carpathians and Himalayas—are of comparatively recent origin, and did not exist until after the middle Eocene period.\* So far as our observations extend, the geological energies (so to speak) of the world have shewn no signs of progressive diminution.

The Palæontological difficulties in the way of theories limiting the earth's age are also very great. Species appear to have been propagated in past ages at the same rate as to-day. The trilobite in the Cambrian rocks, e.g., has been traced through twenty stages of development. There are passage-beds between every subdivision of every division, and these passage-beds are often as much distinguished by peculiar microscopic forms as by higher organisms. Moreover, every one of those changes of fauna consequent upon alterations of climate or depth and composition of the sea-bottom, the evidence of which pervades every formation, represents time. When a fauna changes, it is not merely that a few large animals pass to a more congenial habitat, but the smallest organisms are also affected. The entomostrea, foraminifera and zoophytes, gradually journey to other regions or insensibly graduate into other forms. The prevalent sea-weeds feel the influence of the "sea change" going on. Every passage-bed thus represents a vanishing age, during which the minutest organisms, atom by atom, have shifted their ground.

Prof. Huxley recently submitted an ingenious calculation as to the possible length of a geological period. At the Atlantic sea-bottom a deposit is now being formed, undistinguishable from chalk in its general characteristics, and containing a large number of a species of foraminifera (*globigerina bulloides*) which also occurs as an abundant fossil in the chalk beds of the mesozoic epoch. The conclusion is inevitable that the chalk of the geologist, which attains a thickness of at least 1200 feet, was formed under the same conditions as the mud of the present Atlantic. A specimen of echinus has been found, upon which the following argument hangs :

"There are some little things which grow parasitically on others at the bottom of the sea, which are called corallines.

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\* Lyell's Elements, p. 306.

These corallines will not grow in mud; they must have something else to fix upon. You have first a sea-urchin; upon that is a bivalve which has fixed itself, lived and died, and lost its other valve. Then upon the free surface of that other valve one of these little corallines has fixed itself and grown, shewing that the whole of this must have taken place before the globigerina mud had accumulated. Let us try to put that into time. Any naturalist will tell you that I am making a very small assumption, if I suppose that it took not less than a year to carry out the several changes which I will now enumerate:—for the sea-urchin to die and lose its spines; for the bivalve shell-fish to fix itself upon the sea-urchin, to live to its full size, to grow, to perform its functions, to die, and lose its one valve; and then for the coralline to fix itself upon the remaining valve, and to grow to its full size. But the particular sea-urchin to which I refer is not more than an inch high from the mud. It is certain that these things could not have taken place if the whole of the surface had not remained perfectly uncovered by mud through all the changes which I have indicated. Whence it follows that the globigerina mud could not have accumulated at the sea-bottom at the rate of an inch a year. But there are 1200 feet of globigerina mud, which means a very prodigious lapse of time.”\*

For the sake of argument, let us accept the shortest period given by Mr. Croll as the age of the glacial clays, viz. 250,000 years. All the species of mollusca found fossil in these clays are still in existence, but many of them have passed to another latitude, where they meet a more congenial cold. Two hundred and fifty thousand years have thus been spent in distributing a few species of mollusca, and without adding one to the fauna of the globe. One four-hundredth part, i.e., of the whole period allowed by Sir W. Thomson for the geological history of the world, has sufficed in this country to change the habitat of a few species of marine testacea! The progressive changes involved in the introduction of fauna after fauna, amidst the elevation and destruction of successive continents, must surely bear to the simple change of latitude, for a few shells, a far larger proportion than four hundred to one.

Calculations have been made to determine the rate at which a continent may be destroyed by ordinary denudation continuing at its present rate. The area drained by

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\* Lecture on Chalk, by Prof. Huxley, Norwich, 1868.

the river Mississippi is 1,244,000 square miles ; and a total of 7,474,000,000 cubic feet of matter are transferred annually from the land to the sea.

“ Now 7,474,000,000 cubic feet removed off 1,244,000 square miles of surface, is equal to  $\frac{1}{4566}$  of a foot off that surface per annum, or one foot in 4566 years. The specific gravity of the sediment is taken at 1·9, that of rock is about 2·5 ; consequently the amount removed is equal to one foot of rock in about 6000 years. The average height of the N. American continent above the sea-level, according to Humboldt, is 748 feet ; consequently, at the present rate of denudation, the whole area of drainage will be brought down to the sea-level in less than 4,500,000 years, *if no elevation of the land takes place.*”\*

Taking the amount of sediment held in suspension by the Tay as one-third of that of the Mississippi, the central Highlands of Scotland are being swept away at the rate of one foot in 6000 years † These results are novel and striking ; the washing away of 2000 feet of the country would entirely alter its physical condition, and could take place, by processes now going on, in twelve millions of years.

The possibility of applying these calculations to the age of the world appears, however, very doubtful. What matters it during a geological epoch that a continent is swept away ? Denudation in one district is re-creation in another. Every epoch has had its Alps to destroy, and every epoch has also had its Alps to up-build.

† We have now endeavoured to sketch certain recent speculations as to the age of the world. Although no definite results have hitherto been obtained, yet evidently new lines of speculation and methods of research are being opened and pursued, of equal interest to the theologian and the man of science. It is one among the many blessings of a free Christianity, that its disciples are delivered from the necessity of attempting to reconcile results of science with demands of faith. The very idea of reconciliation implies a certain amount of rivalry and jealousy and antagonism. We do not believe in one doctrine because we are Christians, and another doctrine because we study science ; and then endeavour, by some ingenious rather than ingenuous pro-

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\* Mr. J. Croll on Geological Time, p. 17.

† Denudation as a Measure of Geological Time, by A. Geikie, F.R.S.



cess, to harmonize opposing claims ; because we accept the world, simply, naturally and trustfully, precisely in the same spirit as we would receive the Lord Jesus within our souls, as in itself an uttered Word of the Most High. We make no vain attempts to unite doctrines to which we cling as orthodox with facts we are compelled to receive as true. We have nothing to "reconcile" with reason in the court of faith, and nothing to harmonize with faith in the court of reason ; since we only seek the attitude of little children watching for the dawning day, and rejoicing in the light, wheresoever it may fall, as indeed the Light of God.

HENRY W. CROSSKEY.

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#### VIII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *La Revolution Religieuse au Dix-neuvième Siècle.* Par F. Huet. Paris : Lévy Frères. 1868.

M. HUET has been known on the continent for many years as a representative of the small and declining liberal, or rather radical, party within the pale of the Catholic Church. The position taken by him in his previous works is described by himself as a compromise between Catholic orthodoxy and free thought. It is not surprising that this ground, to which he was pledged by his strong attachment to his old master, Bordas-Demoulin, should have proved untenable directly the ties of personal affection were severed by the death of his preceptor. Having performed the last offices of discipleship by the publication of the Life and Works of Bordas, "le dernier des Gallicans," full of lamentation over the decline of intellectual power in contemporary Catholicism, and the growth of Ultramontanism, M. Huet appears to have set out in search of a more satisfactory religion ; and "by a progressive evolution of his own ideas," he has arrived "at the full independence of reason, liberated from all dogmatism and all supernatural encumbrance." With the conviction that the greatest need of the present day is the outspoken testimony of those who have a mental history to relate, he presents a sketch of the "Religious

Revolution" which has placed him in his present theological position. In this he contents himself with tracing the progress of that historical criticism which has recently engaged his attention, proposing to deal with the philosophical aspects of modern theology in a subsequent volume.

The range of the work before us is so wide, that its treatment of the important subjects which stand at the head of its divisions ("Modern Criticism," "Jesus according to History," "Foundation, Destiny and Influence of the Christian Religion," "The Religious Revolution in existing Churches") must necessarily be superficial. As a compendium of the most striking opinions enunciated by the liberal critics of France during the last ten years, the book is undoubtedly valuable, while the absence of pedantic language and minute criticism will recommend it to many who shrink from encountering the larger and more solid works of the school of Strasburg. M. Huet has been a diligent student of German and Dutch writers, though apparently he has access to their works only by means of translations. In reviewing and contrasting the methods of the Free-thinkers and Encyclopædists of the last century, with those of the historical and textual critics of the present, he admits that it is mainly owing to the shifting of the scene of action from France to Germany, that the revolution he celebrates has been brought about. From among the many "indefatigable termites of erudition," he singles out Strauss and Baur as respectively the Voltaire and the Rousseau of the age,—a compliment which would hardly conciliate the sympathy of the Tübingen school, but which somewhat prepares the reader for the statement that these great scholars have only "rendered history possible," and the introduction of M. Renan as the writer most qualified to furnish the desideratum. But following throughout the first book the course of his own studies, the author endeavours to classify the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and Mark, as representing the Petrine, Pauline and neutral parties in the early Church; and concludes his brief review by declaring his adhesion to the "radical negation of Strauss—no testimony incontestably apostolic, either for history or for doctrine; *quel arrêt suprême!*" As far as this side of the question goes, M. Huet declares that the verdict is pronounced, and the religious revolution is accomplished.

In proceeding to that portion of the book which is devoted to the "Christ of History," the reader will naturally expect, from the admiration M. Huet has already expressed for the historical style of M. Renan, to meet with a good deal that is vague and fanciful,—some specimens of that kind of writing which we suppose to represent a meaning in French, but which, through the imperfection of the English language or the English mind, loses its savour on this side of the channel; and he will not be disappointed. We are told that Christ belonged to the class of "immortal visionaries;" and further, that "the visions of a Socrates, of a Cakya-Mouni, of a Jesus, of a Jeanne Darc, are anticipations of the future, prophecies truly inspired by the divine genius of humanity." We gather, by way of explanation, that Socrates had the vision of the divinity of Conscience; that "our sublime Jeanne Darc" had the vision of the divine mission of France, and the right of victory involved therein. M. Huet apparently feels unable to speak with confidence as to the vision of Cakya-Mouni, though having been introduced so prominently to the European public by M. Renan, he is reproduced as the closest rival of Jesus in sanctity and devotion. We do not know whether the canonization of Joan of Arc had been already mooted when this chapter was written, but certainly she must have been more present to the author's mind than either Socrates or Christ when the following words were penned, with reference to the before-mentioned "prophet-visionaries of the Idea:"

"Ils ont un démon, *dæmonium habent*, et, si l'on veut, leur corps en est malade. C'est le martyre qui commence dans leur organisme surmené par l'idée qui les envahit, qui les dévore. C'est *la folie glorieuse* qui finit par la croix, par la ciguë et par le bûcher."\*

Having by this theory and his acceptance of the "negation" of Strauss freed himself from that necessity of paying some regard to the detail of the Gospels which apparently led M. Renan to construct his well-known hypothesis concerning the raising of Lazarus, the most remarkable miracle related by his favourite evangelist, M. Huet indignantly discountenances any suspicion of the intense sincerity of Christ. He maintains that Christ assumed the Messianic

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\* P. 83.

character just as it had been moulded by the tradition and expectation of his nation, claimed the miraculous power and judicial authority which it involved, and aimed at nothing less than moral, religious, social and political reform. He even charges Strauss with a sentimental unwillingness to recognize the views of Christ in connection with the temporal amelioration of his people, and puts it down to "the mysticism of a reformed Johannist" that he does not see in Jesus "an ancestor of modern democracy, a temporal liberator of the poor and the oppressed." And certainly a Johannist, or indeed any one accustomed to connect many of Christ's words with a kingdom *not of this world*, will be surprised at some of M. Huet's applications of his theory. The rôle of Messiah assumed by Christ being before all things that of a Reformer, he is the creator of the spirit of universal reform, of revolution. Hence M. Huet would see the present and permanent miracle of Jesus, not only (with Schleiermacher) in his influence upon the soul as a cause of individual holiness, but (with Bordas) in his influence on society at large; in social sanctification, so to speak; in the civil structure, no less than in the religious tone, of the modern world.\* Hence the conclusion:

"Comme moraliste, comme réformateur purement religieux, Jésus a des émules sur les bords du Gange, en Perse, en Arabie, en Grèce : il n'a point de rival comme Messie, comme initiateur de la réforme sociale universelle."†

M. Huet does not shrink from the logical consequence of this theory, and attributes to Christ himself, as to the disciples, an anticipation of temporal sovereignty. We are called upon to suppose that while engaged in the humble work of sowing the seed of moral and religious reformation, Jesus was supported by an expectation that the heavenly host would suddenly appear, invest him with the authority of the final judgeship, and seat him on the clouds of heaven.

"Cette soudaineté de l'avènement messianique répondait à la sainte impatience et à la sainte ignorance de Jésus, incapable de mesurer les obstacles, et la lenteur des évolutions de l'humanité."‡

Of course it becomes necessary to eliminate from the Gospels all passages in which Christ appears to anticipate

\* P. 104.

† P. 109.

‡ P. 111.

suffering and death ; these are consequently rejected as inventions of those who wished to make the best of an original disappointment, and were driven to affirm the bodily resurrection of Jesus by the natural demand for *some* compensating triumph. But, we confess, it appears difficult to substantiate the statement, made on the authority of Baur, that these passages in every case shew traces of the embarrassment of the narrator, the introduction of them being inopportune, and perpetually in opposition to the context.

A large portion of the book is occupied with the examination of the fourth Gospel, which is to M. Huet the origin of that sentimental and mystical view of the office and work of Christ which he so frequently laments, and those "Johannine prejudices" which he deplores in writers so outspoken as Strauss, Colani and Pécaut. The concluding chapters, containing a review of the "Religious Revolution in Judaism, Protestantism and Catholicism," form decidedly the most valuable part of the work. The author signalizes with equal interest and vivacity the decline of Rabbinism among modern Jews, the spread of free thought in England and America, and the retirement of the Roman Church from the regions of intellectual life into the sterility of Ultramontanism. In the latter movement he sees the fulfilment of his master's prophecy.

"Bordas a prédit le sort du catholicisme s'il ne se réformait. On le verra, dit-il, dégénérer en paganisme. La prophétie s'accomplit. Le néo-catholicisme ou marianisme s'est fait dogmatiquement incompatible avec le progrès scientifique, comme avec le progrès politique et social. Se retirant des classes éclairées, il deviendra la religion des campagnes, où il ira mourir comme le premier paganisme romain. . . . La règne de Pie IX. aura marqué la date fatale de la suprême décadence."

J. E. O.

## 2. *Miscellaneous.*

Among the treasures of the Ambrosian Library at Milan is a manuscript which formerly belonged to the monastery at Bobbio, founded by the Irish St. Columban.\* It appears, from the variety of its contents, to have been the common-

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\* Canon Muratorianus, the Earliest Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament. Edited, with Notes and Facsimile, by S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1867.



place book of some not very learned monk, and from palæographical evidence is judged to date from the eighth century. Between two and three pages of it are occupied by a list, in the Latin language, of the books of the New Testament, imperfect at the beginning. Whence this list was copied by the monk of Bobbio (if such were the scribe) we cannot tell; its language is deformed by the most extraordinary solecisms and mistakes, so that its precise meaning can only be restored by a free use of conjectural criticism; yet underneath its barbarisms, many critics believe that they see traces of a Greek original. But from a reference in the Canon itself to the episcopate of Pius, Bishop of Rome, as a recent event, the document, in its first form, is brought within the limits of the second century. This most interesting and valuable contribution to the history of the New Testament was first discovered by the celebrated Italian antiquary, Muratori, and published by him in 1740, in the third volume of his "*Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Ævi*;" on which account it has always been known and quoted as the Canon of Muratori. During the period which has elapsed since its first publication, it has been frequently collated, edited and discussed; but never up to this time published in facsimile. This task Dr. Tregelles has now performed in a way that entitles him to the gratitude of all students of the New Testament. For they will applaud the industry, the accuracy and the thoroughness, which he has displayed in the publication and elucidation of the text, and will take the notes, in which he manipulates the evidence of the Canon for dogmatic purposes, for as much as they are worth. It is a great boon to the theological inquirer to have a document to which appeal is so frequently made, actually beneath his own eye in a compendious and elegant shape.

We cannot agree with Dr. Tregelles in the opinion, which he insinuates, even if he does not directly put it forth, that the value of this Canon could hardly be increased by greater knowledge of its origin and history. We know nothing of the transcriber, except that he was so grossly ignorant as hardly to understand what he was writing. Of the source whence he copied this extract, we are absolutely ignorant; we have no information as to the object for which, or the occasion on which, the list was compiled. The story which the author of the Canon tells us of the origin of the fourth

Gospel does not increase our respect for him as a sober historical witness. But leaving these things aside, and granting that we have here the testimony of one who wrote at the close of the second century, to what does he testify? The four Gospels were in existence; for though the Canon, mutilated at the beginning, first mentions the Gospel of Luke, it expressly enumerates it as the third. The Acts of the Apostles as written by Luke; the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians and Romans, receive the same authentication. Here, in the middle of the list of the Pauline Epistles, occurs an incidental reference to the Apocalypse of John; and the writer then goes on to enumerate the four Pastoral Epistles, and to speak of an Epistle to the Laodiceans, and another to the Alexandrians, as falsely attributed to Paul. The Epistle of Jude and two of John are held to be catholic; then the Apocalypse of John and that of Peter (in a sentence which may be cleared of obscurity by divers critical expedients) are mentioned as existent, and the latter, if not both, indicated as of doubtful authority. Next occurs an allusion to the Wisdom of Solomon, not easily explicable; and then mention is made of the Shepherd of Hermas, as read by some, but, in the judgment of the author of the Canon, not to be received. The list closes with the enumeration of certain spurious books which cannot now be easily identified.

Of the purely expository portion of Dr. Tregelles' notes we can speak in terms of high commendation. He carefully accumulates round each disputed passage the opinions of different commentators, and allows the reader to compare them with his own. But the critical expedients by which he endeavours to make this Canon co-extensive with the present limits of the New Testament, are far more ingenious than conclusive. He separates the Apocalypse of John from the Apocalypse of Peter, in the doubtful sentence which the author of the Canon apparently pronounces on both. Because the unknown scribe quotes from the First Epistle of John, in connection with his mention of the Gospel, Dr. Tregelles quietly assumes that the two Epistles enumerated in the proper place are the Second and Third, and thus brings all three beneath the shield of this authority. But what, it may be asked, of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that of James,

and the two of Peter, to which there is no allusion in the list? There is nothing left for it but a bold jump to a conclusion. "Four books," he says,\* "which now form part of the New Testament, are not mentioned in this ancient list—Hebrews, 1 and 2 Peter, and James; from whatever cause the omission arose, it may be regarded as certain that the author *must* have been acquainted with the former *two*, and probably with the Epistle of James also." What can be more satisfactory? The author must have known of the existence of books which he mentions, and just as certainly of those which he does not. Only if the certainty is as great in one case as in the other, one does not see what addition the Muratorian fragment makes to our knowledge. Such statements and arguments as these are the opprobrium of theological science, and bring it into undeserved contempt with those who are accustomed to more legitimate methods of reasoning. We regret to be obliged to say that our chief gratitude to Dr. Tregelles is for the means which he has afforded us of forming our own judgment on the very interesting questions raised by the text of the Canon of Muratori.

"The Bible in France"† is the title of an interesting monograph on French translations of the Scriptures, by M. Emanuel Pétavel, pastor of the Swiss Church in London. The question of a new or revised translation of the Bible is in France more urgent than even in England, and perhaps encumbered with greater difficulties. There is not only no Authorized Version, but no translation at all equal to our Authorized Version either in beauty and dignity of style or in accuracy of rendering. The best Roman Catholic translation is that of Isaac le Maître de Saçi, or rather that which, founded upon the labours of many eminent Port-Royalists, passes under the name of the great scholar to which it owed the most. But this, though better than any existing Protestant translation, is hardly fit for Protestant use. The old Calvinist translation of Martin, revised by Ostervald, which is in common use, is admitted to be inadequate, and labours under the great disadvantage of being based, in the

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\* P. 92.

† La Bible en France, ou les Traductions Françaises des Saintes Ecritures ; étude Historique et Littéraire. Par Emanuel Pétavel, Pasteur de l'Eglise Suisse de Londres. Paris: 1864.

first instance, not on the original languages, but on the Vulgate. There are other versions, but each proceeds from a special section of the Church, and is thereby rendered distasteful to all the rest. What is to be done? M. Pétavel, who writes temperately and dispassionately from the Evangelical point of view, recommends a translation made at the instance of the English Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and under the superintendence of M. Matter, the well-known historian of Gnosticism. But he quotes several very disparaging criticisms of this version, and himself gives it no more than faint praise. Our own impression, derived from M. Pétavel's book (which may be recommended as a repertory of interesting facts in regard to a subject not much studied in England), is, that in France, as well as in our own country, we must wait for a satisfactory revision of the present versions of the Bible till the critical sense and conscience of our theological scholars have been much more completely emancipated than is now the case from the influence of dogmatical prepossessions, and thus an indispensable pre-requisite attained for philological agreement.

No theological phenomenon of the present day is more remarkable than the great intellectual and practical activity of the Ritualistic party in the Church of England. As they themselves acknowledge, they are labouring with the most intense eagerness to make the most of the interval of toleration accorded to them by the law's difficulties and delays, and to secure a footing in the Church from which they will not be easily dislodged. In the controversial statement of their peculiar doctrinal principles, they have, amid some disadvantages, one signal advantage. What may be compendiously called sacramental doctrine, which has, it need not be said, great attractions for a certain class of minds, may be presented in all the fulness and freshness of its force, in consequence of what we can only denominate the controversial imbecility of Evangelical disputants, who, instead of examining and confuting Roman Catholic theology, have satisfied themselves by raising a cry of horror against the Pope, the Jesuits and the Confessional. We need not therefore wonder, if, when the fundamental theories of the Latin Church are stated with care, moderation and ability, they exercise their natural fascination for those who do not

recognize their identity with the caricatured doctrines which they have been taught to condemn and abjure. A proof of this may be seen in the success of the "Tracts for the Day,"\* which we have noticed as they appeared one by one, and which are now re-issued in a handsome volume; as well as in the publication, within a short period, of three series of the essays known as "The Church and the World."† The third volume now lies upon our table, and does not differ in any important aspect from its predecessors. Like them, its significance lies much more in its publication and sale than in itself. Here is Catholicism, in all its fundamental ideas, in all its characteristic relation to Christianity, —not presented as the faith of a small and depressed minority, or the feeble shoot of alien belief and sympathies, —but boldly lifting its head and claiming a rightful place in the Reformed Church of England, three centuries and a half after the Reformation! That Catholicism and the spirit of modern civilization are at deadly enmity we cannot doubt, nor to which side victory will finally incline; but the so-called Catholic revival will do good service to truth, if only it brings into strong relief the illogical assumptions of ordinary Protestantism. Nor is the controversy carried on by argumentative weapons alone. Books of devotion, in prose and verse, are multiplied, in which Catholic doctrine is taught and implied, without the troublesome restrictions imposed by the necessity of dogmatic accuracy. Such a work is "The Mysteries of Mount Calvary, translated from the Latin of Antonio de Guevara,"‡ a Spanish mystic of the beginning of the 16th century (1470—1544), which is introduced to the public as the first volume of "The Ascetic Library." The translator confesses that this is an abridged, and in fact an expurgated, edition of the original work; but to minds prepared for the training, it would form a fit introduction to the passionate and irrational ardours of Roman Catholic devotion, which, presented too

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\* *Tracts for the Day: Essays on Theological Subjects*, by various Authors. Edited by Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans. 1868.

† *The Church and the World: Essays on Questions of the Day in 1868*, by various Writers. Edited by Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans. 1868.

‡ *The Mysteries of Mount Calvary*, translated from the Latin of Antonio de Guevara. Edited by Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1868.



suddenly and nakedly to Protestant readers, might repel rather than attract. For ourselves, we must confess that no class of book, not even a dictionary, is so utterly unreadable.

A singular instance of the adaptibility of the Roman Catholic Church to circumstances the most various, and in some respects the most hostile, is afforded by a little volume which contains the sermons preached at the Second Plenary Council, held at Baltimore, in 1866, together with the official documents connected with the synod.\* “The Council was, to use the language of Archbishop Spalding, ‘the largest ever held in Christendom since the Council of Trent, with the exception of two or three held at Rome under the Sovereign Pontiff himself.’ It numbered 7 Archbishops, 38 Bishops, 3 mitred Abbots, 49 mitred Prelates, and upwards of 120 of the most eminent clergy.”† If some of these titles have a strange sound when we think of the Republican land from which their wearers were gathered, the mixed population of America and the ecumenical character of Catholicism are alike indicated by the varied nationality of the Bishops. 16 were natives of the United States, 9 of Ireland, 12 of France, 3 of Spain, 2 of Germany, 1 of Austria, 1 of Switzerland, and 1 of Belgium. Nothing surely could appeal more strongly to the religious imagination than the assembly of so many bishops of different races upon the banks of the Chesapeake, in furtherance of the doctrine and discipline of the one great Latin Church. But the volume before us makes very few revelations of the relation of Roman Catholicism to the social life and political institutions of the United States. The sermons, fourteen in number, are presentations of doctrine, not below, but not much above, the average of such productions in eloquence and ability. What we chiefly gather from the Pastoral Letter is that Catholicism is coming into uneasy contact with civil government in the United States on exactly the old points—Church property and marriage—in regard to which it always has been, and always must be, found that the pretensions of the Church and the necessities of a free state are irreconcilable.

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\* Sermons on Subjects of the Day, delivered by distinguished Catholic Prelates and Theologians at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, U.S., October, 1866, &c. Dublin: Kelly. 1868.

† P. 1.

Mr. Mackay gives us a clear and instructive translation of the *Sophistes* of Plato, preceded by a very thoughtful Preface.\* Emerson remarks upon the modernness of all good books, and here we have a translation of Plato as a criticism on some educational speeches of Mr. Lowe. At a time when the subject of education more than ever forces itself upon public notice, Mr. Mackay believes that its true nature and objects may be best understood by following the clear line of separation traced by Plato between the philosopher and the sophist. Between the Socratic school and the sophists whom it attacked, there is the all-important difference separating true education from the narrowness of mere "indoctrination,"—true education being distinguished from mere instruction or adventitious embellishment, and involving the philosophical culture of opinion. Mr. Mackay very instructively points out the way in which the Positivist, while denouncing metaphysics, necessarily cherishes a metaphysic of his own.

"It may be said that the ablest philosophers—even of physical investigators—from Aristotle to Bacon and Claude Bernard, disclaim the superficial denunciation of metaphysics, nay, treat the phenomenal as chiefly interesting from the indications afforded by it of a subjacent reality ; moreover, that no step even in physical discovery can be made without the aid of ideas and assumptions borrowed from this much-abused department. Materialists and Positivists talk metaphysics without knowing it ; . . . they discourse freely of nature, matter, cause, law, force, space and time, in innocent unconsciousness of the metaphysical nature of what they assume as the foundation of their reasonings."†

The aim of Mr. Mackay's work is to shew the paramount necessity of cultivating the soul's life, not in the sense of mere discipline or drill, but as infusing a new spirit underlying all superstructures of professional dexterity or sophistical accomplishment. The gospel reinforces Plato in propounding an ideal life or spiritual perfection as the end of human effort, harmonizing the human will with the divine, and cherishing a sympathetic recognition of the "spiritual Word." The English mind will continue to be baffled and

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\* The *Sophistes* of Plato. Translated, with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction on Ancient and Modern Sophistry, by R. W. Mackay, M.A. Williams and Norgate.

† Pp. 24, 25.

perplexed until it looks back to the Christian, Socratic and Kantian teaching, and begins to study itself, and to recognize in that hitherto little explored region the possibilities of a new world.

The general effect produced by the appearance of Mr. Goodsir's treatise on the Westminster Confession of Faith,\* in the midst of the rationalistic works issuing from the modern press, is something akin to the impression which would result from the appearance of a man clad in antique armour within the ranks of a rifle brigade. It is a mediæval argument against a mediæval creed. The author gives the cruellest stab of all to the Westminster Confession when he declares that it is not only erroneous but grossly *heretical*. The Westminster standards do not contain the doctrine of Knox, or even the germinal Lutheranism of the Augsburg Confession, but a kind of Lutheran-Calvinism. Mr. Goodsir is vastly troubled by the question, In what consists the ultimate Antinomian principle of this perfected Lutheran-Calvinism? and happily discovers that the error consists "in adding the false element of mere externality to the true element of gratuitousness in the justification or salvation of sinners." We do not doubt that those who are perplexed by the question, may find peace in the answer. Fortunately, Mr. Goodsir is able to state his solution with almost mathematical precision :

"When he once saw clearly that mere imputation or externality + absolute gratuitousness = Antinomianism ; then, knowing on exegetical grounds that mere imputation or externality is false or a half-truth, he had just to state the matter thus ; the internal elements + the external or imputative elements of Redemption = Justification or Salvation = the Law magnified and made honourable, man saved and God glorified."†

Against the eleventh chapter of the Westminster Confession, which treats of Justification, the author arranges the subtilties of a scriptural scholasticism. To those who accept the method of argument employed, the book may prove valuable, as throwing light upon the way in which statements apparently the most sound may betray the

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\* The Westminster Confession of Faith, examined on the Basis of other Protestant Confessions. By Joseph Taylor Goodsir. London : Williams and Norgate. 1868.

† Pref. p. ix.

unwary ; and if the Confession of Faith itself is proved to contain heresy, they may learn to pardon others for some confusion of thought as to the nature of orthodoxy. Mr. Goodsir appears to have entertained the happy faith, that the ecclesiastical courts of Scotland would permit a re-examination of the formularies of the Church ; and zealously requested liberty to support his positions from Scripture, and to be officially informed how the Westminster doctrine of Justification is deducible from, and therefore reconcilable with, the Greek New Testament. It may be interesting for those who plead that their signature to the Confession only extends so far as its accordance with Scripture can be made manifest, to notice the curt refusal with which the proposal to re-examine a single doctrine was promptly and peremptorily met.

We hardly know in what terms to speak of Mr. Cranbrook's little volume of lectures on the "Founders of Christianity."\* Within the compass of 300 tiny pages, he effectually disposes of any intellectual or moral claims which Christ puts forward to the reverence of men, disproves the genuineness and credibility of the whole New Testament, with exception of four of Paul's Epistles, and announces the speedy dethronal of Christianity by some new and higher form of religious faith. It is needless to say that in the execution of such a task, within such limits, he makes many bold and sweeping assertions, unaccompanied by any corroborative evidence, and introduces many new readings of well-known historical phenomena. We are not prepared to enter into controversy with Mr. Cranbrook, for to do so would be to re-open every one of the questions which for the last fifty years have occupied the mind of educated Europe. Mr. Cranbrook has a perfect right, like every other preacher, to express his views in a popular form, but he must not expect from his reviewers a scientific discussion of a *concio ad vulgum*. He writes as if his statements (which he is ready, if required, to defend by adduction of evidence) had settled the long-debated questions as to the origin of the Gospels and the relation of Christ to the world. We venture to think that these questions remain

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\* The Founders of Christianity ; or Discourses upon the Origin of the Christian Religion. By James Cranbrook. London : Trübner. 1868.

pretty much where they were, and that the principal interest of the book is its indication of Mr. Cranbrook's own theological position.

No more striking contrast to Mr. Cranbrook's book could be afforded, than by Mr. Tayler's pamphlet, "*Christianity: What is it? and What has it done?*"\* Without going into the critical questions which Mr. Cranbrook so summarily despatches, and yet with an under-current of the justest critical appreciation of the great problems which gather round the historical origin of Christianity, he sketches in few but weighty words what he conceives to be the essential nature of our religion, and its place in the development of history. The space covered is so vast, and the treatment of the subject necessarily so general, as to prevent us from attempting to follow Mr. Tayler's argument, while we very earnestly recommend our readers to make acquaintance for themselves with these most interesting and important pages. They will find concentrated in them the results of a long and laborious lifetime of thought and study. We cannot thank Mr. Tayler too much for having given us this last fruit of his matured reflection and experience.

We welcome "*Faith and Works*,"† by Rev. W. A. O'Connor, Rector of SS. Simon and Jude, Manchester, precisely because it does *not* proceed from a theology—like that of the Broad Church—essentially similar to our own. The author of this little work appears to be—we use the word without innuendo—orthodox. Yet he states in his first chapter, as plainly as does St. James in what Luther called his "*Epistle of Straw*," or as we do who are heretical preachers in all our sermons, that "*faith without works is dead.*" He says, "*There is no conceivable way of shewing the difference (between little faith and much faith) save by pointing to the different results.*" In the second chapter, "*Justification by Faith*," he further expands his germinal thought, which is, we take it, that faith is always a condition of the soul seeing the unseen, and holding to the incredible because it believes in the omnipotence of Good. Faith justifies, he says (in effect), because faith enables us to be, in God's

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\* *Christianity: What is it? and What has it done?* By John James Tayler, B.A., &c. &c. London: Williams and Norgate. 1868.

† *Faith and Works.* By the Rev. W. A. O'Connor, B.A., Rector of SS. Simon and Jude, Manchester. London: Saunders, Otley and Co. 1868.



service, all that is possible to us ; and a man, by his faith, "gets credit for just so much fruits as the truth of God could produce in his nature." The most striking chapter is the fourth, "Forgiving, the Test of being Forgiven." The meaning here given to the salvation effected by Jesus Christ for mankind, agrees entirely with our best spiritual instincts. The idea of our being by him saved from punishment is utterly rejected. We do not see sin as it is ; we do not repent as we ought. "Therefore the inability to repent would of itself have ever remained a separation between God and us, if God Himself in human form had not repented for us." Our understandings may not accept these dogmatic forms, but our heart responds to this idea of the sufferings of Jesus that they were "for sin." "His whole life, and, with a concentrated bitterness, His death, was a mourning over iniquity. Thus He was a man of sorrows."

The whole book seems to us valuable—as a revolt against the ordinary Calvinistic or Low-church doctrines of atonement, of human free-will ignored, of natural feeling trampled on, and humanity blasphemed, is always precious. It is not less, but more, valuable because it bespeaks a stirring of the spirit that giveth life, not first breaking through the letter, but staying within it. Free Christians who are not unacquainted with a lifeless and workless, self-satisfied and self-serving philosophy of life, which expresses itself in language of advanced enlightenment, may here become acquainted with a view of duty and a view of life, not fanatical or ascetic, but only Christian, and yet couched in forms of old-fashioned Protestant orthodoxy. We wish that rational Christians who fancy that the true spirit of Christianity must be hampered if accompanied by other forms of thought than theirs, would read "Faith and Works," and be undeceived.

Plain speech and an absolute straightforwardness of utterance characterize Mr. Voysey's bold discourses.\* There is no reticence. Doctrinal phrases are never employed with perplexing and dubious sense. The meaning of the preacher is always decisive and distinct. While Mr. Voysey perceives that errors are still strong, subtle and deadly as of

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\* *The Sling and the Stone.* By Charles Voysey, B.A., Incumbent of Healaugh. Vols. I. and II. Trübner and Co.

old, he has a stronger faith than many men can manage to attain, that "the truths which they contradict stand out clear and sharp against the sky." Some of the subjects are indeed treated with too little regard for light and shadow. The way in which even the great darkness of superstition may cover the childlike outstretching of the hand to grasp an Everlasting Arm, is not made so manifest as the maddening influence of doctrines of which too often neither prayers nor intercessions can break the awful spell. The processes by which, through strange creeds, souls have been educated into redeeming trust in the Divine mercy, are not so clearly unfolded as the bitter suffering brought upon this generation by false pretences and dogmatic threats.

The writer, however, puts his trust in Truth with refreshing simplicity of purpose and singleness of desire. He has no poor, half-hearted confidence that perhaps the Truth may prove useful and prevail, if men of sufficient influence can be induced to support it; but it is with him the power of God unto salvation. This courageous frankness is, we believe, one of the first conditions for all true preaching.

Mr. Voysey admits that in his eagerness to distinguish between the true and the false, he may have now and then done some injustice to the possible aim of a particular passage where the literal sense has been palpably wrong; and we have occasionally to regret that, in the revolt of his mind against the untenable claims of literal infallibility, he should forget that the most subtle spiritual thought may be the truest interpretation of a prophet's meaning. The critical difficulties, however, which these discourses sometimes suggest rather than solve, are of secondary importance compared with the devout manliness of their pervading spirit.

Mr. Hopps in his volume of sermons, entitled "*The Parables of Jesus*,"\* sets forth the leading doctrines of the principal parables in a simple and attractive form. The main thought of each parable is well expounded, and enlarged upon in language that is always flowing and often eloquent. It is calculated to be a favourite volume for family as well as private reading. The writer acknowledges his obligations

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\* *The Parables of Jesus.* By John Page Hopps. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1868.

to Archbishop Trench's work on the Parables, whose rule of not pushing the details of the parables too far he has followed (we think) with such strictness as occasionally to miss some interesting lessons which may be drawn from them without straining. He is, however, too anxious to find in them the doctrine of Final Restoration, a doctrine upon which he also insists very strongly in a second publication, entitled "Ten Manchester Lectures,"\* and boldly urges this view as beyond dispute :

"There is a great deal in the Bible that looks like an affirmation of some kind of eternal punishment ; but if you could shew me the place where it is *plainly* taught, I confess I would not believe it. What is a text of Scripture to me, when my reason, my moral sense, and all the best instincts of my nature, rebel against what the text affirms?"†

These lectures were delivered, we believe, in the Corn Exchange at Manchester, to a miscellaneous audience. They are well adapted to such a purpose, and would leave a strong impression on the minds of thoughtful working people who might assemble to hear them. Some of the theses (as, e.g., the true way in which man is saved by faith) are treated in a novel and original way. We were especially interested in the first lecture, on the True Nature of Christianity, which might advantageously be printed by itself as a tract for wide distribution. But in their complete form, these lectures are issued at so low a price that they may readily meet with the large circulation they merit.

"Church Comprehension,"‡ a pamphlet which assumes the form of a letter to Mr. Gladstone, is an elaborate and able attempt to overcome the practical difficulties which are at once suggested by its title. No doubt they might be overcome, if men of all sects and churches were willing to think the effort desirable, and to make the necessary sacrifices of principle and prejudice. But if not? If only a large-hearted Christian here and there cares for Church comprehension at all, except upon the supposition that his own Church shall swallow up and digest all the rest? The

\* Ten Manchester Lectures. London : Whitfield. 1868.

† P. 77.

‡ Church Comprehension : a Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. London : Longmans. 1868.

author of this pamphlet possibly does not read the signs of the times as we are reluctantly compelled to do. To us, all ecclesiastical tendencies are in the direction of disintegration, and our only present hope for comprehension is in the complete pulverizing of existing religious organizations, and the desire for unity which may possibly grow out of it. For the details of the scheme, which are worked out with much ingenuity, we must refer our readers to the pamphlet itself.—We desire also earnestly to recommend an essay “On Certain Moral Aspects of Money-getting,”\* by Dr. Gairdner, Professor of the Practice of Medicine in the University of Glasgow, in which a question which excites far too little interest is treated with much intellectual ability and moral straightforwardness.

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\* On Certain Moral Aspects of Money-getting. By W. T. Gairdner, M.D., &c. &c. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1868.





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